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CANADIAN

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# SOCIAL TRENDS

## FEATURES

*Common-law  
intentions*

*Work stress*

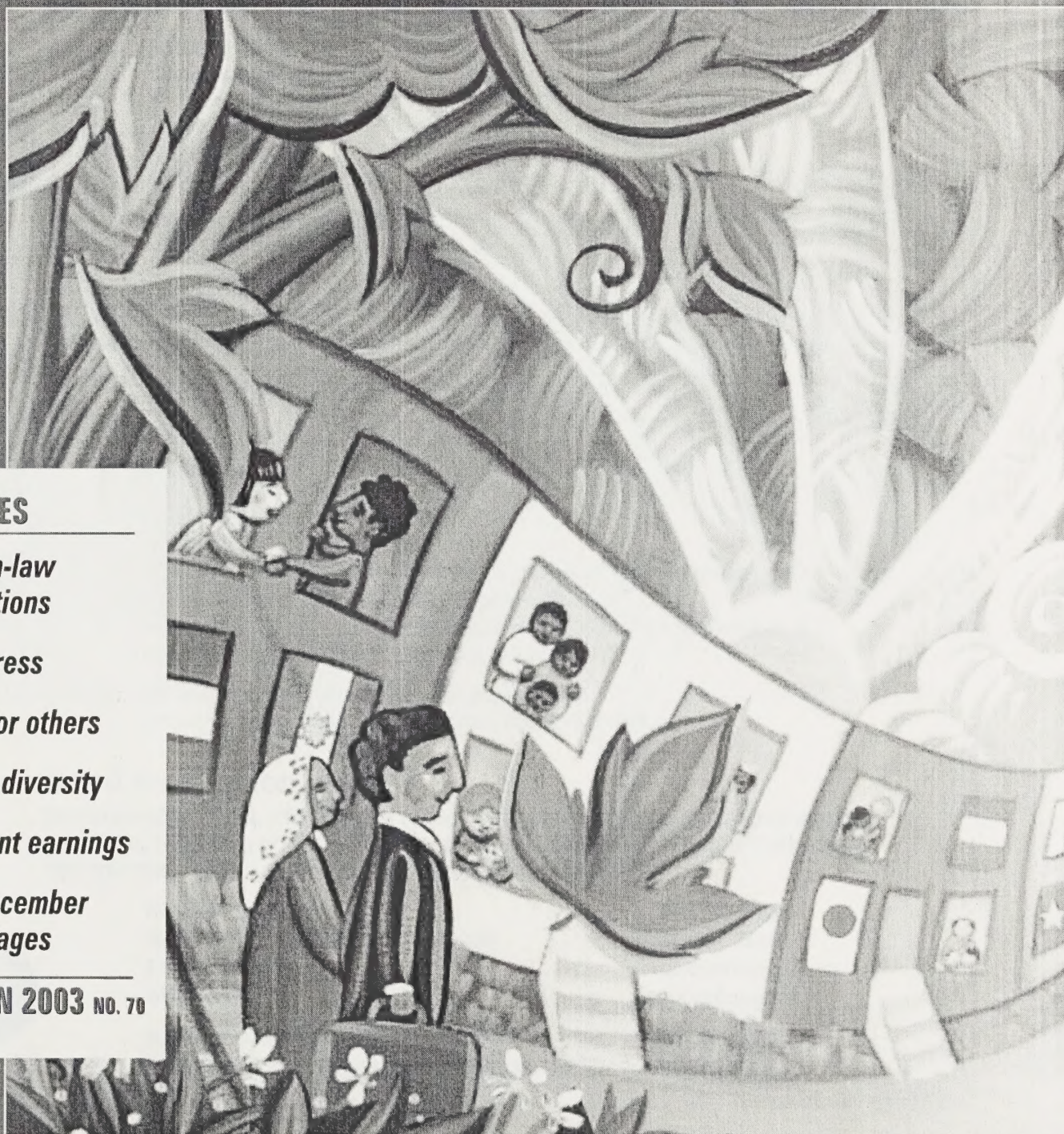
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## Cover illustrator

Born in Bonaventure in the Gaspé Peninsula in Quebec, **Mylène Henry** has been pursuing her interest in the arts all her life. In 1995, she completed her graphics arts studies at the CEGEP in Rivière-du-Loup and specialized in illustration at Laval University. Mylène's most recent work was exhibited this summer at the Bonaventure Musée Acadien du Québec.



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# Would you live common-law?

by Anne Milan

Common-law unions have increased dramatically over the past 20 years, and have become an integral part of conjugal living in Canada. According to census data, common-law unions have more than doubled, from 6% of all families in 1981 to 14% in 2001. While some couples decide to live common-law in a second or subsequent relationship, many are choosing this type of arrangement as their first conjugal union.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the growth in common-law unions, and the increased social acceptance of this type of relationship, living together without being married is not for everyone. In fact, it has been suggested that instead of asking "who lives common-law?" it might be more appropriate to ask "who does not live common-law?"<sup>2</sup> This article uses data from the 2001 General Social Survey (GSS) to examine the extent to which never-married and previously married people<sup>3</sup> who have never lived common-law in the past would be willing to do so in the future.

## Men more willing than women to live common-law

The unmarried population who has never lived common-law is fairly evenly divided between those who would and those who would not be willing to live in this type of union.

## CST What you should know about this study

Data in this article come from the 2001 General Social Survey. The survey interviewed a representative sample of over 24,000 Canadians aged 15 years and older living in private households in the 10 provinces. In this article the question, "Do you think you could ever live in a common-law relationship?" was asked only of the individuals who have never been married or were previously married, were not currently in an intimate relationship, and had never lived common-law. About 7,100 people with these characteristics responded to the question, representing nearly 6 million Canadians.

Just less than half (48%) of never-married or previously married people felt they could live common-law at some future time, while just over half (52%) felt they could not.

The proportion of men who would consider living in a common-law relationship is substantially higher than the proportion of women: 62% of unmarried men reported being agreeable to such a union compared with 36% of women. Results of a logistic regression model show that when all other factors were held constant, the odds of women agreeing to live common-law were only about 60% the odds of men.

Willingness to live common-law declines as people get older, and is lower for women than for men at each age group. For example, 74% of

men and 64% of women aged 15 to 29 would agree to such an arrangement, compared with only 13% of men and 5% of women aged 60 and over. The fact that women are less willing to live

1. Statistics Canada. 2002. *Profile of Canadian Families and Households: Diversification Continues* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 96F0030XIE2001 003); Statistics Canada. 2002. *Changing Conjugal Life in Canada* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-576-XIE).
2. Smock, P.J. 2000. "Cohabitation in the United States: An appraisal of research themes, findings, and implications." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26:1-20.
3. This analysis excludes persons who, at the time of the survey, were in an intimate relationship with someone from a separate household.





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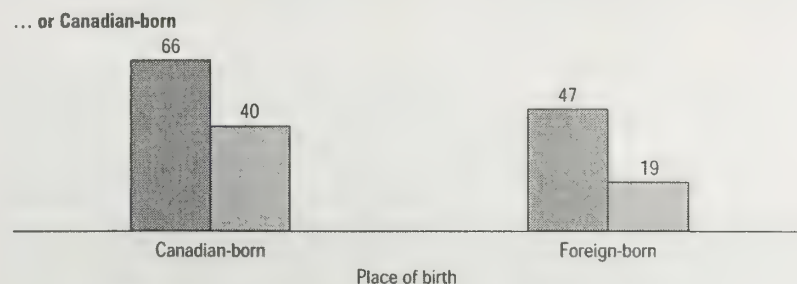
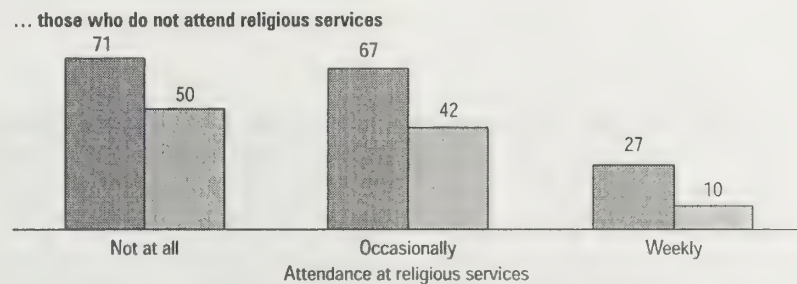
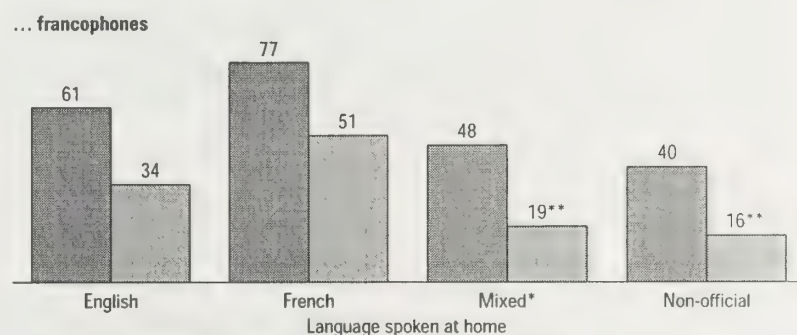
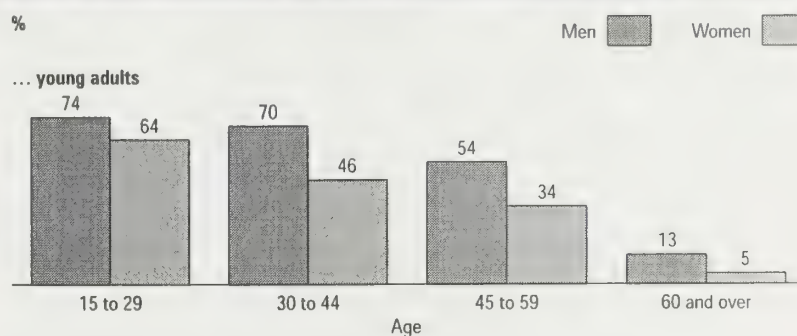
common-law may suggest that they are more likely than men to think of marriage as the preferred social union. Perhaps because they tend to be older, only 6% of widowed people would consider a common-law union, compared with 39% of divorced or separated persons, and 64% of never-married individuals. Regression results showed that the odds of widowed individuals agreeing to live common-law were 30% lower than the odds of never-married people.

### Education and labour force status make a difference

Higher levels of education are often associated with more liberal attitudes. Findings from the 2001 GSS show that individuals with at least some postsecondary education (54%) were more willing to live common-law than those with less than high school (41%). After accounting for other factors, the odds of agreeing to a common-law union were 30% lower for people whose highest level of education was high school than for those with at least some postsecondary education. An earlier study also found that individuals with some university education were more likely to live common-law than to marry in their first union.<sup>4</sup>

While higher education is associated with a more positive attitude toward common-law relationships, young adults aged 15 to 29 who were students were less inclined to want to live in a common-law union (66%) than those in the labour force (76%). Perhaps, to some individuals, a certain degree of financial security is important before entering a union. Overall, after controlling for other factors, the

## CST Canadians most willing to live common-law are...



4. Turcotte, P. and F. Goldscheider. 1998. "Evolution of factors influencing first union formation in Canada." *Canadian Studies in Population* 25, 2: 145-173.

\* Mixed refers to any combination of English/French and/or non-official language.

\*\* High sampling variability.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.





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odds of agreeing to live in a common-law union were 40% less for students than for those in the labour force. This is consistent with results from a previous study, which found some evidence that individuals attending school had a lower likelihood than their employed counterparts of feeling that common-law unions were acceptable.<sup>5</sup>

#### People in Quebec most willing to live common-law

The willingness to live common-law varies substantially across the country. This type of arrangement is considerably more widespread in Quebec than elsewhere in Canada,<sup>6</sup> and people are most positive toward common-law unions in this province. Over three-fifths (61%) of unmarried people in Quebec who had never lived common-law would consider this type of relationship, compared with about two-fifths (39%) of those in Ontario and in the Prairies (41%). In both the Atlantic provinces and British Columbia, just over half (51%) of the unmarried population would co-reside without legal marriage. After accounting for all other factors, residents of Ontario, the Prairies and British Columbia had significantly lower odds than Quebec residents of agreeing to live together without tying the knot.

The language people generally speak at home also appears to make a difference. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of individuals whose home language was French were willing to live common-law compared with 46% of those who spoke English at home. The proportion of persons willing to live common-law dropped to 26% among those who spoke a non-official language at home.<sup>7</sup> Regression results indicate that, compared with their French-speaking counterparts, the odds of expressing an interest in living common-law were 30% less for Canadians whose home language was English and 70% less for those with a non-official home language.

## CST A snapshot of unmarried Canadians

The unmarried Canadians analyzed in this study are a diverse group. Their average age was 41, but more than 4 in 10 (44%) were 15 to 29 years old and nearly 3 in 10 (26%) were 60 or over. The number of women surpassed that of men among unmarried Canadians: 54% compared with 46%. Most unmarried individuals had never married (62%), an additional 19% were divorced or separated, and the remaining 19% were widowed. The majority of unmarried Canadians (56%) had personal incomes of less than \$20,000, while 18% earned \$40,000 or more. Over 4 in 10 unmarried persons worked in the labour force, just over one-quarter were students, and nearly one-third listed homemaking, retirement or illness as their main activity. Over half of the unmarried population (55%) had high school or less while 45% had at least some postsecondary education.

Among young adults aged 15 to 29, an overwhelming 95% of those who spoke French at home were willing to live common-law. The proportion of young adults open to the possibility of a future common-law arrangement dropped to 67% for those who spoke English at home and then to 42% for those who spoke a non-official language at home.

#### Cultural background matters

Living common-law is more accepted in some cultures than in others. In many Western countries, where increasing individualism and lower formal religious commitment are the norm, there is likely to be greater

approval of common-law unions.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, these arrangements are less likely to be accepted in many of the more traditional Asian or southern European societies, which place a high importance on religion or family values. An earlier study of selected ethnocultural groups found that young Canadian adults with British ethnic origins display more liberal attitudes towards living common-law than those with southern European, Chinese, or Indo-Canadian origins.<sup>9</sup>

Canada is home to many cultures, and a notable proportion of the population was born outside the country. When asked about their willingness to live common-law, Canadian-born

5. Mitchell, B.A. 2001. "Ethnocultural reproduction and attitudes towards cohabiting relationships." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 38, 4: 391-413.

6. According to the Census, about 30% of all Quebec couples lived common-law in 2001 compared with 12% in the rest of the country.

7. In Quebec, over half (53%) of unmarried persons who spoke English at home would live common-law, compared with 64% of those who spoke only French. Only 44% (high sampling variability) of Quebec residents who spoke a non-official language at home were willing to live common-law.

8. See, for example, Thornton, A. and L. Young-DeMarco. 2001. "Four decades of trends in attitudes toward family issues in the United States: The 1960s throughout the 1990s." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 63, 4: 1009-1037.

9. Mitchell. 2001.



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	Odds ratio		Odds ratio
<b>Sex</b>		<b>Place of birth</b>	
Female	0.6*	Canadian-born	1.4*
Male	1.0	Foreign-born	1.0
<b>Marital status</b>		<b>Region of residence</b>	
Widowed	0.7*	Atlantic	0.8
Divorced/separated	0.9	Ontario	0.4*
Never married	1.0	Quebec	1.0
		Prairies	0.3*
<b>Age<sup>1</sup></b>	0.9*	British Columbia	0.6*
<b>Education</b>		<b>Parents lived together until respondent aged 15</b>	
Less than high school	0.9	Yes	1.0
High school graduate	0.7*	No	1.3*
At least some postsecondary	1.0		
<b>Main activity</b>		<b>Importance of marriage for a happy life</b>	
Labour force	1.0	Very important	0.3*
Student	0.6*	Important	0.5*
Other <sup>2</sup>	0.4*	Not very important	0.9
		Not at all important	1.0
<b>Religious attendance</b>		<b>Importance of a lasting relationship for a happy life</b>	
Not at all	5.7*	Very important	7.7*
Occasionally	4.6*	Important	5.9*
Weekly	1.0	Not very important	3.1*
		Not at all important	1.0
<b>Language spoken at home</b>			
English	0.7*		
French	1.0		
Mixed	0.4*		
Non-official	0.3*		

\* Statistically significant from benchmark group ( $p < 0.05$ ).

1. For each additional year, the odds of agreeing to live common-law decline by 10%.

2. "Other" includes main activities such as homemaking, retirement, volunteer work, or illness.

Note: This table presents the odds that a respondent would be willing to live in a common-law relationship in the future, relative to the odds of a benchmark group when all other variables in the analysis are held constant.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

men and women were far more receptive to this option than were foreign-born individuals. About 52% of Canadian-born persons were willing to live common-law compared

with 30% of those who were foreign-born. When accounting for all other factors, the odds of being open to a common-law union were 1.4 times higher for Canadian-born individuals

than for those who were born outside the country.

Frequent attendance at religious services seems to go hand-in-hand with support for marriage.<sup>10</sup> Only 15% of individuals who were very religious, as measured by weekly attendance at a place of worship, were willing to live in a common-law union compared with 61% of those who never attended religious services. The differences were equally striking among young adults aged 15 to 29. Some 27% of those who attended religious services weekly were willing to live common-law compared with 81% of those who did not attend. When all other factors were accounted for, the odds of being receptive to a common-law arrangement were 5.7 times higher for non-attenders than for those who attended services weekly.

#### Family disruptions influence attitudes toward relationships

Children's family-related views and behaviours, including attitudes toward common-law unions, may be shaped by the marital histories of their parents. According to recent research, young adults who experienced parental divorce or separation were more likely to choose a common-law relationship as their first conjugal union than were those who did not experience family disruption.<sup>11</sup>

Men and women who, at least up to the age of 15, lived with both their parents were less willing to live common-law than those whose parents had divorced, separated, or become widowed: 58% versus 45%. When keeping all other factors constant, the

10. Clark, W. Autumn 1998. "Religious observance: Marriage and family." *Canadian Social Trends*: 2-7.

11. Turcotte, P. and A. Bélanger. 1997. *The Dynamics of Formation and Dissolution of First Common-Law Unions in Canada*. Statistics Canada working paper.



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odds of being willing to live together without formal marriage were 1.3 times higher for Canadians whose parents had separated or divorced than for those who lived in an intact family at least until age 15.

#### Attitudes toward common-law living related to other family values

People with conservative family attitudes tend to opt for marriage, while those with liberal views are more likely to choose a common-law union.<sup>12</sup> Willingness to live common-law is also linked to other family-related values and attitudes. Some 43% of Canadians who perceived marriage to be very important or important for a happy life indicated that they could live in a common-law union compared with 57% of those who felt that marriage was not very or not at all important. After all other factors were accounted for, those who rated marriage as very important for a happy life had 70% lower odds of considering a common-law union than did those who felt that marriage was not at all important. It seems that marriage may hold less importance for prospective partners in a common-law union, yet many individuals who do choose a common-law union as their first conjugal relationship do eventually marry their partner.<sup>13</sup>

Among individuals who perceived a lasting relationship as very important or important for a happy life, 53% indicated they could live common-law compared with 36% for whom a lasting relationship was not very or not at all important. The odds of agreeing to live common-law were

7.7 times higher for Canadians who rated a lasting relationship as very important for a happy life than for people who felt that a lasting relationship was not at all important, when accounting for all other factors.

#### Summary

Although common-law unions have become much more socially acceptable than they were in previous decades, there are many people who, for a variety of reasons, feel they could not live in such a relationship. In the past, people who lived common-law — generally those who were more likely to question social norms — risked social disapproval. This is much less the case today. If attitudes affect future behaviour, then those who are willing to live common-law are more likely to eventually engage in this type of union. Overall it appears that, among other factors, willingness to live common-law is associated with being male, having been born in Canada, being a resident of Quebec and attending religious services less frequently.



Anne Milan is an analyst with *Canadian Social Trends*.

12. Clarkberg, M., R.M. Stolzenberg and L.J. Waite. 1995. "Attitudes, values and entrance into cohabitational versus marital unions." *Social Forces* 74, 2: 609-634.

13. Statistics Canada. 2002. *Changing Conjugal Life in Canada*.

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# Stress at work

by Cara Williams

This article has been adapted from "Sources of workplace stress," *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, June 2003, vol. 4, no. 6, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE.

**A**n employee sits at her desk. Her inbox is overflowing with unread e-mails, her phone is ringing insistently, and she is racing against time to complete a report for the next morning. The demands of the job are making her anxious. At a nearby construction site workers fear layoff because winter is approaching. Meanwhile, on the other side of town, staff in a warehouse are nervous about the introduction of a new computer-based inventory control system. These are just a few examples of the sources of stress that people may encounter in the workplace.

According to research, workers in high-strain jobs have higher rates of a wide variety of diseases than their counterparts in low-strain jobs.<sup>1</sup> But the costs of workplace stress are not limited to those who experience it. The *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine* reports that health care expenditures are nearly 50% greater for workers who report high levels of stress.<sup>2</sup> Stress can also be costly to employers because, if prolonged, it can result in increased absenteeism or a decline in productivity. The Canadian Policy Research Networks estimates that stress-related absences cost employers about \$3.5 billion each year.<sup>3</sup>

Using data from the 1994 and 2000 General Social Surveys (GSS), this article examines triggers of workplace stress among employed Canadians. With focus on the most recent period, it highlights some of the differences between self-employed and employed workers, full-time and part-time employees and various occupation groups. The article also looks at certain demographic characteristics and their association with stress triggers at work.

## Workers less worried about layoffs in 2000

The Canadian Centre for Occupational Health and Safety defines workplace stress as "the harmful physical and emotional responses that can happen when there is conflict between job demands on the employee and the amount of control an employee has over meeting these demands."<sup>4</sup> Specifically, the most commonly cited source of stress in the workplace is lack of time or excessive

1. Wilkins, K. and M. Beaudet. Winter 1998. "Work stress and health." *Health Reports* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-003) 10, 3: 47-52.
2. As cited on the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health Web site. [www.cdc.gov/niosh/stresswk.html](http://www.cdc.gov/niosh/stresswk.html) (accessed May 8, 2002).
3. For more information, see Duxbury, L. and C. Higgins. October 2001. "Work-life balance in the new millennium: Where are we? Where do we need to go?" Canadian Policy Research Networks discussion paper no. W/12.
4. See [www.ccohs.ca/oshanswers/psychosocial/stress.html](http://www.ccohs.ca/oshanswers/psychosocial/stress.html) (accessed May 8, 2002).



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## CST What you should know about this study

Most of the data in this article come from the 2000 General Social Survey (GSS) on access to and use of information technologies. The GSS is an annual telephone survey covering the population aged 15 and over living in private residences in the 10 provinces. Data were collected over a 12-month period from approximately 25,100 respondents. The question on work stress was asked only of people who had worked at some time during this period. These individuals represented 16.9 million Canadians.

**Full-time workers:** individuals who generally worked 30 or more hours each week.

**Part-time workers:** individuals who generally worked less than 30 hours per week.

### Work stress questions:

Has the following thing in your work environment caused you excess worry or stress in the past 12 months?

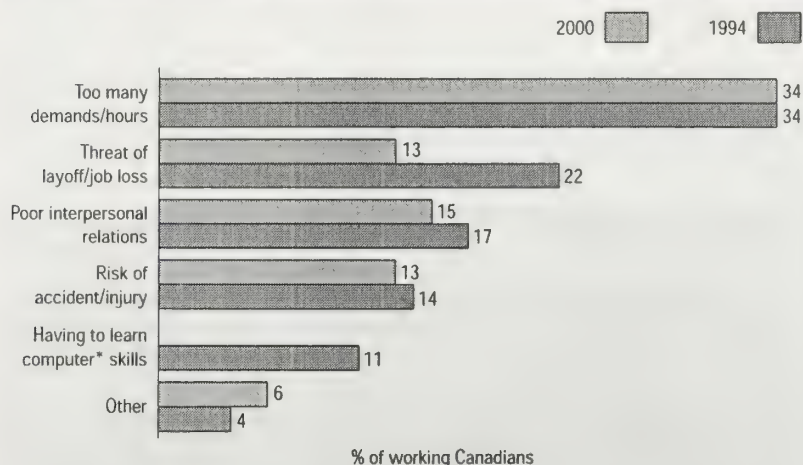
- ☐ Too many demands or too many hours
- ☐ Risk of accident or injury

- ☐ Poor interpersonal relations
- ☐ Threat of layoff or job loss
- ☐ Having to learn new computer skills
- ☐ Anything else

The article also uses the 1994 General Social Survey on education, work and retirement. Data were collected over a 12-month period from about 11,900 individuals. Respondents were asked about their work stress if they held a job at the time of the survey. This resulted in a weighted count of about 8.9 million individuals. The workplace stress questions asked in 1994 were the same as those asked in 2000, excluding the question on having to learn new computer skills.

Data from the 1999 Workplace and Employee Survey (WES) was used to determine the percentage of employees with access to an Employee Assistance Program. WES, conducted during the 12-month period ending March 1999, is designed to explore a broad range of issues relating to employers and their employees.

## CST Over one-third of Canadians cited excessive demands as the most common source of workplace stress



\* 1994 data are not available for the computer skills category.  
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey.

workload demands. Other triggers include fear of accident or injury, poor interpersonal relationships with co-workers or supervisors, the threat of layoff or job loss or having to learn computer skills.

Despite different economic circumstances, most triggers of workplace stress were similar in both 1994 and 2000. For example, risk of accident or injury was cited by 14% of workers in 1994 and 13% in 2000, while too many demands or hours was reported by 34% of working Canadians in both years as a source of workplace stress. Threat of layoff or job loss was the exception. During the expanding economy of 2000, when jobs were relatively plentiful, only 13% of workers cited fear of job loss or layoff as a source of workplace stress compared with 22%



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in 1994, a period following prolonged recession and high unemployment.

### Too many demands and long hours most common source of workplace stress

Heavy workloads and long hours at work can infringe on personal time. New technologies such as the Internet and e-mail have "permanently wired employees to their jobs."<sup>5</sup> Thus it is not surprising that in 2000, the most common source of stress was too many demands and/or too many hours at work, reported by about one-third

(34%) of workers. Some 15% of respondents cited poor interpersonal relations, 13% stated risk of accident or injury and about 11% reported that having to learn new computer skills was a source of work stress. Fear of job loss or layoff was considered the cause of workplace stress by 13% of workers; of these, more than 4 in 10 felt that it was somewhat or very likely that they would lose their job or be laid off sometime in the next year.

Individuals may experience stress in their work environment from more than a single source. For example, while about 26% of employees felt

stress from one trigger and 16% of paid employees had two triggers, more than 10% cited three or more sources of stress in their work environment. This relatively high incidence of multiple stressors may be one of the reasons that employee assistance programs are becoming a popular way for

5. MacBride-King, J. and K. Bachmann. August 1999. *Solutions for the Stressed-out Worker*. Ottawa: The Conference Board of Canada.

**CST**

One in four rotating shift employees worry about the risk of accident or injury

	Total '000	Too many demands/ hours	Risk of accident/ injury	Poor interpersonal relations	Threat of layoff/ job loss	Having to learn computer skills	Other
<b>Work arrangements</b>							
Class of worker							
All workers	16,800	34	13	15	13	11	6
Self-employed	2,800	37	12	10	8	11	10
Employees	14,000	34	13	16	14	11	6
<b>Employees only</b>							
Hours of work							
All employees <sup>1</sup>	14,000	34	13	16	14	11	6
Full-time	11,500	37	14	17	15	12	6
30-35 hours/week	1,900	29	11	15	15	11	6
36-40 hours/week	6,100	33	14	17	16	12	6
41 or more hours/week	3,600	47	16	18	13	13	6
Part-time	2,300	20	9	11	10	7	5
1-15 hours/week	900	16	6	10	8	4 <sup>E</sup>	4 <sup>E</sup>
16-29 hours/week	1,400	22	11	12	11	9	5
Work schedules							
Regular daytime	9,500	35	11	15	14	12	6
Rotating shift	1,800	35	24	20	16	11	5
Regular evening or night	1,400	27	16	16	12	5	4
Irregular/split shift	900	35	17	16	13	11	5 <sup>E</sup>
Other/on call	300	21	11 <sup>E</sup>	15 <sup>E</sup>	13 <sup>E</sup>	F	9 <sup>E</sup>

1. Full-time and part-time employees.

<sup>E</sup> High sampling variability.

<sup>F</sup> Sample too small to provide reliable estimate.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2000.



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### Self-employed Canadians report different workplace stresses

Canadians often look to self-employment as an alternative to the traditional employee–employer relationship. Indeed, 2000 GSS data indicate that about 2.8 million Canadians were their own boss sometime during the year. The reasons for choosing self-employment vary from individual to individual. Some might do so because they are unable to find other work, while others may be motivated by the entrepreneurial pull. Whatever the reason, self-employment offers a different environment in which to work.

Data from the 2000 GSS show that, perhaps because they choose the people they work with, self-employed individuals are significantly less likely than employees to report poor interpersonal relationships (10% versus 16%) as a source of workplace stress. And while self-employed Canadians are also less likely to cite fear of job loss (8% versus 14%), they are slightly more likely to feel stress as a result of too many demands or excessively long hours at work (37% versus 34%).

### Full-time workers more likely to report workplace stress

The majority of workers in Canada work full-time, that is, 30 or more hours in a week. Of the 14 million employees aged 15 and older who had worked sometime in the last 12 months, more than 80% regularly worked full-time. Perhaps because they spend more time at paid work, full-time employees were significantly more likely than their part-time counterparts to cite workplace stresses such as working too many hours, fear of injury, fear of layoff, poor interpersonal relationships, or having to learn new computer skills. Nearly half (47%) of full-time workers who worked more

than 40 hours per week reported stress from too many demands or too many hours in their work environment compared with 22% of part-timers who worked 16 to 29 hours a week.

### Rotating shift workers more likely to worry about accidents at work

Research has shown that shift workers are more likely to have accidents or on the job injuries. Indeed, many of the largest industrial accidents have occurred in the early morning hours and have been attributed to staff falling asleep, making impaired judgments or having delayed reaction times as a result of not getting enough sleep.<sup>6</sup> Even though many shift workers work a “typical” 8-hour day, they do so at different times, something that may interfere with their sleep and wake cycles. Many are never able to catch up on sleep and are more likely than others to have sleep problems.<sup>7</sup> While virtually all types of shift workers were more likely than daytime workers to worry about accidents and injury on the job, rotating workers had the highest likelihood: 24% versus 11%.

Most shift workers were just as likely as daytime workers to cite too many demands or hours in the work environment as causes of stress (35%). The exceptions were regular evening or night shift workers (27%) and those who worked “other” types of schedules, including on-call (21%), who were slightly less likely to feel that way.

### Managers stress over hours, while primary industry workers worry about safety

Individuals in management and professional occupations<sup>8</sup> tended to cite too many demands or long hours, while workers in the trades, transport and primary occupations reported the risk of accident or injury as sources of stress. Workers in health related occupations were the most likely to

complain of excessive demands and long hours — fully 50%. In addition, one-third of these individuals also felt that the risk of accident or injury was a source of workplace stress, possibly because of risk of infection, long hours and irregular shifts. Workers in health related occupations were also much more likely than employees in general to cite multiple sources of workplace stress (42% versus 26%).

The advent of new technologies has facilitated communications and enabled firms to grow and evolve. However, the continuous change, which accompanies technological advances, requires constant skills upgrading, something that many Canadians find stressful. While in general only about 11% of employees feel stress as a result of having to learn computer skills, 20% of workers in the social sciences or education related occupations felt this way. Occupations in the sciences, education, health and professional fields have the highest use of computers (86%) and primary occupations the lowest (24%).<sup>9</sup>

Poor interpersonal relationships at work can be a major source of stress. This is especially true in today's workplace where employees are often expected to work in groups or as part

6. For more information on the sleep patterns of shift workers see Williams, C. Spring 2001. “You snooze, you lose? — Sleep patterns in Canada.” *Canadian Social Trends*: 10-14.

7. According to the 2000 GSS, about one-quarter of regular night shift workers and one-third of those who worked split shifts had problems going to sleep, compared with 14% of regular daytime workers.

8. Includes occupations in business, financial, administrative, health, sciences and education fields.

9. For more information, see Marshall, K. Summer 2001. “Working with computers.” *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE) 13, 2: 9-15.





	Total number of employees '000	Too many demands/ hours	Risk of accident/ injury	Poor interpersonal relations %	Threat of layoff/ job loss	Having to learn computer skills	Other
<b>All</b>	<b>14,000</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Occupation type</b>							
Management	900	48	5	17	12	13	6
Business, financial, administrative	2,600	38	6	17	16	17	6
Natural and applied sciences	1,000	45	8	16	18	17	7
Health	600	50	33	21	15	16	9
Social sciences/education	1,000	48	10	17	11	20	10
Art/culture/sport	300	25	10 <sup>E</sup>	16	13 <sup>E</sup>	12 <sup>E</sup>	7 <sup>E</sup>
Sales and services	3,600	28	13	16	12	7	4
Trades, transport and equipment	1,800	26	24	16	16	6	5
Primary industries	400	24	20	10 <sup>E</sup>	12 <sup>E</sup>	7 <sup>E</sup>	F
Manufacturing and processing	1,200	24	17	15	18	8	5

<sup>E</sup> High sampling variability.

<sup>F</sup> Sample too small to provide reliable estimate.

Note: Percentages will not add to 100 because multiple responses were allowed.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2000.

of a team. But even professions where team work is not required include potentially stressful relationships with co-workers, supervisors, subordinates or clients. On average, 16% of employees felt that poor interpersonal relations were a source of stress at work. This compares with about 10% of primary industry workers and 21% of workers in health occupations who felt this way. The likelihood of feeling stressed at work as a result of poor interpersonal relationships did not vary significantly from the average in most other occupations.

### Workplace stress varies with age and sex

Both age and sex can be a factor in the type of workplace stress an individual experiences. For example, young

workers just entering the labour market may not be subject to the same pressures that workers in mid-career feel, and older workers may have yet other sources of stress to contend with. Along the same lines, stress triggers may differ for men and women.

Age makes a big difference when it comes to dealing with technological advances, particularly the computer. Young Canadians have grown up with computers in their homes and schools and are comfortable with nearly every aspect of this technology. Older workers, however, are more likely to find computer technology to be an intimidating necessity that causes stress. Data from the 2000 GSS support this notion. About 16% of workers age 45 and over felt that having to learn computer skills was a source of stress

at work, compared with only 8% of 15- to 24-year-old employees.

Young workers between the ages of 15 and 24 were also significantly less likely than their older counterparts to cite too many hours or too many demands as a source of stress (25% versus 37%). This is not surprising given that young employees are new in the workforce, often work only part-time and are not as likely to have the often-conflicting demands of work and family.

On the other hand, young Canadians do have their own work stress triggers. For example, 22% of 15- to 24-year-old male workers felt that accident or injury was a source of stress in their work environment, compared with about 15% of older men. This may be due to young workers' relative



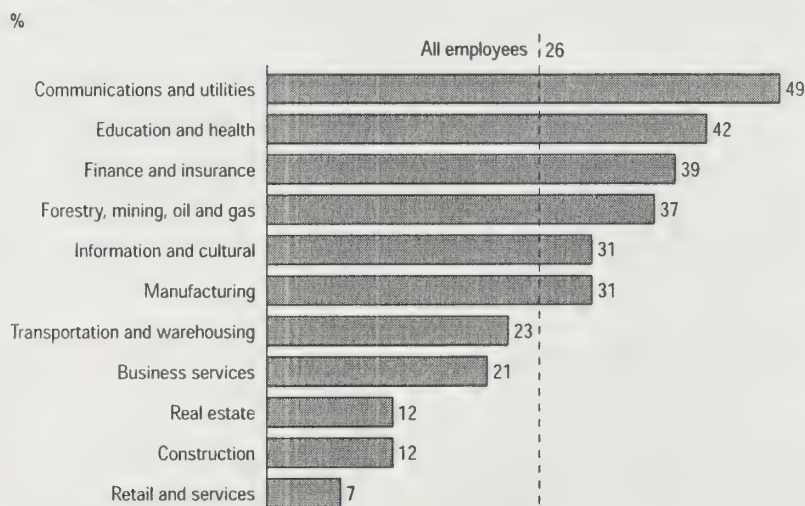


Incidence of stress in the workplace is common. According to the 2001 Canadian Mental Health Survey,<sup>1</sup> 51% of respondents felt that work was a major or moderate source of stress. But not all stress is negative and research has shown that individuals function best in a work setting that places reasonable demands on them. In fact, many Canadians view stress in a positive light. About 4 in 10 respondents of the Canadian Mental Health Survey said that workplace stress had a positive impact on their performance, while about 3 in 10 reported that it had a negative effect.

To minimize stress for those who suffer its consequences, many employers have instituted programs and policies that are designed to reduce stress or deal with it before it becomes a problem. Indeed, data from the 1999 Workplace and Employee Survey indicate that slightly more than one-quarter (26%) of employees surveyed in Canada had access to some type of employee assistance plan. Rates varied from 49% of employees in the communication and utilities industries to about 7% in the retail and services industries. However, recently these programs have come under fire for only dealing with the symptoms of stress and not taking the extra step of addressing its causes.<sup>2</sup>

1. The 2001 Canadian Mental Health Survey was conducted by COMPAS on behalf of the Canadian Mental Health Association.
2. Rosolen, D. February 2002. "Stress test." *Benefits Canada*. [www.benefitscanada.com/Content/2002/02-02/stress.html](http://www.benefitscanada.com/Content/2002/02-02/stress.html) (accessed May 8, 2002).

**Employees in the communications and utilities industries had most access to Employee Assistance Programs**



Source: Statistics Canada, Workplace Employee Survey, 1999.

inexperience and the fact that they are more likely to have jobs in the industries where accidents and injuries are more prevalent.

Both men and women had a similar likelihood of feeling stress because of poor interpersonal relationships, threat of job loss or having to learn computer skills. However, women between the ages of 45 and 64 were significantly more likely than men this age to report feeling stressed as a result of too many demands or too many hours. Women's traditional role as principal caregivers to children and their propensity to do much of the unpaid housework may account for this. However, regardless of their family structure (whether they lived alone, with a child, with a partner or with a partner and a child), too many demands or hours stressed out women more than men. On the other hand, at virtually all ages, men were more likely to cite fear of accident or injury as a source of stress.

### Occupation and work schedule strong predictors of workplace stress

Logistic regression was used to examine the relationship between a number of explanatory variables<sup>10</sup> and stress in the workplace stemming from too many demands or hours, and from fear of accident or injury. Not surprisingly, work status, occupation, work schedule, age and sex were each strong predictors of workplace stress. For example, the odds of feeling stress because of fear of accident or injury were 7.2 times higher for employees working in health occupations than for those in the management, business, finance or sciences fields. On the other hand, marital status and the

10. Certain variables were excluded and other categories, such as occupation, were re-grouped into larger groups for the regression analysis.







excessively long hours on the job. Self-employed and full-time workers are most likely to feel the time crunch of too many demands or hours, while shift workers and employees in the health occupations tend to worry more about the risk of accident or injury. Women 45 and older feel stressed about hours and demands, while men of all ages worry more about accident or injury on the job. Finally, older workers worry much more than their younger counterparts about computer technology in the workplace. In an attempt to address the human and financial costs associated with stress, many employers have implemented employee assistance programs into the workplace.



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Odds ratio	Sources of workplace stress	
	Too many demands/hours	Risk of accident or injury
<b>Sex</b>		
Male	0.9*	1.3*
<i>Female</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>
<b>Age</b>		
Under 35	1.4*	1.3*
35 to 54	1.6*	1.2*
<i>55 and over</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>
<b>Children 14 and under in household</b>		
Yes	1.1	1.0
<i>No</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>
<b>Marital status</b>		
Married or common-law	1.0	0.9
Divorced, widowed, separated	1.0	1.0
<i>Single, never-married</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>
<b>Work status</b>		
Part-time	0.4*	0.6*
<i>Full-time</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>
<b>Work schedule</b>		
Regular daytime	0.9*	0.6*
<i>Shift work</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>
<b>Occupation</b>		
<i>Management, business, finance, sciences</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>
Health related	1.6*	7.2*
Social sciences, sales, culture	0.9*	2.0*
Trades, primary, processing and manufacturing	0.5*	3.5*

\* Significantly different from benchmark group ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Note: This table presents the odds of working Canadians with various characteristics feeling stress in the workplace as a result of too many demands/hours or fear of accident or injury, relative to the odds of a benchmark group, when all other variables in the model are held constant (odds ratio). The benchmark group is shown in italics for each characteristic. A logistic regression was used to isolate the effect of selected variables on feeling stressed.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2000.

presence of children 14 years and under did not significantly contribute to feelings of being stressed at work because of too many demands or hours.

### Summary

The effects of stress are well documented. Research has shown that

while occasional bouts of stress are not likely to have lasting adverse effects, regular or constant doses of it tend to lead to negative health implications.

The most common source of workplace stress cited by working Canadians is too many demands or





# Unpaid informal caregiving

by Nancy Zukewich

Caregiving encompasses a wide range of activities involved in looking after, responding to and supporting others. While some of these activities are done for pay by care providers such as child care workers, nurses, home care workers and physicians, they are also undertaken on an unpaid basis by volunteers, friends or relatives. Family members have traditionally been the main source of unpaid care and support, since caregiving frequently involves an emotional or psychological connection between caregiver and care receiver. And despite the fact that most women work in the labour force, they continue to undertake the majority of unpaid work, including caring for children, elders, people who are ill or those with disabilities.<sup>1</sup>

Trends such as the aging of the population and the increased presence of women in the labour force have led to a growing interest in issues related to unpaid caregiving. The Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada states that "Informal caregivers play an essential role in the delivery of home care services and in the health and care of their families and friends." Thus, it is

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## What you should know about this study

Data in this article come from the 1998 General Social Survey (GSS) on time use. Although other Statistics Canada surveys collect data on unpaid work,<sup>1</sup> the time use survey is the source of official estimates of the value of unpaid household work in a national accounting framework. The survey uses the diary method, a collection technique widely considered to provide the most accurate and detailed information on daily activities.<sup>2</sup>

Respondents were asked the start and end time of each of their daily activities, which were assigned to one of 177 activity codes. Interviews were conducted over a 12-month period with more than 10,700 Canadians aged 15 and over living in private households in the 10 provinces. This analysis focuses on the volume and value of labour inputs to unpaid work as measured by time. The value of labour is derived from the Census of Population.<sup>3</sup>

There is no internationally recognized definition of unpaid work.<sup>4</sup> In this study, unpaid work includes activities used by Statistics Canada in a national accounting framework.<sup>5</sup> These include domestic work (such as cooking, housekeeping and household maintenance), shopping, help and care to household members, other help and care provided to people not living in the same household, volunteer work done through organizations and travel related to unpaid work.<sup>6</sup>

Unpaid informal help and caregiving includes activities that entail help and care provided informally to individuals by individuals and, as such, explicitly excludes volunteer work done through organizations. Reported differences in the mean time devoted to activities per participant are significant at the 95% level.

1. Statistics Canada. 2000. *Women in Canada 2000: A Gender-based Statistical Report* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-503-XPE); Coleman, R. 1998. *The Economic Value of Unpaid Housework and Child Care in Nova Scotia*. Module two of *Measuring Sustainable Development: An Application of the Genuine Progress Index to Nova Scotia*. Halifax: GPI Atlantic; Keating, N., J. Fast, J. Frederick, K. Cranswick and C. Perrier. 1999. *Eldercare in Canada: Context, Content and Consequences* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-570-XPE).

1. Macredie, I. and D. Sewell. 1999. *Statistics Canada's Measurement and Valuation of Unpaid Work* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 71F0023XIE).

2. Paillé, B. 1994. *Estimating the volume of unpaid work in Canada, 1992: An evaluation of data from the General Social Survey*. General Social Survey working paper.

3. Hamdad, M. 2003. *Valuing Households' Unpaid Work: Comparisons between 1992 and 1998*. Technical working paper. Income and Expenditure Accounts Division, Statistics Canada.

4. Statistics Canada. 1995. *Households' Unpaid Work: Measurement and Valuation* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 13-603-MPE1995003).

5. This group of activity codes is more restrictive than the definition of unpaid work suggested in *General Social Survey, Cycle 12: Time Use (1998) - Public Use Microdata File Documentation and User's Guide* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 12M0012GPE).

6. Statistics Canada. 1995.







important to differentiate caregiving from the broader category of unpaid work because caregiving has a value to society in addition to its personal value to caregivers and care receivers.<sup>2</sup> For instance, if care is not provided informally by family and friends, in many instances society takes over the provision of these services. Measuring and assigning value to unpaid informal caregiving is a key step in the creation of tools to better understand how the social and economic costs of sustaining ourselves and our dependents, and of maintaining our capacity to engage in productive activities, are shared among individuals, family households, communities, the market and government.<sup>3</sup>

Using data from the 1998 General Social Survey (GSS), this study examines the time devoted to unpaid informal care, the sex and age of caregivers, their relationship to care receivers, and the market value of this form of unpaid work. For the purposes of this article, informal unpaid caregiving is defined as help and care provided by individuals to members of their household and to people who reside in other households as well as travel related to the provision of this help and care. It excludes time spent helping others through volunteer organizations.

### Most informal care goes to household members

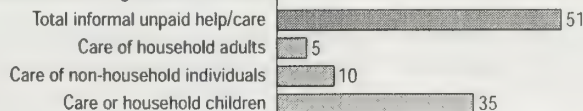
Unpaid informal help and care accounts for a considerable share of all time devoted to unpaid work. In 1998, Canadians aged 15 and over performed a total of 30 billion hours<sup>4</sup> of unpaid work, of which 5 billion hours (18%) consisted of informal help and care. In total, 8 in 10 hours of unpaid help were provided by and for someone in the household (mostly a family member), with 70% going to the care of children<sup>5</sup> and 10% to the care of adults, including adolescents aged 15 and over.<sup>6</sup>

In 1998, more than 6 in 10 (64%) hours of informal caregiving were carried out by women, due largely

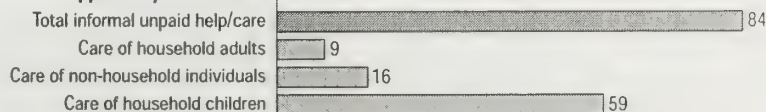
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**Child care accounts for over half the value of unpaid informal help and care**

#### Replacement cost generalist method



#### Opportunity cost method



\$ billions

Sources: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998 and wage estimates, Income and Expenditures Accounts Division.

to their disproportionate share of responsibility for unpaid child care work. The most common form of child care is physical, personal care (44% of hours). Women's shares of time devoted to routine daily education and physical personal care activities (helping, teaching, reprimanding, etc.) were especially high.

Driving people to various activities and appointments, which includes waiting time related to travel, accounted for a large proportion of time (55% of hours) spent helping household adults. In contrast, medical care made up just 10% of adult care time. About one-third (35%) of all hours, was accounted for by "other help and care," which encompasses a wide variety of routine non-medical activities, such as washing a disabled spouse's hair, helping a spouse grade his students' exam papers or talking with the educator of a handicapped 17-year-old son.

### Babysitting most common way of helping other household members

Overall, about 20% of hours devoted to informal caregiving benefited someone who did not reside in the household. In 1998, Canadians spent about three times as many hours providing informal care to people in

other households (1 billion hours) as they did on formal volunteer work done through organizations (300 million hours), as measured by the GSS.

2. Vincent, C. and F. Woolley. 2000. "Taxing Canadian families: What's fair, what's not." *Choices* 6, 5; Eichler, M. 1985. "And the work never ends: Feminist contributions." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 22: 619-644.
3. Cheal, D., F. Woolley and M. Luxton. 1998. "How families cope and why policy-makers need to know." *Canadian Policy Research Networks* study no. F02.
4. To obtain the annual volume of unpaid work, the sum of hours per day was multiplied by 365.
5. The time use survey measures only primary activities, that is, the main activity of the respondent. Thus, this figure includes only time when caring for children was the respondent's main activity, and therefore underestimates total time spent caring for children. Primary-activity child care represents about one-quarter of total time spent caring for children (including time when the respondent was doing other things in addition to child care) as estimated from the supplementary child care diary, variable C6DUR.
6. In 1998 nearly 3 in 10 (29%) individuals who provided informal care to an adult household member had at least one child between the ages of 15 and 18 living at home.







Unpaid babysitting accounted for the greatest share of time spent on informal help and care provided to individuals not living in the same household. Looking after children made up 32% of care time in this category. Time spent helping others with transportation needs, such as driving a neighbour to the airport, made up 26%. Assistance with house maintenance and repair and other kinds of unpaid help (not classified elsewhere) accounted for 15% and 14%, respectively, and the remaining time was spent providing housework and cooking assistance (5%), care for disabled or ill people (4%) and travel related to the provision of help and care activities, such as driving to a relative's home to help with housework (4%).

Some of the informal help and care activities that are provided to non-household members are not counted as care when done for someone in the household. For example, cleaning the house, cooking a meal or fixing a broken appliance are categorised as "help" if done for individuals in other households, but not when performed in one's own home.

#### **More informal caregiving carried out by women**

Both the share of the population that engages in an activity (participation rate) and the time that participants spend on it affect the total hours spent on the activity.

While almost everyone does some unpaid work on a typical day, unpaid informal caregiving is a much less common activity. Overall, 9 out of 10 people performed some form of unpaid work on a given day in 1998, but only 1 in 3 provided informal help or care. Women were somewhat more likely than men to undertake unpaid work and its informal caregiving component, and when they did, they spent more time on these activities.

For example, 34% of women participated in some form of informal help or caregiving on an average day, compared

with 25% of men, and these female caregivers devoted 2.1 hours per day to care activities, compared with 1.8 hours for their male counterparts. These differences were largely related to the fact that a significantly higher proportion of women provided unpaid informal child care: 24% versus 16% of men. In addition, female child care providers devoted over half an hour more per day to these activities than male caregivers.

#### **Mothers more likely to provide physical care for children**

Mothers are more likely than fathers to provide routine daily care and physical care. For example, mothers were twice as likely as fathers to take care of children's physical care, to transport them from place to place, and to help with their educational activities. However, fathers and mothers were equally likely to engage in play and "other" types of help and child care.

Mothers also spent at least as much time as fathers on all forms of child care. For example, women who provided physical care to children spent nearly half an hour more a day on this task than men (1.4 hours versus 1.0 hour). While women who administered medical care to their child did so for an average 1.4 hours a day, the number of men involved in this task was not large enough to produce a statistically reliable estimate. The average times spent on educational activities, child-related travel, and other help and care to children were not significantly different for male and female caregivers.

#### **Fewer Canadians provide informal care to adults**

The proportion of Canadians who provide assistance to adults (regardless of whether they lived in the household or not) is much lower than the proportion that takes care of children. On a typical day in 1998, only 6% of men and 6% of women provided care for

adults in their household, while 8% of women and 6% of men helped adults who did not live with them. In contrast, 24% of women and 16% of men provided unpaid care to children.

Travel related to helping either household or non-household adults was the most common activity, engaging 4% of Canadians. On an average day, just 2% of people helped with personal care and only 1% provided medical assistance for a household adult. Men and women caregivers spent about the same number of hours each day on these activities.

However, men spent more time on "male-dominated" activities and women, on "female-dominated" ones. For example, men who carried out household maintenance tasks for adults outside the household spent 3.0 hours per day on these tasks, compared with 2.0 hours spent by women.

With respect to "female-dominated" activities, women who did housework or cooking for non-household individuals spent 1.6 hours on these activities, while those who cared for disabled or ill people devoted 1.3 hours to the task. Too few men participated in these activities to produce statistically reliable estimates of average time per participant. Finally, although it is overwhelmingly women who babysit for free in other households, the amount of time spent by women and men who do babysit was not significantly different: 3.0 hours and 2.7 hours, respectively.

#### **Four in 10 informal caregivers are women aged 25 to 44**

The responsibility of informal caregiving falls heavily on people aged 25 to 44, women in particular, at an age when people are most likely to be in the labour force. Women in this age group accounted for nearly 40% of informal help and care providers; men in this age group made up about 25%.

In fact, women aged 25 to 44 made up the largest share of providers of most



		Number of hours/year (millions)	Distribution of hours by sex (%)	Participation rate (%)	Mean hours/ day <sup>1</sup> per participant		
Help and care for household children	Both sexes	3,870	100	20	2.2		
	Women	2,630	68	24	2.4		
	Men	1,240	32	16	1.8*		
	Physical care	Both sexes	1,750	100	16	1.3	
	Women	1,280	73	21	1.4		
	Men	470	27	11	1.0*		
	Education	Both sexes	540	100	7	0.9	
	Women	400	75	10	1.0		
	Men	130	25	4	0.8*		
	Medical care	Both sexes	60	100	1	1.4	
	Women	50	77	1	1.4		
	Men	10	23	F	F		
	Play and other help and care	Both sexes	1,060	100	8	1.4	
	Women	600	57	10	1.4		
	Men	450	43	7	1.4		
	Related travel	Both sexes	460	100	8	0.7	
	Women	300	65	10	0.6		
	Men	160	35	5	0.7		
	Help and care for household adults	Both sexes	540	100	5.7	1.1	
Women		280	52	5.7	1.1		
Men		260	48	5.8	1.0		
Personal and other care		Both sexes	190	100	2.1	1.0	
Women		120	65	2.6	1.1		
Men		70	35	1.7	0.9		
Medical care		Both sexes	60	100	0.5	1.2	
Women		30	57	0.6	1.2		
Men		20	43	0.4	1.3		
Related travel		Both sexes	300	100	4.0	0.8	
Women		130	42	3.6	0.8		
Men		170	58	4.4	0.9		
Help and care for non-household individuals		Both sexes	1,050	100	7.0	1.7	
		Women	580	56	7.8	1.7	
		Men	470	44	6.2	1.7	
		Housework/cooking	Both sexes	60	100	0.3	2.0
		Women	30	57	0.5	1.6	
		Men	30	43	F	F	
		House maintenance	Both sexes	170	100	0.7	2.6
	Women	50	32	0.6	2.0		
	Men	110	68	0.9	3.0*		
	Transportation assistance	Both sexes	280	100	4.3	0.8	
	Women	20	51	4.3	0.7		
	Men	140	49	4.0	0.8		
	Care for disabled/ill	Both sexes	40	100	0.4	1.5	
	Women	20	63	0.4	1.3		
	Men	10	37	F	F		
	Unpaid babysitting	Both sexes	340	100	1.9	2.9	
	Women	260	76	1.9	3.0		
	Men	80	24	0.7	2.7		
	Other unpaid help	Both sexes	60	100	1.5	1.3	
	Women	30	43	1.5	1.0		
	Men	20	57	1.2	1.7		

\* Significantly different from women ( $p < 0.05$ ).

F Amount too small to produce a reliable estimate.

<sup>1</sup> Averaged over a seven-day week.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

types of care, including all forms of child care, personal care to household adults, as well as transportation assistance, housework and cooking, and other unpaid help to adults in other households. While many of these are typically "female" forms of work, just as many women this age as men aged 25 to 44 and 45 to 64 provided transportation for household adults and household maintenance for non-household individuals (both traditionally "male" activities). Unpaid babysitting and care for ill or disabled people in other households was mainly done by women aged 45 to 64.

### Most care recipients in other households are family members

Not surprisingly, family members are the beneficiaries of most of the help and care extended to members of other households. Overall, 60% of all time devoted to helping and caring for persons in other households was directed at family members. This holds true for all types of help and care. For example, 80% of time spent babysitting and 73% of time spent on caring for ill and disabled people was done for family, reflecting the personal, physical and emotional nature of these forms of care. However, the difference in time devoted to family and non-family members is less dramatic for the other activities.

### What is it worth?<sup>7</sup>

One of the methods of measuring the value of unpaid work is the replacement cost generalist valuation

7. Due to the level of aggregation at which valuation rates are applied, value estimates cited in this study differ slightly from those included in Hamdad, M. 2003. *Valuing Households' Unpaid Work: Comparisons between 1992 and 1998*. Technical working paper. Income and Expenditure Accounts Division, Statistics Canada.





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method,<sup>8</sup> which refers to the hourly earnings of domestic workers employed full-time, full-year. Using this method, the value of unpaid informal caregiving was \$50.9 billion in 1998. This is more than the labour income<sup>9</sup> generated by the health care and social assistance industry (\$42.1 billion), education services (\$40.1 billion) or the finance, insurance and real estate industry (\$43.4 billion). The child care component of unpaid informal caregiving work was worth \$35.3 billion, just slightly less than the labour income of public administration (\$36.3 billion), the retail trade industry (\$36.7 billion) or the construction industry (\$36.8 billion). Help and care to non-household members was valued at \$10.3 billion, just slightly more than the labour income generated by agriculture (\$9.3 billion) or mining industries (\$9.5 billion). Help and care to household adults was worth \$5.3 billion, close to the value of labour income of the arts, entertainment and recreation industry (\$5.8 billion).

Since there are only 24 hours in a day, time spent on unpaid informal caregiving is time that cannot be spent on paid work or other activities. Thus, another way to measure unpaid work is the opportunity cost valuation method, which values a caregiver's time at the hourly wage the individual could earn in the labour market. Because women earn less on average

than men, the opportunity cost method assigns a lower monetary value to the same activity when it is done by a woman, effectively "reproducing the difference in women's and men's earnings in the valuation of unpaid work."<sup>10</sup> Using this method, in 1998, an hour of women's time was worth \$13.88 compared with \$17.96 for men.<sup>11</sup>

Informal help and care is worth more when valued by the opportunity cost method than the replacement cost generalist method. According to the opportunity cost method, in 1998, informal care was worth \$83.7 billion, close to the value of labour income in the manufacturing industry (\$84.9 billion). The value of help and care for household children was estimated at \$58.7 billion, help and care for adult household members was \$8.6 billion and help and care provided to other households was \$16.4 billion.

Regardless of the valuation method used, many hours are devoted annually to unpaid informal caregiving. If even a small portion of these hours of informal care were shifted from the non-market to the market sector — for example, the 156 million annual hours devoted to medical care<sup>12</sup> — this would be equivalent to approximately 77,000 full-time jobs.<sup>13</sup>

### Summary

In 1998, Canadians performed an estimated 5.5 billion hours of unpaid

informal caregiving for household members and individuals not residing with them. This caregiving work accounted for 18% of total unpaid work (30.3 billion hours). Not only are women more likely to perform unpaid caregiving, but they also spend more time doing so. Furthermore, female caregivers are more likely than their male counterparts to provide routine, personal types of care.

The vast majority of time devoted to unpaid informal help and care is done for family members. However, informal help and care provided to other households represents a substantial share of unpaid work; nearly three times as many hours are devoted to providing informal care to people in other households than to volunteer work through organizations. Nor is care provided to non-relatives inconsequential, as about 40% of all hours devoted to helping an individual in another household benefited a friend, neighbour, co-worker or other acquaintance.

Finally, if parallel services were purchased on the market, informal caregiving work would be worth approximately \$50.9 billion in 1998 based on the generalist replacement cost valuation method, slightly more than the value of labour income generated by the health care and social assistance industry. Using the currency of time and money clearly demonstrates the magnitude of unpaid informal caregiving, but still provides only a partial picture of the socio-economic costs and benefits to caregivers, care receivers and society as a whole.



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8. Statistics Canada features the replacement cost generalist method for valuing households' unpaid work because it is most consistent with national accounts principles of economic value. For more information on the pros and cons of this and alternative valuation methods, see Statistics Canada. 1995. *Households' Unpaid Work: Measurement and Valuation* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 13-603-MPE1995003).

9. See CANSIM II Table 383-0009, available at [www.statcan.ca](http://www.statcan.ca).

10. Statistics Canada. 1995. p. 49.

11. Hamdad, M. 2003. *Valuation of Households' Unpaid Work Using the Time-use Microdata Base*. Unpublished working paper. Income and Expenditure Accounts Division, Statistics Canada.

12. Includes medical care of household members and care for disabled or ill non-household members.

13. Based on 40 hours of paid work per week, 52 weeks per year.



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# Update on cultural diversity

This article is adapted from *Canada's ethnocultural portrait: The changing mosaic*, published as part of the January 21, 2003 data release on immigration and ethnocultural background from the 2001 Census. The data release is available from the Statistics Canada Web site at: [www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/etoimm/contents.cfm](http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/etoimm/contents.cfm)



Canada has become increasingly multiethnic and multicultural. Immigration over the past 100 years has shaped the country and each new wave of immigrants has added to the nation's ethnic and cultural diversity.

In recent years, immigration has become an increasingly important component of population growth in Canada. In 2001, 5.4 million people, or 18% of the total population, reported that they were born outside the country, the highest level in 70 years. Canada is second to Australia (22%) in the percentage of its foreign-born population. In contrast, only 11% of the population in the United States was born outside the country in 2000.



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## Visible minorities

"Visible minority" refers to groups identified under the *Employment Equity Act* as "persons, other than Aboriginals, who are non-Caucasian in race and non-white in colour." The 2001 and 1996 Censuses identified visible minorities using the following question with instructions for people belonging to more than one group to mark all circles that apply. Prior to 1996, data on visible minorities were derived from other census questions, such as ethnic origin, birthplace, language and religion.

<p><b>19</b> Is this person:</p> <p>Mark "X" more than one or specify, if applicable.</p>          <p><i>This information is collected to support programs that promote equal opportunity for everyone to share in the social, cultural and economic life of Canada.</i></p>	<p><input type="radio"/> White</p> <p><input type="radio"/> Chinese</p> <p><input type="radio"/> South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.)</p> <p><input type="radio"/> Black</p> <p><input type="radio"/> Filipino</p> <p><input type="radio"/> Latin American</p> <p><input type="radio"/> Southeast Asian (e.g., Cambodian, Indonesian, Laotian, Vietnamese, etc.)</p> <p><input type="radio"/> Arab</p> <p><input type="radio"/> West Asian (e.g., Afghan, Iranian, etc.)</p> <p><input type="radio"/> Japanese</p> <p><input type="radio"/> Korean</p> <p><input type="radio"/> Other - Specify</p> <p><input type="text"/></p>
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## Ethnic origin

"Ethnic origin" refers to the ethnic or cultural group(s) to which the respondent's ancestors belong. The comparability of ethnic origin data from

the 1996 and 2001 Censuses with previous censuses is affected by changes in the format and examples provided on the questionnaire. The change in format to an open-ended question in 1996 and the presence of examples such as "Canadian," which were not included in previous censuses, likely affect response patterns.

In addition, the measurement of ethnicity is affected by changes in the respondent's understanding or views about the topic. Awareness of family background or length of time since immigration can affect response to the ethnic origin question, as can confusion with other concepts such as citizenship, nationality, language or cultural identity. Ethnic origin response patterns may be influenced by both social and personal considerations, which in turn can have an impact on the comparability of data between censuses.

The 2001 Census ethnic origin question was:

<p><i>While most people in Canada view themselves as Canadians, information on their ancestral origins has been collected since 1901 Census to capture the changing composition of Canada's diverse population. Therefore, this question refers to the origins of the person's ancestors</i></p>          <p><b>17</b> To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's <b>ancestors</b> belong?</p> <p><i>For example, Canadian, French, English, Chinese, Italian, German, Scottish, Irish, Cree, Micmac, Métis, Inuit (Eskimo), East Indian, Ukrainian, Dutch, Polish, Portuguese, Filipino, Jewish, Greek, Jamaican, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Chilean, Somali, etc.</i></p>	<p><i>Specify as many groups as applicable</i></p> <p><input type="text"/></p> <p><input type="text"/></p> <p><input type="text"/></p> <p><input type="text"/></p>
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## Immigrants come increasingly from Asia

For the first 60 years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, European nations such as the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands, as well as the United States, were the primary sources of immigrants to Canada. Today, immigrants are most likely to come from

Asian countries. This is partly the result of changes in government policies in the 1960s, when national origin was removed as criteria for entry, and partly the result of changes in the international movement of migrants.

In 2001, about 1.8 million people living in Canada were immigrants who arrived during the previous

10 years. Of these, 58% were born in Asia (including the Middle East); 20% in Europe; 11% in the Caribbean, Central and South America; 8% in Africa; and 3% in the United States. In comparison, people born in Asia represented 47% of immigrants who arrived during the 1980s, 33% of those who arrived during the 1970s

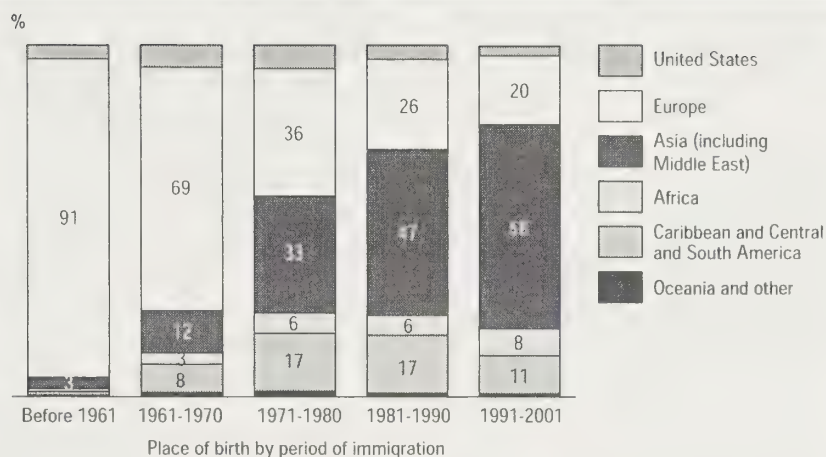




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## Immigrants are increasingly from Asia and the Middle East

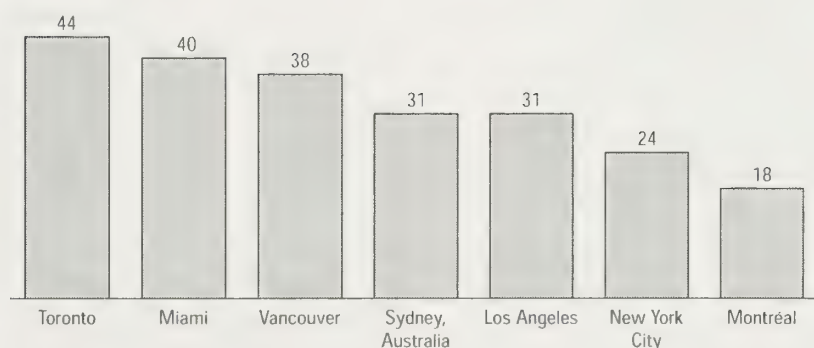


Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.



## Toronto has proportionally more foreign-born residents than other metropolitan areas

% foreign-born



Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001, Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001, and U.S. Census Bureau, 2000.

and just 3% of individuals who came to Canada before 1961. Of the immigrants arriving in the 1990s, the People's Republic of China was the leading source country, followed by India, the Philippines and Hong Kong.

### Immigrants attracted to Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver

Over the past 30 years, recent immigrants have been increasingly drawn to settle in Canada's three largest

urban areas. For example, according to the 2001 Census, about three in five immigrants (58%) who entered Canada in the 1970s settled in the census metropolitan areas (CMAs) of Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal. Among immigrants who arrived in the 1990s, however, nearly three-quarters (73%) lived in these three CMAs. In contrast to immigrants, just over one-third of Canada's total population lived in these urban centres

in 2001. Consequently, immigrants accounted for an increasingly larger proportion of the population in these areas. In 2001, more than 2 million people in the Toronto CMA were foreign-born, representing 44% of the total population of this area. This proportion surpassed those of cities around the world known for their cultural diversity such as New York, Miami, Sydney (Australia) and Los Angeles.

Toronto attracted the largest share of new immigrants who arrived in Canada during the 1990s (43%), followed by Vancouver (18%) and Montréal (12%). Only 6% of new immigrants settled in areas outside census metropolitan areas.

Most immigrants arriving in the 1990s were of working age. About 46% were 25 to 44 years old, while 17% were aged 45 to 64. About 310,000 of new immigrants (17%) were children between the ages of 5 and 16. In Toronto and Vancouver, nearly 1 in 5 (17%) school-age children had immigrated within the past 10 years, as did about 7% in Montréal. About half of school-age children in Toronto who arrived in the 1990s spoke a language other than English or French most often at home in 2001, compared with 61% in Vancouver and 43% in Montréal. This may place special demands on school systems in Canada's largest cities.

### Allophone immigrants increasing

In the past 30 years there has been a dramatic change in the linguistic composition of immigrants entering Canada, a reflection of changing source countries. Increasing proportions of immigrants were allophones — individuals whose mother tongue is other than English or French. According to the 2001 Census, over three-quarters (79%) of immigrants who came in the 1990s were allophones, up from one-half (49%) of those who arrived in the 1970s. In Montréal, 74% of immigrants entering



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in the 1990s were allophones; in Toronto the proportion was 79%, and in Vancouver, 88%.

At the same time, the proportion of immigrants arriving with an English mother tongue has decreased from 45% of individuals who arrived in the 1970s to 18% of those who came in the 1990s. The proportion arriving with French mother tongue has remained stable over the past 30 years at around 4% to 5%.

### Many immigrants speak languages other than English or French at home

With a growing percentage of allophones entering the country, the proportion of immigrants who speak a language other than English or French at home is on the rise. In 2001, 61% of the immigrants who came in the 1990s used a non-official language at home, up from 1991, when 56% of those who arrived in the previous decade did so.

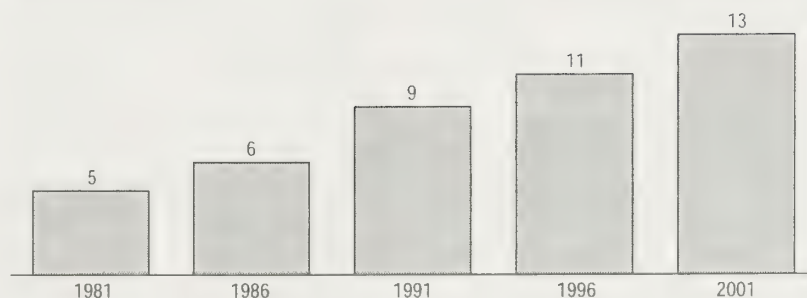
However, most newcomers reported being able to have a conversation in English and/or French. In 2001, three-quarters of immigrants who arrived in the past 10 years were able to speak English, 4% reported abilities in French, while 11% could carry on a conversation in both official languages. Only 1 in 10 of those who came in the 1990s had no knowledge of either official language.

Knowledge of one of the official languages is beneficial to immigrants in the labour market. Yet many allophone immigrants (about 24%) worked using a non-official language.<sup>1</sup> Since most allophone immigrants settle in Toronto, Vancouver or Montréal, a significant proportion of those who live there use their mother tongue at work. In Vancouver, 36% of

1. Used a non-official language at work most often or on a regular basis.

**CST** Visible minority populations have grown steadily over the past 20 years.

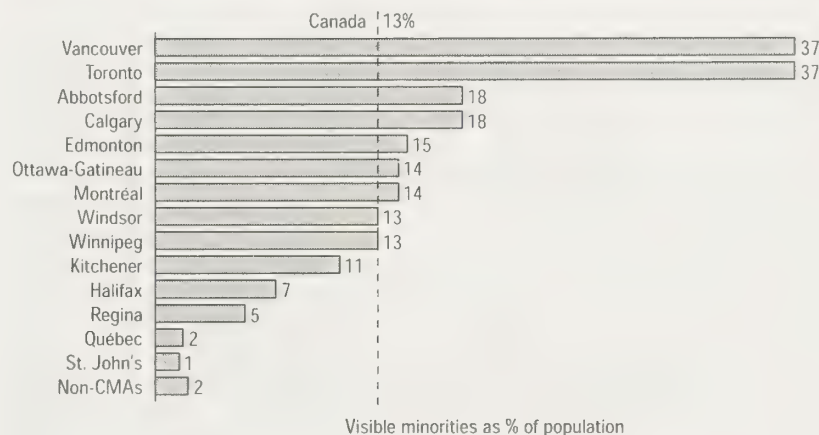
% visible minorities



Sources: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1981-2001.

**CST** Nearly 6 in 10 residents in Vancouver and Toronto belong to a visible minority group.

Selected census metropolitan areas (CMAs)



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

allophone immigrants used a language other than English or French at work, compared with 25% in Toronto and 21% in Montréal.

### Visible minority population grows

The growth in the foreign-born population and the shift from European to Asian immigrants have contributed to dramatic growth in the visible minority population over the last two decades. In 2001, 13% of Canada's population — 4.0 million people —

identified themselves as members of a visible minority group, up from 5% (1.1 million) in 1981. About 7 in 10 individuals who identified themselves as visible minorities were immigrants. However, some visible minority groups such as Japanese and Blacks have long histories in this country, and were more likely to be Canadian-born.

The visible minority population is growing nearly six times faster than the total population. Between 1991 and 2001, the total population of



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Canada increased by 10% while the visible minority population grew by 58%.

Like the foreign-born population, Canada's visible minorities are clustered in the largest urban areas. About 37% of the population in Toronto and Vancouver and 14% in Montréal are visible minorities. In contrast, only 2% of the population outside Canada's CMAs belonged to a visible minority group.

Visible minorities made up even larger proportions of the population of some municipalities. They represented more than half the population of Richmond, British Columbia (59%) and Markham, Ontario (55%) and nearly half of the cities of Vancouver and Burnaby, British Columbia (49% each).

### **Chinese are the largest visible minority group**

Chinese, South Asians and Blacks accounted for two-thirds of the visible minority population of Canada. Chinese was the largest group, surpassing one million in 2001 and representing 3.5% of the total population and 26% of the visible minority population. Between 1996 and 2001, the number of Chinese Canadians increased by 20%.

South Asians, the second largest visible minority group — numbering 917,000 in 2001 — grew by 37% between 1996 and 2001. This group accounted for 3.1% of the total and 23% of the visible minority population in 2001. That same year, the census enumerated 662,000 Blacks, the third largest visible minority group, up by 15% since 1996. They represented 2.2% of the total and 17% of the visible minority population.

Other visible minority groups in 2001 included Filipinos (8% of the visible minority population), Arabs and West Asians (8%), Latin Americans (5%), Southeast Asians (5%), Koreans (3%) and Japanese (2%). In total these groups numbered about 1.2 million, representing about one-third of all visible minorities in Canada.

### **More people report they are "Canadian"**

More than 200 different ethnic origins were reported in the 2001 Census. Ethnic origin refers to the ethnic or cultural group to which an individual's ancestors belonged. The changing sources of immigrants to Canada and the increasing intermarriage among ethnic groups have resulted in a broader range of ethnic origins and a growing number of people reporting multiple ethnic ancestries.

In 2001, the most frequently reported ethnic origin was Canadian, either alone or in combination with other origins. It was reported by 11.7 million people, or 39% of the population.<sup>2</sup> English (6.0 million), French (4.7 million), Scottish (4.2 million), Irish (3.8 million), German (2.7 million), Italian (1.3 million), Chinese (1.1 million), Ukrainian (1.1 million) and North American Indian (1.0 million) rounded out the top 10 ethnic origins in Canada.

### **More people report multiple ethnic ancestries**

A growing number of people report multiple ethnic ancestries, probably because of intermarriage. In 2001, 11.3 million or 38% of the population reported multiple ethnic origins, up from 10.2 million, or 36%, in 1996 and 7.0 million in 1986.

People with European background, whose ancestors have lived in Canada for several generations, were most likely to report multiple origins, especially Irish, Scottish, English, French and Scandinavian groups. Those with more recent histories in Canada, such as Polynesians, Indonesians and Paraguayans, also were more likely to report multiple origins because they originated from multicultural countries. In contrast, recent arrivals to Canada such as Koreans, Afghans and Eritreans tended to report single ethnic origins.

### **Summary**

At the time of the 2001 census, immigrants represented the highest proportion of the population in 70 years and immigration accounted for more than two-thirds of the population growth in that year. The shifts in the countries of origin of recent immigrants have contributed to Canada's increasing cultural diversity. While immigrants entering Canada in the 1960s were predominantly European, today's immigrants are more likely to be Asian.

Today's immigrants are concentrated overwhelmingly in Canada's three largest urban areas: Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver. These centres, with their sizable populations of foreign-born individuals, have also seen large increases in their visible minority populations.

An important goal of Canada's immigration policy is to assist in the country's economic performance. Immigrants have contributed to Canada's population and labour force growth, diversified the ethnic and linguistic composition of the country and have contributed valuable human resources to the economy. With increasing economic globalization, Canada's growing cultural diversity may be to its advantage in the international marketplace.

2. Changes to the ethnic origin question in the 1996 and 2001 Censuses resulted in an increase in the number of people reporting "Canadian" as part of their ethnic heritage in both 1996 and 2001. "Canadian" was included as an example on the questionnaire in both censuses. In 2001, about 6.7 million people reported Canadian as their only ethnic origin. An additional 5 million reported Canadian along with other origins.





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# Earnings of immigrants in the 1990s

by Tina Chui and Danielle Zietsma

Immigrants have made notable contributions to Canada's population growth, diversity and economy, and now account for an increasing proportion of the country's population. But starting life over in a new country is not always easy. After entering Canada, immigrants go through a period of adjustment while they look for work, master a new language, and learn to deal with medical, educational or government services. With time their prospects of getting a job and earning a living improve. However, initial experiences are important and may influence immigrants' decisions with respect to settling permanently in a country. Newcomers who have difficulty finding work that matches their skills and education may return to their country of origin or seek residence elsewhere.

About 2.2 million immigrants came to Canada in the 1990s, accounting for over half the population growth during that period, and representing the largest number of entrants for any decade in the past century. Nearly half (46%) of those who arrived in the 1990s (1.0 million people) were aged 25 to 44, not surprising when considering that most people move from one country to another when they are young adults.<sup>1</sup> This group contributed much to the growth of Canada's labour force during the decade.

Using data from the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB), this article examines the early employment experiences of 25- to 44-year-old immigrants arriving in Canada in 1991 and 1996 and compares them to the 1981 cohort. More specifically, the integration of immigrants into the labour

market is studied through three separate but related measures. First, what level of earnings did immigrants have and what factors influenced earnings? Second, how soon after arrival did immigrants enter the labour market and first report earnings? And third, how many years of earnings did immigrants have during their first five years in Canada?

## 1990s immigrants earn less than their 1980s counterparts

The 1990s saw a shift in job creation from full-time paid jobs to self-employment, a process that was accompanied by falling labour force participation rates, especially for the young. The growth in income (measured by gross domestic product per capita) slowed and median family earnings showed no improvement.<sup>2</sup> Immigrants arriving during this period encountered difficulty in the labour market, as did other new workers. This was particularly true for those lacking local connections and experience.<sup>3,4</sup> Immigrants who came during the second half of the 1990s, a period characterized by economic recovery, fared better, but still did not reach the earnings levels of the 1981 cohort.<sup>5</sup>

Immigrant men who arrived in 1991 earned substantially less in their second year in Canada (\$18,800) than did the 1981 cohort (\$32,600).<sup>6</sup> Although the earnings of the 1991 group grew more quickly, after five years in Canada they still lagged behind those of their 1981 counterparts.

Those arriving in 1996, however, fared somewhat better. Their second-year earnings (\$20,900) were still lower than the earnings of the 1981 entrants,

but were slightly above those of the 1991 group. In addition, earnings in the second half of the 1990s improved more quickly than in the first half. By their fifth year in Canada, the average earnings of men who arrived in 1996 had increased to \$33,100, up 58% from the second year. This compares with a 34% rise between the second and fifth years for the 1991 cohort.

A different story emerged for immigrant women. On average, second-year earnings differed less between the

1. In 1996, 32% of the Canadian-born population were aged 25 to 44. About 39% of immigrants who arrived during the 1980s were this age.
2. Picot, G. and A. Heisz. 2000. "The performance of the 1990s Canadian labour market." *Canadian Public Policy* XXVI, Supplement 1: S21-S22.
3. Reitz, J.G. 2002. "Immigration and Canadian nation-building in the transition to a knowledge economy." In *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Edited by W.A. Cornelius, R.L. Martin and J.F. Hollifield. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. p. 18-19. [www.utoronto.ca/ethnicstudies/Reitz\\_June2002.pdf](http://www.utoronto.ca/ethnicstudies/Reitz_June2002.pdf) (accessed March 11, 2003).
4. Badets, J. and L. Howatson-Leo. Spring 1999. "Recent immigrants in the workforce." *Canadian Social Trends*: 16-22.
5. Other researchers have found that immigrants start at an earnings disadvantage relative to the Canadian-born population, but the gap narrows over time. See Green, D.A. and C. Worswick. 2002. "Earnings of immigrant men in Canada: The roles of labour market entry effects and returns to foreign experience." Prepared for Citizenship and Immigration Canada. [www.cic.gc.ca](http://www.cic.gc.ca)
6. Earnings are shown in 2000 constant dollars.



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This study uses data from the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB). The IMDB is an administrative database containing information on income tax and landing characteristics of immigrants who entered Canada between 1980 and 2000, and who filed at least one income tax return during this period.

## Employment earnings

Earnings are the portion of income derived exclusively from employment activities for the given tax year, including earned wages and salaries and other employment income reported on the T1 tax form.<sup>1</sup> Self-employed earnings are not included in this definition. In their fifth year in Canada, 11% of the 1981 cohort had self-employed earnings, as did 12% of the 1991 and 14% of the 1996 cohort. Throughout this article, "earnings" is used to refer to "wages and salaries plus other employment income." Extreme values of earnings were excluded from the analysis.

## Educational level at landing

Educational attainment of immigrants upon entry to Canada is divided into four levels of education: less than 10 years of schooling; 10 to 12 years of schooling; trade, community college or university certificate or diploma (including some postsecondary education); or a university degree.

## Admission category

Immigrants are admitted to Canada under one of the following admission categories: skilled worker, business, other economic, family, refugee and other class.

*Skilled workers* are people whose education and work experience is expected to help them find work and become permanent residents in Canada.

*Business immigrants* are people who can invest in, or start, businesses in Canada and are expected to support the development of a strong and prosperous Canadian economy. Because this category includes entrepreneurs, investors and self-employed persons, people in this group are more likely to have self-employment earnings than other classes of immigrants. In their fifth year, 44% of 1981 business class immigrants had self-employment earnings, compared with 25% and 26% of the 1991 and 1996 cohorts, respectively. However, even more business class immigrants reported employment earnings: 56% of the 1981, 52% of the 1991 and 43% of the 1996 cohorts.

*Family class* immigrants are sponsored by close relatives or family members in Canada who have promised to support them for a period while they settle in the country.

*Other class* immigrants are admitted into the country under the administrative review program and backlog clearance program designed to clear a large number of refugee claims.

1. "Other employment income" includes employment income not reported on T4 slips such as tips, occasional earnings (e.g. babysitting, delivering newspapers or flyers), net research grants, foreign-employment income, income-maintenance insurance plan benefits, certain GST/HST and Quebec sales tax rebates for employment expenses, some royalties and employee profit-sharing plans.

cohorts than they did for men. Women who arrived in 1981 earned the most, followed closely by the 1991 and 1996 groups. After five years in Canada, the 1996 cohort showed the largest increase in earnings; they earned \$20,500 on average, slightly higher than 1981 (\$18,500) and 1991 (\$18,000) immigrant groups. While the early 1990s recession undoubtedly affected earnings, in the case of immigrant women some other factor may have been at work to offset these effects.

## Good times, bad times: the effect of economic conditions

All new entrants to the labour market — whether they are immigrants or youth just out of school — take time to

become fully integrated into the workforce. For immigrants, full integration may involve gaining Canadian work experience, establishing work relationships and, at times, obtaining further training. Due to economic restructuring and a prolonged recession, 1991 immigrants experienced more difficulty securing jobs than did either the 1981 or the 1996 cohorts. Although the economy in the early 1980s had also gone through a slow-down, its impact on the labour market was not as far-reaching as that experienced in the 1990s.<sup>7</sup>

## Do landing characteristics make a difference?

In addition to economic conditions, educational levels, official language

skills, admission category and region of last permanent residence, other characteristics may also influence the initial labour market experiences of immigrants, including their earnings. Landing characteristics were different for each group of immigrants. For example, while the majority of 1981 entrants were European or North American, most of those arriving in 1996 were Asian. As well, 1996 immigrants had higher levels of education and were more likely to speak an official language than either of the two earlier cohorts. Finally, 1991 immigrants were more

7. Picot and Heisz. 2000. p. S7-S25.



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Immigrants who arrived in 1996 were more likely to have a university degree than earlier entrants.

	1981	1991	1996
% of 25- to 44-year-old immigrants			
<b>Landing characteristics</b>			
<b>Education level</b>			
Less than 10 years of schooling	16	16	9
10 to 12 years of schooling	23	26	22
Some postsecondary, trade certificate, community college or university diploma	37	36	30
University degree	23	23	39
<b>Self-assessed knowledge of official languages</b>			
No knowledge of English or French	29	31	23
Knowledge of at least one official language	71	69	77
<b>Last permanent residence (region)</b>			
North America	9	3	2
Europe	43	22	21
Asia	26	43	53
Middle East	3	7	7
Africa	5	9	8
Caribbean and Guyana	8	7	5
Central and South America	3	9	2
Australia and Oceania	2	1	1
<b>Admission category</b>			
Family	24	28	22
Economic			
Skilled worker	31	15	25
Business	3	2	3
Other economic	29	16	29
Refugee	13	19	15
Other	0	20	6

Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database.

likely to be refugees or part of the "other" category of immigrants, which included the backlog clearance program for refugee claimants.

After accounting for differences in landing characteristics,<sup>8</sup> the second-year earnings of 1991 immigrants were still 32% less than the corresponding earnings of the 1981 group; the gap decreased to 20% in the fifth year. In contrast, the 1996 cohort earned 39% less than their 1981 counterparts in their second year, but the gap dwindled to about 9% by their fifth year in Canada. The fact that earnings differences between these groups of entrants

persisted even after holding landing characteristics constant confirms that other factors — most likely economic conditions — must also be at work.<sup>9</sup>

### Education and earnings go hand in hand

Although Canada attempts to attract and integrate skilled professionals and trades persons into the labour market, foreign-trained immigrants may experience barriers in having their skills and credentials fully recognized. In some cases, employers have difficulty assessing credentials, especially from countries where the education system

differs substantially from Canada's. In others, skills may be perceived as lower quality or not relevant to Canadian conditions.<sup>10</sup> As well, immigrants entering for humanitarian or family reunification reasons may be less experienced in the labour market than those assessed on the basis of skills and occupational demand.<sup>11</sup>

Despite these barriers, a model using multivariate analysis<sup>12</sup> of each immigrant group shows that higher earnings go hand in hand with high levels of education. Regardless of when they arrived, immigrants with a university degree earned more than did those with less education. What's more, the effect of education on earnings was stronger after five years. For example, during their second year in Canada, 1996 immigrants with 10 to 12 years of schooling earned 10% less than those with a university degree. By the fifth year the difference had increased to 33%. A similar pattern was observed for 1991 immigrants: those with 10 to 12 years of schooling earned 11% less in their second year in Canada and 28% less in their fifth year than did immigrants with a university degree.

8. Landing characteristics of immigrants included: age, sex, education level and self-assessed knowledge of official languages, region of last permanent residence and admission category.

9. For further information on the impact of economic conditions, see Green and Worswick. 2002.

10. Reitz. 2002. p. 20.

11. Prefontaine, J.P. and A. Benson. 1999. *Barriers to Canadian Immigrants' Economic Integration: Government Response to Market Failure*. Presentation given January 1999 in Vancouver, British Columbia at Third National Metropolis Conference. p. 2. [www.rim.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/1998/NC/Benson.pdf](http://www.rim.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/1998/NC/Benson.pdf) (accessed February 25, 2003).

12. A technique that considers multiple factors simultaneously to investigate how earnings change after the effects of differences in landing characteristics have been removed.





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Table 13. Average employment earnings by year of entry to Canada, 1981-1996

	Year of entry to Canada		
	1981	1991	1996
	Average employment earnings ( '000s of constant 2000 dollars)		
<b>Men</b>			
2 <sup>nd</sup> year	32.6	18.8	20.9
3 <sup>rd</sup> year	33.6	21.0	26.1
4 <sup>th</sup> year	35.8	25.2	29.8
5 <sup>th</sup> year	37.5	25.1	33.1
<b>Women</b>			
2 <sup>nd</sup> year	15.5	14.2	13.3
3 <sup>rd</sup> year	16.7	15.7	16.4
4 <sup>th</sup> year	17.8	18.3	18.5
5 <sup>th</sup> year	18.5	18.0	20.5

Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database.

Table 14. % gap in earnings with 1981 cohort

	Both sexes		Men		Women	
	1991	1996	1991	1996	1991	1996
	% gap in earnings with 1981 cohort					
2 <sup>nd</sup> year	-32	-39	-44	-46	-13	-27
3 <sup>rd</sup> year	-27	-21	-36	-26	-12	-13
4 <sup>th</sup> year	-22	-15	-31	-20	-9	-7
5 <sup>th</sup> year	-20	-9	-30	-16	-6	1*

\* No statistically significant difference from 1981

Note: The model accounts for age, sex, education level and knowledge of official language at landing, region of last permanent residence and admission class. The earnings gaps in the table reflect differences in economic conditions experienced by immigrants and differences in the characteristics of immigrants not accounted for in the model

Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database.

### Knowledge of English or French associated with higher earnings

Immigrants of the 1990s who were able to speak either English or French upon arrival had a head start over those who could not converse in either language. However, the effect of initial language skills decreased over time, as individuals who did not know an official language learned one in the following years. After accounting for all other factors, knowledge of English or French raised

earnings in the first year by 30% among 1991 immigrants and by 28% among the 1996 group over those who spoke neither. By the fifth year, the language advantage for the two cohorts dipped to 22% and 21%, respectively.

The recession of the early 1990s hit immigrants from some regions harder than others. While holding all other factors constant, the fifth-year earnings of 1991 immigrants were lowest for those from the Middle East (55% lower

than North American immigrants),<sup>13</sup> Africa, Central and South America (about 42% lower) and, to a certain extent, Asia (29% lower). Among 1996 immigrants, earnings for individuals from all these regions were about 30% below North American immigrants' earnings.

Immigrants who landed as skilled workers generally earned more than those in other admission categories because they were admitted as workers who on the basis of their skills were in strong demand. However, skilled workers from the 1991 cohort enjoyed a smaller earnings advantage than their 1981 and 1996 counterparts. For example, in their fifth year, 1991 skilled immigrant workers earned 26% more than family class immigrants. In comparison, the 1981 skilled group earned 38% more and the 1996 group, 28% more than their family class counterparts.

### 1991 immigrants report earnings later

Comparing employment earnings over the first five years in Canada is one way to measure the integration of immigrants into the labour market. Another is to look at how long it took them to find paid work. This can be measured by the average number of years it took to first report earnings during their first five years. Finally, the average number of years of earnings during the first five years is another indicator of the labour market integration of immigrants.<sup>14</sup>

13. North American immigrants were primarily from the United States.

14. The introduction of the Federal Sales Tax Credit in 1986 and the Goods and Sales Tax Credit in 1989 and child tax credits and benefits in 1978 and 1993 provided more incentive for low-income earners to file a tax return. These changes in tax credits resulted in more people filing tax returns after the tax reforms to receive the tax credits. This affects the comparability of the measures shown in the analysis.



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	Years having earnings	Number of years to first earnings
<b>Landing cohort (compared to 1981 cohort)</b>		
1991	-0.23	0.06
1996	-0.36	0.36
Additional year of age at landing	0.00	0.01
Men (compared to women)	0.28	-0.26
<b>Educational level at landing (compared to university degree)</b>		
Less than 10 years of schooling	0.06	-0.08
10 to 12 years of schooling	-0.02	-0.02
Some postsecondary, trade, community college or university certificate or diploma	0.01*	-0.06
Knowledge of at least one official language (compared to no knowledge of an official language)	0.16	-0.12
<b>Region of last permanent residence (compared to North America)</b>		
Europe	0.24	0.07
Asia	0.27	0.10
Middle East	-0.11	0.28
Africa	0.03*	0.19
Caribbean and Guyana	0.40	-0.01*
Central and South America	0.01*	0.25
Australia and Oceania	0.21	0.00*
<b>Admission category (Reference group: Skilled worker)</b>		
Family	-0.06	0.12
Business principal applicant	-0.83	0.67
Other economic	-0.16	0.26
Refugee	-0.33	0.29
Other	0.12	-0.18

\* No statistically significant difference from the comparison group.

Note: The introduction of sales taxes credits and the child tax benefit during the 1980s and 1990s provided more incentive for low-income earners to file a tax return. This affects the comparability of the results before and after these tax reforms. The results in this table should be interpreted with caution.

Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database

Most 25- to 44-year-old immigrants did find employment during their first five years in Canada, and many reported earnings for all five years. But their success in finding a job varied with their year of entry. By the fifth year, 20% of men who landed in 1991 had yet to report earnings, compared with 7% of men arriving in 1981 and 13% in 1996. Similarly, 30% of 1991 immigrant women had yet to report employment earnings after five years, compared with 22% of 1981 and 24% of 1996 female entrants.

After controlling for landing characteristics, knowledge of at least one official language helped immigrants to integrate into the Canadian labour market. For all three groups, those who knew at least one official language reported earnings sooner after landing and had more years of earnings during the first five years. However, educational level had a small or non-existent effect on how long it took to first report earnings and on the number of years of earnings during the first five years in the country.

Immigrants from the Middle East, Central and South America and Africa took longer to first report employment earnings than North American immigrants. But while North American immigrants reported earnings sooner, they had fewer years of earnings during their first five years than other immigrants except for those from the Middle East, Central and South America and Africa.

In general, immigrants admitted under the skilled worker category entered the labour market faster and had more years of earnings than those in other admission classes.

### Summary

Both economic conditions and immigrants' characteristics at the time of landing influenced their integration into the labour market and their earnings patterns. Immigrants who entered Canada in 1996 had more education and were more likely to have official language skills than those who arrived earlier. The 1991 cohort, who arrived during a period of economic recession and who were more likely to be refugees than the other cohorts, had lower earnings and took longer to report having them than the 1981 group. Even after accounting for differences in landing characteristics, 1991 entrants had lower earnings than the 1981 cohort, but the gap narrowed with time. Those who arrived in 1996 fared somewhat better than their 1991 counterparts, but earnings for men were still lower than those of their 1981 counterparts.

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# May–December: Canadians in age-discrepant relationships

by Monica Boyd and Anne Li

Not many people would agree that love and marriage are matters that require no special skills. In fact, the notion that couples are close in age to each other is the dominant pattern in the dating time. There are, however, exceptions: couples with substantial age gaps between them. Although the dominant pattern for age-discrepant unions is the so-called “May–December” relationship, in which the woman is much younger than the man, the reverse pattern also holds.

Until recently, much of the attention given to age-discrepant unions was negative. Textbooks of the 1960s and 1970s interpreted couples with large age differences as having “unconventional” relationships, and found fewer “satisfactions” in these unions. In the 1980s, however, researchers began to see couples with large age gaps as having higher levels of marital dissatisfaction and being more prone to marital dissolution.<sup>1</sup>

## What you should know about this study

This article uses data from the 2001 Census of Population.

**Census family:** Refers to a married couple (with or without children of either or both spouses), a couple living common-law (with or without children of either or both partners) or a lone parent of any marital status, with at least one child living in the same dwelling.

**Economic family:** Refers to a group of two or more persons who live in the same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption.

The relatively small number of same-sex unions reported on the Census does not allow a detailed analysis of the characteristics of these couples in age-discrepant unions. Therefore, this article can only describe the characteristics of those in male-female relationships. However, male same-sex couples are the most likely to be in age-discrepant unions. Compared to 42% of male-female couples and 59% of female same-sex couples, 64% of men who reported being in same-sex relationships are in unions where the age gap is 4 or more years. One-quarter (26%) of men in male same-sex couples are in relationships where the age gap between partners is 10 or more years, compared with 18% of women in female same-sex unions and 8% of women and men in male-female unions.

Today, many of these views are discarded, debated or reversed. It is recognized that instead of reflecting the influence of age discrepancy, some issues are associated with other characteristics such as poverty or ethnic differences between partners.

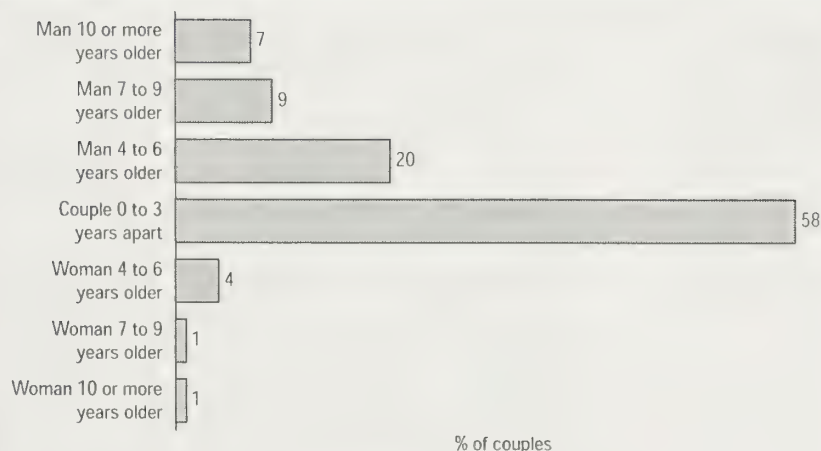
1. Berardo, F.M., J. Appel and D. Berardo. 1993. “Age dissimilar marriages: Review and assessment.” *Journal of Aging Studies* 7, 1: 93-106; Vera, H., D. Berardo and F.M. Berardo. 1985. “Age heterogamy in marriage.” *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 47, 3: 553-566.





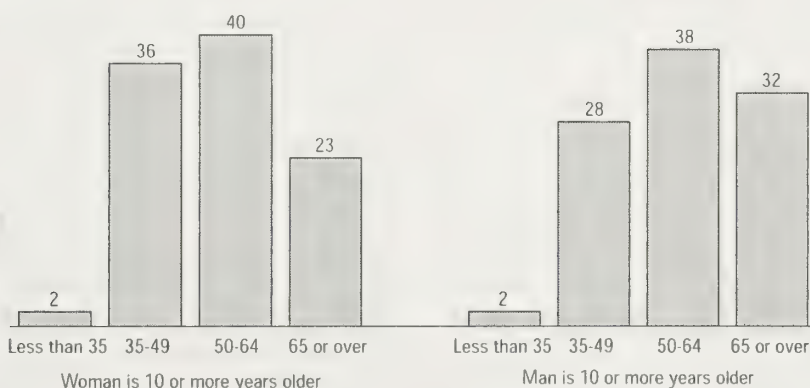
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Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

% of older partner in age category



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

Studies that take these characteristics into account find that age differences have no impact on levels of marital dissatisfaction.<sup>2</sup> And while some studies do find that marriages between partners who are substantially different in age are more prone to divorce, others do not support this conclusion.<sup>3</sup> Recent research has focused on messages such as "older wives, better lives" and "younger wives, longer lives." The first claims that older

women with younger men tend to live in more balanced and equal relationships, and the second that older men with younger women live longer than expected.<sup>4</sup>

To what extent are couples in Canada involved in age-discrepant relationships? What are the characteristics of these men and women, and do they differ from couples who are close in age to each other? Using data from the 2001 Census, this article

addresses these questions by examining the demographic, social and economic differences that exist between couples who are far apart and those who are close together in age.

### Departing from the usual

Of the 3.5 million couples living in a census family in 2001, most consist of partners quite close in age to each other. Nearly 6 out of 10 couples (58%) are no more than 3 years older or younger than each other, reflecting societal beliefs and expectations about appropriate age gaps.

Although those who are close in age are the majority, about 2.9 million couples, or approximately 5.8 million individuals, have partners who are 4 or more years younger or older than themselves. According to the 2001 Census, men were 4 to 6 years older than women in 20% of unions, 7 to 9 years older in 9%, and 10 or more years older in 7%. It is this pattern of "older man-younger woman" that dominates among couples with large age gaps. Although relationships do, of course, exist where women are older than men, their numbers are substantially lower. For example, the percentage of couples where women were at least 10 years older than their partners was 1% in 2001.

The higher proportions of older man-younger woman unions reflect the notion that if one of the partners is older, it should be the man. This expectation is a legacy of an earlier time, when marriage occurred only

2. Vera, Berardo and Berardo. 1985.

3. Berardo, Appel and Berardo. 1993; Gentleman, J.F. and E. Park. 1994. "Age differences of married and divorcing couples." *Health Reports* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-003-XPB) 6, 2: 225-240.

4. Fischman, J. September 1984. "The sexes: Crosstalk." *Psychology Today*: 12-13; Gentleman and Park. 1994.



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after a man had economically established himself enough to support a family. In such circumstances, it would not be unusual for men to be older than their partners and gradually the older man-younger woman pattern came to be viewed as the acceptable "norm." Researchers also suggest that the expectation of men being older than their partners is part of a double standard where the value and acceptability of aging men is higher than that of aging women.<sup>5</sup>

Among couples with substantial age differences, men have an older age profile than women. For example, about 32% of men who are at least 10 years older than their partners are aged 65 or over. In comparison, 23% of women 10 or more years ahead of their spouses in age are 65 years or over. Conversely, a larger proportion of women are in younger age groups; 36% of women in these relationships are between the ages of 35 and 49 compared with 28% of men.

Although the age profiles of male and female spouses who are at least 10 or more years older are different, the age gap between partners is quite similar: 14 years on average regardless of whether the man or the woman is older. Couples with very large age differences are rare. Among those with at least a 10-year gap, and where the man is 65 years or older, only 1% include a female partner who is 35 years or younger; where the man is 50 to 64 years old, 7% include a woman aged 35 or younger.<sup>6</sup>

### Age gaps and other differences

Researchers suggest that individuals who depart from the expected age profile of couples are likely to diverge from other societal norms as well, whether it be the legal nature of the union<sup>7</sup> or the racial or birthplace backgrounds of the partners.

For example, people in age-discrepant unions are far more likely to be in common-law relationships

**TABLE 1** Unions in which men are at least 7 years older than their female partners: by age gap and by birthplace of both partners

	Man is older than woman by			Age gap is	Woman is older than man by		
	10 or more years	7 to 9 years	4 to 6 years		4 to 9 years	7 to 9 years	10 or more years
	'000						
Number of couples	506	617	1,396	4,076	263	97	71
	%						
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Both partners foreign-born	27	27	22	17	16	14	15
Man foreign-born, woman not	9	7	6	5	6	7	7
Woman foreign-born, man not	6	5	4	5	8	9	9
Neither foreign-born	58	61	67	73	70	71	68

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

than those who are close together in age. In fact, as the age gap between partners grows, so does the likelihood of living common-law. And age-discrepant couples where women are older are much more likely to live in common-law unions than where men are older. For example, common-law relationships characterize nearly 4 out of 10 (39%) couples where women are at least 10 years older than their partners compared with just less than one-quarter (24%) of those where men are 10 or more years older.

Compared to age-homogenous unions, age-discrepant couples are also more likely to include one partner who is a member of a visible minority group and one who is not. Although percentages are not large, this situation tends to occur most frequently in relationships where men and women are at least 10 years older than their spouse. A similar pattern exists for unions that include one foreign-born and one Canadian-born partner. As the age gap increases, the percentage of couples with one

Canadian-born and one foreign-born member increases, and peaks when one partner is 10 or more years older than the other. Researchers observe that the absence of potential partners within a particular age range can cause people to enlarge the pool of potential partners with respect to age, race and other characteristics.<sup>8</sup>

Unions in which men are substantially older than their partners

5. Cowan, G. 1984. "The double standard in age-discrepant relationships." *Sex Roles* 11, 1-2: 17-23; Vera, Berardo and Berardo. 1985.
6. The number of relationships where women aged 50 and over have spouses who are 35 years or younger is too small to provide reliable estimates.
7. Wu, Z., K.H. Burch, R. Hart and J.E. Veevers. 2000. "Age-heterogamy and Canadian unions." *Social Biology* 47, 3-4: 277-293.
8. Shehan, C.L., F.M. Berardo, H. Vera and S.M. Carley. 1991. "Women in age-discrepant marriages." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 53, 4: 928-940.



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	Man is older than woman by			Age gap is	Woman is older than man by		
	10 or more years	7 to 9 years	4 to 6 years		4 to 9 years	7 to 9 years	10 or more years
<b>Common-law couples</b>				<b>'000</b>			
<b>Total number</b>	123	110	200	562	69	33	28
<b>Current legal marital status</b>				<b>%</b>			
<b>Men</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Never-married	34	53	67	69	68	68	74
Married,							
legally separated	12	8	6	6	6	6	5
Divorced	48	36	25	24	25	24	20
Widowed	6	3	2	2	2	2	1
<b>Women</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Never married	64	68	73	39	46	35	25
Married,							
legally separated	6	5	4	9	8	10	12
Divorced	27	24	20	44	40	48	52
Widowed	4	4	3	8	6	7	11

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

contain the highest proportion of individuals who are both members of visible minority groups (this is less likely to be the case when women are substantially older than their partners). Both partners were members of visible minority groups in 16% of unions where the man was older by 10 or more years compared with 9% of relationships where partners were the same age or where women were at least 10 years older. Relationships in which men are substantially older are also more likely than other unions to include partners who are both foreign-born. Likewise, the home use of languages other than English or French also increases with the age gap for couples where men are older. Marriages where men are much older may in these cases reflect the norms and practices found in these individuals' countries of origin.

### Older partners have often been married before

Couples who are far apart in age were born in different time periods and had experienced life course events earlier (or later) than their partner.<sup>9</sup> Age-discrepant unions that are reconstituted from previous marriages will experience this time warp with respect to events such as dates of marriage and births of children.

According to the General Social Survey, age-discrepant unions often include at least one partner who was previously married to someone else. The census does not ask legally married couples about earlier marriages, but available information about the marital status of persons in common-law unions suggests that many older partners had indeed been previously married. Among men in common-law unions, nearly 7 in 10 (66%) of those

who are at least 10 years older than their partners are divorced, widowed or currently married but separated, compared with 2 in 10 of those who are within 3 years of the age of their partners. The comparable statistics for women who are at least 10 years older than their partners are nearly 8 in 10 (75%) versus 1 in 4 for those who are close in age. Partly because they are younger, many of the partners for these older men and women have not yet been legally married.

Because, in many cases, family building would have occurred earlier, age-discrepant couples are less likely to have children in the home than those within 3 years of each other. In some cases, younger women married to older men still may be in the family building stages, but not all such unions will have children present,<sup>11</sup> particularly if children from an earlier partner are not living with the couple. In unions where women are at least 10 years older, the co-residence of children is low: just slightly more than one-third (34%) of these couples reported at least one child present. In addition to children opting out of a blended family arrangement,<sup>12</sup> the lower percentage could also reflect the fact that many of these women are nearing the end of, or in some cases are beyond, their reproductive period.

### For richer or for poorer?

Tabloids and newspaper stories on Hollywood couples help create the image that many age-discrepant couples are financially well-off. There also is a belief that age-discrepant unions

9. Vera, Berardo and Berardo. 1985.

10. Wu, Burch, Hart and Veevers. 2000.

11. Discussions of children at home refer to children who have never been married.

12. Boyd, M. and D. Norris. Autumn 1995. "Leaving the nest: The impact of family structure." *Canadian Social Trends* p. 14-17.

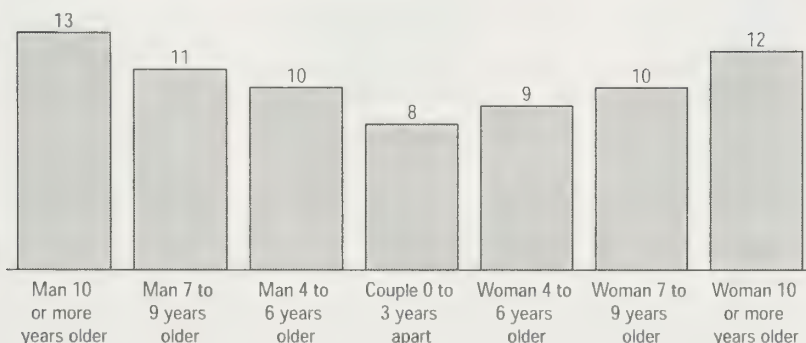




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% of couples in families below low income cut-offs



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

are more likely to occur among better educated partners or between those who are in the upper middle classes. This view rests on two additional beliefs: first, that persons who obtain high levels of education delay marriage and then may have difficulty finding partners close in age; and second, that the upper-middle classes are more willing to engage in less conventional behaviours.<sup>13</sup>

In fact, for the most part, such images and beliefs are unfounded. Media stars and public persons are few in number and do not have the same experiences as most people. According to the 2001 Census, age-discrepant couples are more likely than others to have at least one partner with less than grade 11 education. Where men are 10 or more years older than women, nearly 3 out of 10 (27%) have less than grade 11 education, as do 1 in 5 of the women in these unions. In couples where women are at least 10 years older than their partners, one-quarter (25%) of women and 1 in 5 (21%) men have less than grade 11 education.

Similarly, according to Census data, rather than being wealthy, most couples in age-discrepant relationships have lower combined incomes than do couples who are similar in age. The

average combined incomes of couples within 3 years of each other are about 5% higher than the average for all unions. Couples where men are at least 10 years older have combined incomes that are about 91% of the overall average for all couples. Unions in which women are substantially older than their partners fare the least well, with average combined incomes at 83% of the overall average.

Age-discrepant couples are also more likely than others to be below the low income cut-offs. The proportion of couples (in economic families) below the low income cut-offs is highest for those with an age gap of at least 10 years, particularly if there is at least one child present in the union. In these relationships, about 1 in 7 of both men-older and women-older couples are in families below the low income cut-offs compared with approximately 1 in 12 of couples within three years of age to each other who have at least one child.

### Summary

Although most married spouses and common-law partners in Canada are close in age to each other, some are substantially younger or older than their mates. Among couples with large

age gaps, men are much more likely than women to be the older partner, a situation that reflects society's expectations of appropriate age differences. People in age-discrepant unions are more likely to live common-law, particularly when the woman is substantially older. Unions in which men are at least 10 years older than their partners contain the highest proportion of individuals who both belong to visible minority groups.

The phenomenon of age-discrepant couples has existed throughout the world for centuries. However, in recent years, this phenomenon has attracted renewed attention, despite only small growth in the share of these relationships since the 1980s. Current focus is part of the larger interest in changing and evolving family forms. Today, Canadian families differ in size and composition. First marriages are occurring later in life, remarriages are not unusual, and many unions are common-law. Age difference between couples is yet one more indicator of the complexity and diversity of family life.

13. Shehan, Berardo, Vera and Carley. 1991; Vera, Berardo and Berardo. 1985; Wu, Burch, Hart and Veevers. 2000.

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## Canadians better educated than ever

According to the 2001 Census, 28% of all individuals aged 25 to 34 had university qualifications that year and 21% held a college diploma. Another 12% had trade credentials. In all, 61% of people in this age group had some type of education beyond high school. In comparison, at the time of the 1991 Census, 49% of those aged 25 to 34 had postsecondary credentials.

Education levels rose for both men and women. In 2001, 21% of men aged 25 and over were university graduates, up from 17% in 1991. The proportion of male college graduates increased from 10% to 13% over the decade. The growth among women was even greater. The proportion of university graduates among adult women jumped from 14% in 1991 to 20% in 2001; about 18% had college credentials in 2001, up from 14% in 1991.

*Education in Canada:  
Using the National  
Catalogue no.  
96F0030XIE2001012*



## The retirement wave

Managers and professionals, particularly those in education and health care, will lead the coming retirement wave. However, while the crest of the baby boom will pass the typical retirement age in 20 years, some industries and occupations will be hit much sooner.

Education will likely be one of the first industries to feel the retirement crunch. The average age of the education workforce is high at 44 years; it is particularly high for managers, at 48. At 56 years, education also has a low median retirement age. Accordingly, about half the education workforce is likely to retire within 12 years and half its managers within 9 years. In 1999, the retirement rate in education was already more than double the economy-wide average.

The health care industry also has an older workforce, with an average age of 42 years in 1999, but its median retirement age of 62 is about 5 years later than the retirement age in the education sector. Thus, in health care, 20 years separates the median age of employees from the median retirement age. Education and health care are particularly vulnerable because these sectors also have a higher proportion of managers and professionals.

*Perspectives on Labour  
and Income  
vol. 4, no. 2  
Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE*



## Maternity and parental benefits

The average number of parents who received maternity benefits had increased substantially between 2000 and 2002. For example, the average number of women receiving maternity benefits rose by 8.5% during this period. A drop in the number of hours (from 700 in 2000 to 600 in 2002) required to qualify for insurable employment was responsible for the increase.

Women in the labour market work fewer hours on average than men. However, once women reach the threshold of 600 insurable hours, they are entitled to the full maternity and parental benefits of 50 weeks.

Adoptive parents are not eligible for maternity benefits, but they qualify for 35 weeks of adoption benefits. As with parental benefits, these weeks can be shared between the mother and the father. The average number of adoptive parents receiving benefits each month nearly quadrupled between 2000 and 2002, rising from 400 to 1400 per month.

*Employment and Income  
vol. 4, no. 3  
Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE*



## Life after welfare

Many Canadians left the welfare rolls during the 1990s as economic conditions improved and welfare reform was introduced. For example, from 1994 to 1997, the proportion of the population collecting social assistance dropped from 11% to 9%. The declines were highest in Alberta and, to a much lesser extent, Ontario.

Family incomes rose for the majority of people who stopped receiving welfare benefits during the 1990s. About 6 in 10 people saw their after-tax family income improve substantially from the level of income they received when they were on welfare. Such gains are to be expected, as they are often the reason for leaving welfare.

People who married or formed a common-law relationship were two to three times more likely to leave welfare than others. This was primarily the result of employment earnings brought to the family through the marriage. However, marriage had a much stronger impact for single women on welfare. Single women on welfare were about three times more likely to leave welfare if they married than if they did not.

*Life after Welfare:  
The Economic Wellbeing  
of Welfare Recipients  
in Canada, 1994-1997  
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# LESSON PLAN

## *Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends in the classroom*

Lesson plan for "Would you live common-law?"

### Objectives

1. Understand the differences between common-law and marriage in Canada.
2. Understand the reasons why some people choose common-law and others choose marriage.

### Classroom instruction

1. Have your students discuss why some people choose marriage and others common-law unions. How does social acceptance of common-law unions today compare to 30 years ago? What are the ways in which social disapproval might be expressed?
2. Have your students examine how a common-law relationship might differ from marriage. Consider such activities as leisure, labour force participation, the division of household labour, attendance at religious services, presence of children, and attitudes of family and community.
3. Literature suggests that individuals who live common-law before marriage have higher divorce rates than couples who do not live common-law. Discuss reasons for this pattern.
4. Throughout the article, men are more willing to live common-law than women. Have your students explore reasons why this might be the case.
5. Engage the class in a discussion of what an increase in common-law living means for Canadian society.

### Background resources

*Profile of Canadian families and households: Diversification continues*

(<http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion>)

*Changing conjugal life in Canada*

Le Bourdais, Céline, Ghyslaine Neil, and Pierre Turcotte. Spring 2000. "The changing face of conjugal relationships." *Canadian Social Trends*. p. 14-17.

1. To find other lessons for home economics and family studies, check out our Statistics Canada Web site at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach.htm). There are more than 30 lesson plans for secondary home economics and family studies.
1. See the Family studies kit at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm) for detailed graphs that you can use to make overheads for your class.

### Notes

You may photocopy "Lesson plan" or any item or article in *Canadian Social Trends* for use in your classroom.





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# SOCIAL TRENDS



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# Across the generations: Grandparents and grandchildren

by Anne Milan and Brian Hamm

**T**he bond between grandparents and grandchildren is often considered special because it can involve a close relationship across generations. Children in touch with their grandparents learn about the elderly, gain a sense of history, and experience life from the perspective of someone older. At times children, particularly older ones, can offer practical assistance to an elderly grandparent.

In turn, grandparents may enjoy renewed purpose and the youthful enthusiasm of their grandchildren. Grandparents are in a unique position to offer love, advice and a listening ear, while maintaining an objectivity that is often difficult for parents to achieve. Their ability to provide emotional or financial help may come in particularly useful when the parents are experiencing marital problems, separation or divorce, health or disability issues, or other difficult situations.



Grandparents' involvement with grandchildren may range from simply sending birthday or holiday cards to caregiving on a part-time basis to occasionally even full-time care. The extent of emotional closeness between the generations is influenced by how far they live from each other and how often they are in contact.<sup>1</sup> Because there is much diversity in the frequency and type of interaction, it is difficult to make generalizations. It

cannot even be assumed that all persons in their later years want to take on the role of grandparent and the attendant social expectations. Yet for many grandchildren, grandparents

1. Ward, M. 2002. *The Family Dynamic: A Canadian Perspective* (3rd ed.). Scarborough, Ontario: Nelson Thomson Learning.

Data in this article come from the 2001 Census of Population and from the 2001 General Social Survey (GSS). The 2001 Census provided data on the number of grandchildren living with grandparents, the number of grandparents living with grandchildren, household financial maintainer status of the grandparent(s), and whether the middle generation comprised two parents, a lone parent, or no parents. The GSS interviewed a representative sample of over 24,000 Canadians aged 15 years and older living in private households in the 10 provinces. In the GSS, respondents were asked a number of questions related to grandparents and grandchildren, including "Do you have any grandchildren?" and "How many grandchildren do you have?" The distinction was not made between biological and step-grandchildren. Information was also available on respondents living in households with three or more generations. There were about 6,400 grandparents sampled in the GSS, representing 5.7 million grandparents in Canada.

**Shared home:** refers to grandparents and grandchildren living in the same home, which may be either a multigenerational (including the middle generation), or a skip-generation (no middle generation present) household.

are an integral part of the family, reflecting a relationship which can last from early childhood into the adult years.<sup>2</sup>

The potential, however, is for grandparents and grandchildren to be even closer when they share a home, either with or without the middle generation. With the complexity of family forms that exist in society today, grandparents can add a sense of stability to households and contribute in a number of ways. Having multiple generations in the same home may also be a source of stress as a result of varying backgrounds, values and expectations. In cases where no parent is present, grandparents may be the primary caregiver, a situation which can involve challenges as well as rewards. This study will use data from the 2001 Census of Population and the 2001 General Social Survey (GSS) to examine the characteristics of

grandparents in Canada, with a focus on those who share homes with their grandchildren.

### Snapshot of grandparents

According to the GSS, there were some 5.7 million grandparents in Canada in 2001. As expected, the likelihood of being a grandparent increases with age. While grandparenthood was very rare among people under the age of 45 (2% of women and less than 1%<sup>3</sup> of men), by one's late fifties, it was much more common. Nearly two-thirds (65%) of women aged 55 to 64 were grandmothers and over half (53%) of men in this age range were grandfathers. The average age of grandparents was about 65; some 80% of women and 74% of men this age and older were grandparents. By this age, many seniors had been grandparents for some time already. Overall, women

were more likely than men to be grandparents, perhaps partly because women live longer and marry at younger ages than men.<sup>4</sup>

Although there is an increasing diversity in grandparent demographics, many grandparents are seniors, and their characteristics tend to reflect those of the overall elderly population in Canada. In 2001, over two-thirds (68%) of grandparents were married while 18% were widowed. An additional 10% were divorced, separated, or never married and 4% of grandparents were living common-law. Over half (53%) of grandparents were retired, nearly one-third (30%) were in the labour force, and 11% stated their main activity as home makers or childcare providers.

### Nearly five grandchildren for each grandparent

According to the 2001 GSS, grandparents have, on average, 4.7 grandchildren. This number, though, is likely to decline as fertility rates continue to fall. In fact, researchers have noted that "beanpole" families, in which multiple generations exist but have fewer members in each generation, are becoming more common. With reduced numbers of kin who can be counted on to "be there," grandparent-grandchild relations may take on added importance.<sup>5</sup>

Many other factors may also influence the relationship between

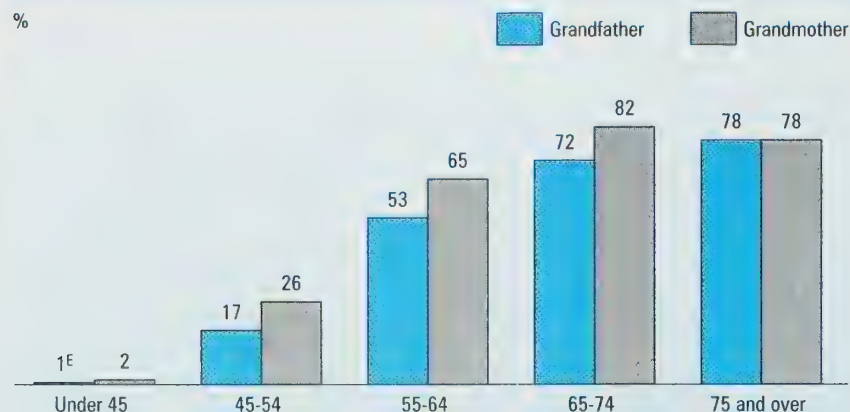
2. Kemp, C. 2003. "The social and demographic contours of contemporary grandparenthood: Mapping patterns in Canada and the United States." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 34, 2: 187-212.

3. Use with caution.

4. Kemp. 2003.

5. Giarrusso, R., M. Silverstein and V.L. Bengtson. Spring 1996. "Family complexity and the grandparent role." *Generations* 20: 17-23.





<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

grandparents and grandchildren, including changes in family composition. In particular, parental divorce or separation can severely damage the grandparent-grandchild relationship on the side of the family that has not been granted custody.<sup>6</sup> While remarriages and blended families often come with stepgrandparents, this is a role which can be especially ambiguous. On the other hand, grandparents who are themselves in long-term marriages can serve as sources of stability and positive examples for grandchildren from broken or troubled homes.

### Sharing a home: Grandparents and grandchildren

In Canada today, grandparents are most likely to live in a separate household from their adult children and grandchildren. Yet some homes do contain both grandparents and grandchildren; most of these homes also include at least one of the child's parents.

According to the 2001 GSS, nearly 4% of Canadians, or about 930,000 people, lived in multigenerational households; that is, households with at least three generations including grandparents, parents, and grandchildren. Strictly speaking, this

arrangement is what social historians and anthropologists refer to as the extended family. Among historical demographers, there is considerable controversy whether this family form was ever very prevalent and, despite the nostalgic perceptions, desired.<sup>7</sup>

Across Canada's provinces, in 2001 multigenerational households were most common in British Columbia (4.9%) and Ontario (4.8%), and least common in Quebec (1.6%). About 3.5% of individuals in each of the Atlantic provinces and in the Prairies lived in this type of household.

### Immigrants twice as likely as the Canadian-born to live in multigenerational families

The higher share of multigenerational households in British Columbia and Ontario may reflect these provinces' larger immigrant populations. Previous research also found that multigenerational households were more common among the immigrant population, especially those from Asian countries.<sup>8</sup> In fact, GSS data showed that less than 3% of people who were Canadian-born lived in multigenerational households in 2001, compared with 7% of those born outside Canada.

While living in a multigenerational family can offer many benefits, some families, particularly from certain ethnic or cultural backgrounds, may experience a clash in values between the traditional family ideals of an older generation and the Western values that may have been adopted by the children.<sup>9</sup> Such conflicts could be even more pronounced when there are multiple generations in a home.

Culture might also be one of the reasons accounting for the high proportion of grandchildren sharing homes with their grandparents in Nunavut (9.7%) and the Northwest Territories (5.4%). These territories are home to many Aboriginal peoples, for whom the extended family has traditionally been very important.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, Aboriginal children aged 14 and under are more likely to live with relatives or non-relatives than are non-Aboriginal children.<sup>11</sup>

### Nearly half a million grandparents live with their grandchildren

The 2001 Census counted more than 474,400 grandparents who shared households with their grandchildren. However, relatively few grandparents

6. Giarrusso, Silverstein and Bengston. 1996.

7. Laslett, P. 1972. "Introduction: The history of the family." In P. Laslett and R. Wall (eds.), *Household and Family in Past Time*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

8. Che-Alford, J. and B. Hamm. Summer 1999. "Under one roof: Three generations living together." *Canadian Social Trends*. p. 6-9.

9. Francis, R.D., R. Jones, and D.B. Smith. 2000. *Destinies: Canadian History Since Confederation* (4th ed.). Toronto: Harcourt Canada.

10. Ward. 2002.

11. Statistics Canada. 2003. *Aboriginal Peoples of Canada: A Demographic Profile* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 96F0030XIE2001007).

aged 85 and over shared a home with their grandchildren, suggesting that many of the oldest elderly are either living elsewhere or the grandchildren have grown and established their own households.

Over half (51%) of grandparents in shared homes lived with their adult child, his or her spouse and the grandchildren. This could include "sandwich" or even "club sandwich" generations<sup>12</sup> in which the middle generations, particularly women, care for both children and elderly parents. However, regardless of living arrangements, intergenerational exchanges of support flow not only to the older and younger generations from the parents, but from grandparents to their adult children and grandchildren as well.<sup>13</sup>

One-third of grandparents (about 158,200) in shared homes lived in households where the middle generation was a lone parent, most likely the mother. Lone mothers are more likely than mothers in two-parent families to be in need of support — physical, emotional and financial. Living in a multigenerational home may be one way of ensuring that women in these situations are not totally on their own.

Grandparents who share a home with a lone parent tend to be younger than their counterparts in two-parent households. Teen pregnancy across generations means that individuals could potentially become grandparents at a very young age. More than 10% of grandparents who shared a home with grandchildren and a lone parent were under the age of 45 compared with only 2% of grandparents living with a couple as the middle generation.

12. Giarrusso, Silverstein, and Bengston. 1996.

13. Connidis, I.A. 2001. *Family Ties and Aging*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

## CST One in 250 children lives with grandparents only

In 2001, nearly 191,000 children aged 0 to 14 (3.3% of all children in this age group) lived in the same household as one or more grandparents. However, at 25,200 (or 0.4% of all children aged 0 to 14), the number of grandchildren living in skip-generation households was much lower. While absolute numbers have increased somewhat between 1991 and 2001, the proportion has remained relatively stable during this period. The highest percentages of children in skip-generation households are found in Nunavut (2.3% of all children aged 0 to 14), the Northwest Territories (1.3%), and Saskatchewan (1.2%) while the lowest are in Quebec (0.2%). In both 1991 and 2001, a slightly higher proportion (0.6% of all teenagers this age) of older grandchildren aged 15 to 19 lived in skip-generation households.

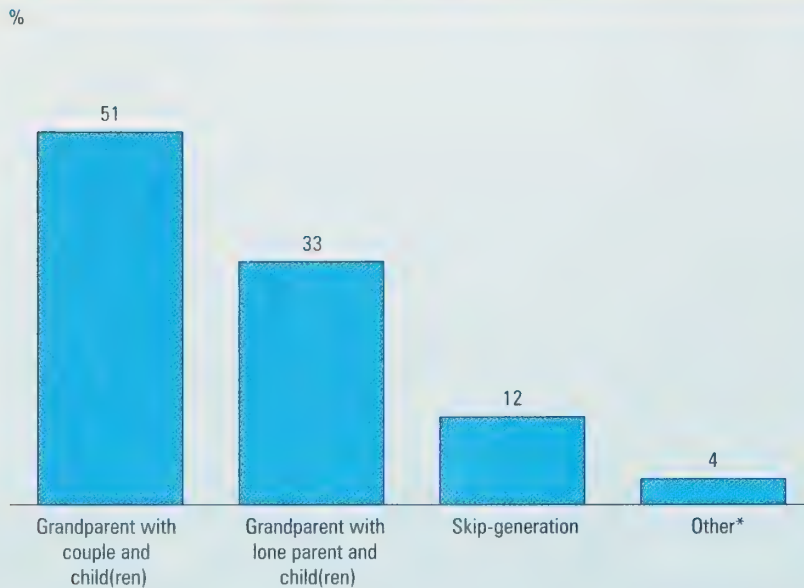
Grandparents can serve as crucial buffers between parents and teenage grandchildren. Their age and years of experience, coupled with an often stable lifestyle, enable them to act as anchors in the fast-changing and chaotic world of the teen. Their presence and support is even more important for teens in volatile family situations. However, parental conflict and other family problems are not the only reasons why older grandchildren live with their grandparents. These children may be attending a school that is located far from the parents' home but close to where the grandparents live.

	Grandchildren sharing a home with at least one grandparent	Grandchildren in multigenerational households	Grandchildren in skip-generation households
% of all children aged 0 to 14*			
Canada	3.3	2.9	0.4
Newfoundland and Labrador	5.3	4.6	0.7
Prince Edward Island	3.5	3.0	0.5
Nova Scotia	3.8	3.2	0.6
New Brunswick	3.9	3.4	0.5
Quebec	1.8	1.6	0.2
Ontario	3.6	3.3	0.3
Manitoba	3.9	3.0	0.9
Saskatchewan	3.9	2.7	1.2
Alberta	3.2	2.6	0.6
British Columbia	4.4	3.9	0.5
Yukon	2.6	2.1	0.5
Northwest Territories	5.4	4.1	1.3
Nunavut	9.7	7.4	2.3

\* In private households.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.





\* Middle generation may include both a couple and a lone parent, and/or adult children who are not the parents of the grandchildren.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

### When grandparents replace parents

For many grandparents, later life is a time for enjoying the benefits of an empty nest and retirement, while having fewer responsibilities than during their childrearing years. Yet about 56,700 grandparents, or 12% of those in shared households, lived with only grandchildren and no middle generation. These households are commonly referred to as skip-generation households. According to GSS data, most skip-generation grandparents in 2001 were women (67%) and were married (57%), and many were retired (46%).

Grandparents' willingness to take in their grandchildren reflects the importance of family, particularly when faced with difficulties. It is generally the parent's inability or unwillingness to care for the children that leads to full-time grandparent caregiving. Possible reasons include substance abuse, divorce or separation, mental health problems, teen

pregnancy, child abuse or neglect, or death of an adult child.<sup>14</sup>

This creates a situation in which grandparents are raising some of the most at-risk children in society at a time when they were probably expecting more rest and relaxation. These grandchildren may have experienced physical or emotional abuse, have special needs, been exposed to parental conflict or toxic substances, and, consequently, might require much care and guidance. They might also feel divided loyalties if tensions exist between their parents and grandparents. In addition, because of problems encountered by their adult children, grandparents might have to contend with the skepticism of others regarding their parenting abilities,<sup>15</sup> and perhaps even their own self-doubt.

While grandparent caregivers may find it rewarding to be involved in rearing their grandchildren, they may also experience challenges related to social isolation, financial problems, or

health issues.<sup>16</sup> Adapting to the caregiver role could necessitate changes in employment, living arrangements, social networks, as well as other lifestyle adjustments.

In some cases, parents may be relieved to have the grandparents assume caregiving responsibility, and grandparents can apply for legal custody or guardianship or pursue adoption. But if contested by the adult children, this then can increase any existing conflict between the generations.<sup>17</sup> And without guardianship, there are certain decisions, such as the education or health care of grandchildren, that grandparents cannot make. They might also be ineligible for some types of financial assistance, such as support payments or other child benefits.

### Two-thirds of skip-generation grandparents are financial providers

In addition to assuming responsibility for raising a grandchild, some grandparents are also providing for them financially. Overall, about 35% of grandparents in shared homes were household maintainers (or primary financial providers). An earlier study found that grandparents who are the

14. See, for example, Waldrop, D.P. and J.A. Weber. 2001. "From grandparent to caregiver: The stress and satisfaction of raising grandchildren." *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services* 82, 5: 461-472.

15. Minkler, M. 1999. "Intergenerational households headed by grandparents: contexts, realities, and implications for policy." *Journal of Aging Studies* 13, 2: 199-218.

16. Roe, K.M. and M. Minkler. 1998. "Grandparents raising grandchildren: challenges and responses." *Generations* 22, 4: 25-32.

17. Jendrek, M.P. 1993. "Grandparents who parent their grandchildren: Effects on lifestyle." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 55, 3: 609-621.



## % who are financial providers

<b>Total grandparents in shared homes</b>	<b>35</b>
Total multigenerational household	30
Middle generation – couple	16
Middle generation – lone parent	50
Middle generation – other*	54
Skip-generation household	65

\* Middle generation may include both a couple and a lone parent, and/or adult children who are not the parents of the grandchildren.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

primary financial providers for their grandchildren tend to be younger, healthier, more highly educated, and more apt to be employed than grandparents living in parent-maintained homes.<sup>18</sup>

In the remaining homes, the maintainer is another household member or even someone from outside (e.g. a parent providing financial support while the grandchild stays with the grandparent to attend school). Even though grandparents living in parent-maintained homes are typically older, in poorer health, and less likely to be in the labour force, they can still contribute to the household in the form of income or unpaid help such as child care.<sup>19</sup>

The number of parents in a shared household matters considerably in who is responsible for finances. Only 16% of grandparents in multigenerational households where the middle generation was a couple were primary financial providers, compared with 50% where the middle generation was a lone parent. In skip-generation households, where there were no parents present in the home, nearly two-thirds of grandparents (65%) were financially responsible for the household.

The likelihood of being a household maintainer decreases with the age of

grandparents in shared households. Nearly half (49%) of grandparents under 45 years were maintainers. This percentage declines with every age group. By age 75 to 84, about one-quarter (25%) of grandparents were maintainers, as were less than one in five (18%) of those aged 85 and over.

### Summary

Whether they are primary or occasional caregivers, reside in the same household or not, live nearby or on the other side of the country, grandparents have the potential to be very influential in the lives of their grandchildren. Although they represent a small proportion of the overall population, about 930,000 individuals lived in a multigenerational household in 2001.

In some cases, grandparents are the financial maintainers of households containing not only the grandchild, but also at least one parent. Given that multigenerational households are more common among foreign-born individuals, their numbers will likely be influenced by levels of immigration. In skip-generation households, grandparents are faced with additional responsibilities. These grandparents may be able to provide a safe haven for vulnerable grandchildren whose own parents may be experiencing problems.

In return for their efforts, grandparents may enjoy a sense of purpose and may be in a position to both give support to, and receive it from, their grandchildren. The motives for living in a multigenerational or extended family may be mixed and may change over time, with a blurring of grandparents as caregivers and care recipients. But whatever shape the roles take on, it appears that the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is here to stay.

18. Bryson, K. and L.M. Casper. 1999. "Coresident grandparents and grandchildren." *Current Population Reports* P23-198. Washington, DC: US Bureau of the Census.

19. Bryson and Casper. 1999.



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# 30 years of education: Canada's language groups

by Jean-Pierre Corbeil

In an era of demographic, social and technological changes, the Canadian population faces an increasingly pressing need for a highly qualified labour force. As a result, education has become an important factor in the social and economic integration of individuals. In addition, the number of years of formal education needed to meet the requirements of many jobs has increased substantially over the past 30 years.

Using data from the Censuses of Population, this article examines how the educational profiles of Francophones, Anglophones and allophones have changed over the past 30 years, and the factors that have contributed to many of these changes.

## **Allophones have largest decline in proportion with less than grade 9 education**

According to census data, all three language groups have made considerable progress in educational attainment over the past 30 years. One way to measure this is to look at, over time, the proportion of individuals who have less than grade 9 education, a level historically considered the threshold of literacy. Among Anglophones, the percentage of Canadians aged 15 and over who had less than grade 9 dropped from 23% in 1971 to 5% in 2001. Francophones also recorded a large decline, from 44% in

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## What you should know about this study

Data from this article come from the Censuses of Population.

*Language groups:* For the purposes of this article, the Canadian population is divided into three language groups: Anglophones (those whose first language learned at home in childhood is English), Francophones (those whose first language learned at home in childhood is French) and allophones (those whose first language learned at home in childhood is a language other than English or French).

1971 to 15% in 2001. Finally, the decline has been the largest among allophones, as the proportion who had less than grade 9 schooling dropped from approximately 50% to 17% over the 30-year period.

In 1971 Anglophones were, on the whole, in a considerably more advantageous situation than Francophones and most allophones. Educational improvements for Francophones took more time, as the major transformations to the French education system did not begin to have an impact on youths until the early 1970s.

Allophones are more diverse because most have immigrated to Canada from a wide range of countries at various stages of development, and have entered under a range of admission classes ranging from refugees to economic class with diverse backgrounds. Consequently, newcomers to Canada have widely

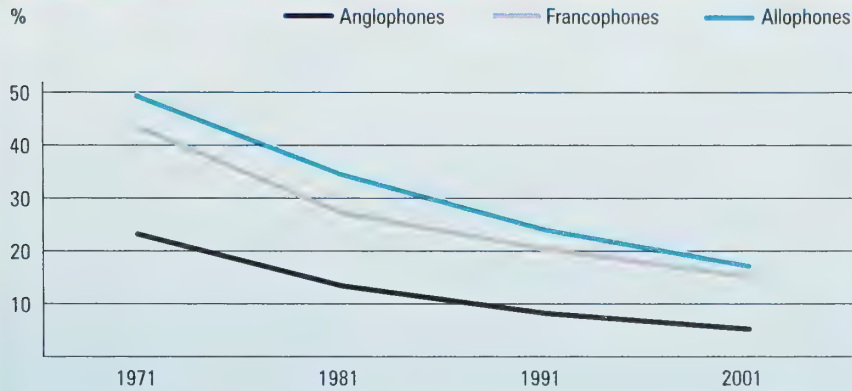
different levels of education and socio-economic backgrounds. Some are highly educated when they arrive, while others acquire much of their education in Canada.<sup>1</sup>

## **Francophone women aged 20 to 24 were least likely to have not graduated from high school**

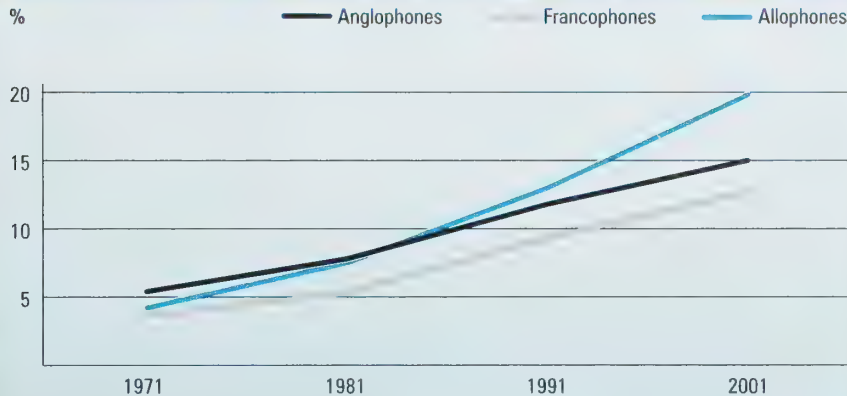
For young people, today, completion of high school is widely recognized as the minimum educational requirement and with greater demand for skills and knowledge in the labour market, postsecondary education is becoming the new standard. Those who don't complete high school face

1. Foreign-trained immigrants may experience barriers in having their skills and education credentials fully recognized in the Canadian labour market which may lead to an underutilization of their skills.





Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.



Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.

difficulty integrating into the labour market or finding satisfying work that provides a good quality of life. It is especially important to monitor how many young people don't complete high school. In 2001, about 21% of 20- to 24-year-old men had not graduated from high school, for each of the language groups.<sup>2</sup> Young women were less likely to have not yet graduated from high school than young men: 13% of Francophones, 16% of Anglophones and 17% of allophones.

Being without a high school diploma, however, need not last forever. In fact, among 20- to 24-year-olds

who had not yet graduated, a significant proportion attended educational institutions. Some 18% of young Anglophones were in this situation, as were 19% of Francophones and 25% of allophones. In all language groups, women were more likely to be enrolled than men.

#### Allophones are most likely to be university educated

Another measure of educational change assesses how the proportion of individuals who have at least one university degree changes over time. While Anglophones were clearly in the lead in

1971, by 2001 allophones had taken over and had become the group with the highest proportion of university educated individuals. During these 30 years, the proportion of allophones with a university degree increased by 363%, followed by Francophones (277%) and finally Anglophones (177%). By 2001, nearly 13% of Francophones had a university degree, compared with 15% of Anglophones and close to 20% of allophones.

In Quebec, the creation in the 1970s of the Université du Québec network, as well as access to part-time studies, contributed greatly to the rapid growth of Francophone university enrolment.<sup>3</sup> During the 1970s and 1980s, part-time university programs were more likely to be offered in Quebec's French-language universities than elsewhere in Canada.

#### Young people have higher education

Naturally, changes in education have affected young people the most. The proportion of 25- to 34-year-olds who left school before Grade 9 is much smaller than in the overall population. In 2001, slightly over 1% of Anglophones in this age group, nearly 4% of Francophones, and 5% of allophones did not have a Grade 9 education.

Similarly, the proportion of 25- to 34-year-olds with a university degree was considerably higher than in the general population. Nearly 23% of

2. High school dropout rates refer to the percentage of the population who have not completed high school and are not working toward its completion. Some of the young people identified as not having completed high school are still working towards a diploma. Therefore, the percentages quoted here are not dropout rates.

3. Chenard, P. and M. Lévesque. 1992. "La démocratisation : succès et limites." *Le Québec en jeu : comprendre les grands défis* (G. Daigle, ed.). Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal. p. 405.



both Francophones and Anglophones, and 33% of allophones, this age had a university degree in 2001.

Compared with Francophones and Anglophones aged 25 to 34, the group of allophones this age is highly polarized in educational attainment, containing the highest proportion of both the least educated and the most educated individuals. In 2001, for example, 5 of the 20 most numerous allophone groups had a university education rate that exceeded 50%, while among 4 the proportion with university degrees was less than 20%. The highest proportion of university educated individuals occurred among those with Romanian mother tongue (59%) and the lowest among people with Portuguese mother tongue (15%).

#### Outside Quebec, young Francophones are more likely to have a university degree than Anglophones

The proportion of 25- to 34-year-olds with a university education varies from province to province and has changed significantly over the last 30 years. In 1971, in every province, Anglophones were more likely than Francophones to have had a university degree. By 2001, only Anglophones in Quebec were more likely to have a university degree than Francophones aged 25 to 34: 31% versus 23%, respectively. Francophones lead Anglophones in every other province. This occurred not because Francophones in Quebec had less education than Francophones in other provinces, but because Anglophones who lived in Quebec had significantly higher levels of education than Anglophones elsewhere.

In 2001, allophones in Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta and New Brunswick were more likely to have a university degree than the other two language groups, while in Manitoba and Saskatchewan they were less likely. In Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia

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#### Proportion of university degree holders varies widely among young allophones

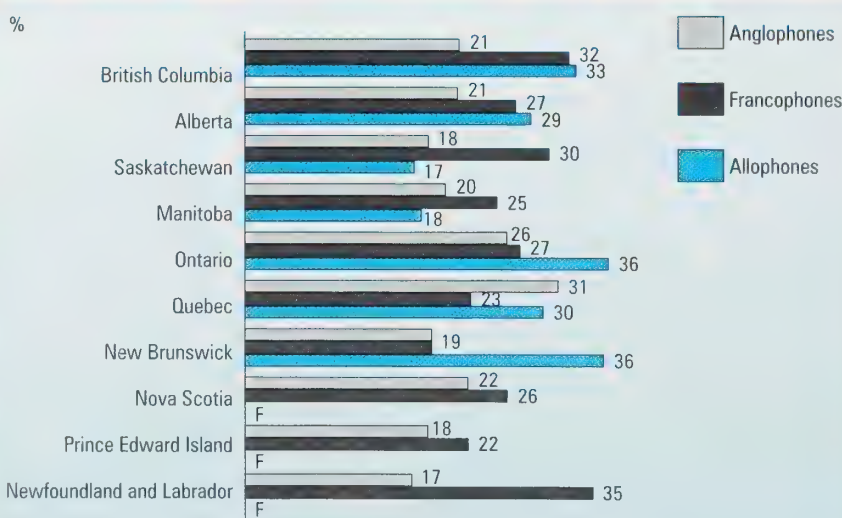
##### Mother tongue

Mother tongue	% of 25- to 34-year-olds with a university degree
Romanian	59
Korean	55
Russian	55
Urdu	53
Chinese	50
Hindi	45
Gujarati	43
Persian	40
Arabic	39
Tagalog (Filipino)	37
Greek	33
Croatian	33
Italian	28
Punjabi	26
Spanish	25
Polish	24
German	20
Vietnamese	18
Tamil	16
Portuguese	15

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

CST

#### In most provinces, Francophones aged 25 to 34 are more likely than Anglophones to have a university degree



F Too unreliable to be published.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

The 1960s marked an important milestone in the evolution of education in Canada, particularly in Quebec. In 1963, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (the Dunton-Laurendeau Commission) was set up to address the discontent among Francophones about the continued vitality of their language and culture within Canada. The Commission found that Francophones were consistently behind Anglophones in educational attainment, average income, occupational levels and industrial ownership.

For example, according to the 1961 Census, Canadian men with a French origin in the labour force were considerably more likely than those with a British background to have stopped their formal education at the end of elementary school: 54% versus 31%, respectively. The cultural divide in educational attainment persisted at the higher end of the educational spectrum. Canadian men with British origins were more than twice as likely as those with a French background to have a university degree: 13% versus 6%, respectively.

In order to respond to the multiple needs of a society that was seriously behind in its universal access to education, the Parent Commission was set up in Quebec to "create a free and accessible public education system...."<sup>1</sup> In 1964, the Quebec Ministry of Education was founded to implement the recommendations of the Parent Commission.<sup>2</sup>

Because French schools outside Quebec received no government funding, until the early 1970s Francophones outside that province had very limited access to education in their own language.<sup>3</sup> These difficulties meant that only a small number of Francophones attended secondary school and, of those, very few graduated.<sup>4</sup> As a result of much work by various commissions and committees, by 1969 French language secondary schools had begun to be established in Ontario, the province with the largest Francophone population outside Quebec.<sup>5</sup>

1. Chenard, P. and M. Lévesque. 1992. "La démocratisation : succès et limites." *Le Québec en jeu : comprendre les grands défis* (G. Daigle, ed.). Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal. p. 385-422.
2. *ibid.* p. 386.
3. See Bordeleau, L.G., R. Bernard and B. Cazabon. "L'éducation en Ontario français," as well as Levasseur-Ouimet, F., Y. Mahé, F. McMahon and C. Tardif. "L'éducation dans l'Ouest canadien" in *Francophonies minoritaires au Canada : l'état des lieux* (J.-Y. Thériault, ed.). 1999. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie.
4. Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1967-70). Ottawa: Queen's Printer. See also Bordeleau et al. p. 447.
5. This change resulted in large measure from the fact that in 1967, the premier of Ontario, John P. Robarts, recognized that "there is an urgent need to provide education at the secondary level in the language of the Franco-Ontarian community". Davis, W.G. 1968. *Report of the Committee on French Language Schools in Ontario*. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education. p. 9.

the number of allophones is not large enough to provide reliable estimates.

During the past 30 years the proportion of Francophones with a university degree outside Quebec had increased substantially, partly as a result of youth migration from Quebec to other provinces, especially western Canada. In places, such as western Canada, which have small Francophone populations, a small influx of Francophones from Quebec can cause a large increase in the proportion with university degrees. This was the case in all provinces except New Brunswick and Ontario for young adults aged 25 to 34. In New Brunswick and Ontario, where Francophone populations were already

sizeable, migration did not have a large effect on the proportion of Francophones with university degrees.

## Young Francophone women show largest increase in the proportion with a university degree

One of the most notable changes since the 1960s resulting from social change and education reform is undoubtedly the large-scale enrolment of women at postsecondary institutions, especially universities. In 1971, the gap between university educated men and women aged 25 to 34 was considerable. Among all three linguistic groups, men were at least twice as likely as women to have a

university degree. For example, the proportion of Francophone men with a university education was 10% compared with 4% of Francophone women. The corresponding percentages were 14% versus 6% for Anglophones, and 12% versus 6% for allophones.

By 1991, the number of 25- to 34-year-old women with university degrees had caught up with the number of men in all three language groups and by 2001 they had surpassed them. The change was most pronounced among Francophone women, whose proportion with a university degree grew nearly sevenfold between 1971 and 2001. Allophone women recorded the second largest



	Anglophones		Francophones		Allophones	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	% of 25- to 34-year-olds					
1971	14	6	10	4	12	6
1981	16	12	12	8	19	14
1991	16	16	14	14	21	20
2001	21	26	19	27	32	33

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.

	Anglophones		Francophones		Allophones	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	% of 30- to 39-year-olds					
1971	3.2	1.1	3.0	1.2	3.4	1.3
2001	3.5	3.2	3.6	3.3	10.0	6.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.

increase in the proportion who had university degrees over this period, followed by Anglophone women. In 2001, Francophone women lead Francophone men by 7 percentage points, the widest gender gap among language groups.

#### Allophones most likely to have a graduate degree

Over the last 30 years, the number of individuals aged 30 to 39<sup>4</sup> with a master's or doctoral degree has increased nearly fivefold, contributing to Canada's highly-specialized skills and research capabilities. However, since the total population has also increased over these decades, the proportion of 30- to 39-year-old graduate degree holders has stayed fairly constant, at around 3%, for Anglophones and Francophones. The proportion of allophones with master's and doctoral degrees, however, grew from 3% to 8% between 1971 and 2001.

In each language group, the growth of graduate degrees was stronger

among women than men, so by 2001 both Anglophone and Francophone women had caught up to men. Once again, allophones were the exception. Among this group, men were much more likely than women to hold a graduate degree (10% versus 6%), probably the result of changes in immigration policy placing more emphasis on education as an entry criterion for some classes of immigrants.

Despite considerable progress made by Francophones in Quebec, Anglophones and allophones aged 30 to 39 were almost twice as likely to have a master's or doctoral degree in that province. Outside Quebec, on the other hand, 4% of Francophone men and women aged 30 to 39 had graduate degrees, compared with 3% of Anglophones. Among allophones both inside and outside Quebec, the proportion who had such a degree was more than twice as large as among Francophones.

#### Summary

All three language groups — Anglophones, Francophones and allophones — have made notable improvements in their levels of education over the past 30 years. In all three groups, the proportion of individuals with a less than grade 9 education has dropped and the share with a university education has climbed. While in 1971 Francophone Canadians were clearly behind Anglophones in educational attainment, they have since made considerable progress at all levels. In fact, the proportion of Francophones with a university degree exceeds that of Anglophones in every province outside Quebec. In Quebec, continuing a historical trend, Anglophones have higher levels of education than do Anglophones in other provinces.

Many social changes coincided with the large-scale increase in the proportion of women with postsecondary education, especially university education. While in 1971 women were much less likely to have a university degree than men, by 2001 women were more likely to have a degree in all three language groups, with francophone women showing the largest change. Women increased their representation not only in bachelor's degrees, but also in master's and doctorates as well.

In all language groups, young men aged 20 to 24 were more likely than young women to have not completed high school. A number of them, however, attended educational institutions at the time of the Census.

4. This age group was chosen rather than the 25 to 34 age group because students enrolling in master's or doctoral programs tend to be older.



# Parental leave: More time off for baby

by Katherine Marshall

This article has been adapted from "Benefiting from extended parental leave," *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, March 2003, vol. 4, no. 3, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE.

New parents have much to learn. Although generally considered a happy event, the birth of a baby brings with it significant stresses. Little sleep, redefined roles, the loss of many personal freedoms and the responsibility of taking care of a helpless infant are just some of the tasks that need to be mastered. The transition period of adjusting to the demands of this new lifestyle is often made smoother when parents are able to take some time off work and be home with their newborn.

However, because of financial issues and job security, staying at home, particularly for longer periods of time, is not always feasible. Over the years, the Canadian government has extended parental leave several times to allow mothers and fathers more time with their children. What are the effects of this expansion? Do parents now remain at home longer with their infants, and are there socio-demographic factors which influence the length of leave time taken? Although both fathers and mothers are eligible to receive parental leave, to date mothers are taking advantage of it in much larger numbers. This article examines the labour market characteristics of women who take time off work to take care of their children.

## **Paid leave allowance increases substantially**

The *Unemployment Insurance Act* (EIA)<sup>1</sup> of 1940 introduced unemployment insurance to Canada, but it was another 30 years before the *Act* provided provisions for maternity leave. Starting in 1971, mothers with 20 or

more insurable weeks of earnings could claim up to 15 weeks of maternity benefits. Almost two decades later, in 1990, 10 weeks of parental leave benefits were added to the original 15 weeks. These 10 weeks, which could be used by either parent, or split between them,<sup>2</sup> could be claimed only after the birth of the child and had to be taken within 52 weeks of the birth.

Another significant change in December 2000 increased parental leave benefits from 10 to 35 weeks, effectively raising the total paid leave parents could take from six months to one year. To qualify, parents must have worked for 600 hours in the past 52 weeks, down from the previous threshold of 700 hours. However, the rate of

1. In 1996, the *Unemployment Insurance Act* became the *Employment Insurance Act* (EIA).

2. Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC). 1996. *The History of Unemployment Insurance*. Ottawa: HRDC.

## CST What you should know about this study

The Employment Insurance Coverage Survey (EICS), a supplement to the Labour Force Survey (LFS) since 1997, studies the extent of coverage of the Employment Insurance program. Starting in 2000, a special maternity supplement was added to help monitor the effect of the extended parental benefit program, which began December 31, 2000.

The supplement asked new mothers detailed questions on their labour market situation before and after the birth/adoption of their child. Other information collected included the timing of any breaks, the receipt of Employment Insurance (EI) by type and benefit level, as well as individual and household income prior to or since the birth/adoption. The survey also asked about spousal use of parental benefits, as well as some employer- and childcare-related questions. In cases where an event had not occurred — for example, a mother's return to work or a husband's claim for parental benefits — subsequent questions about intentions were asked. Calculations of the time off work are based on both completed and intended leave spells.

The sample included roughly 1,350 mothers with children under 13 months of age in both the 2000 and

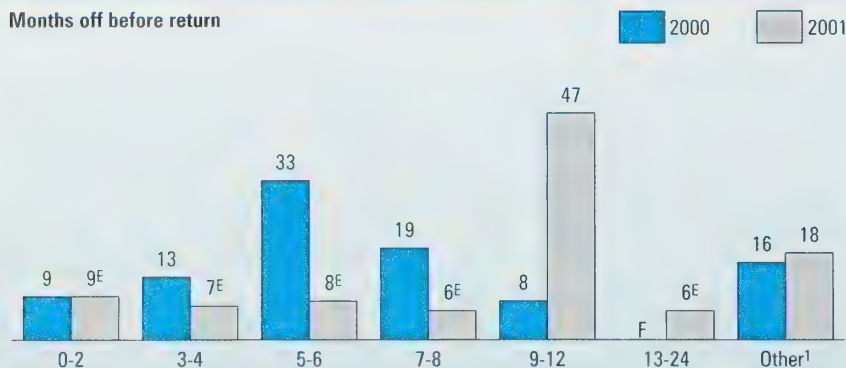
2001 surveys. However, almost 500 of those interviewed in 2001 had given birth or adopted their child in 2000 and were therefore excluded from the analysis. This paper examines the labour market behaviour of a sample of mothers who gave birth before and after the implementation of the parental benefit amendment, that is, births in 1999 or 2000, and 2001.

*Employment prior to birth:* Women were considered employed if they reported working one or more weeks for pay or profit in any of the 52 weeks preceding the birth of the child.

Reference job characteristics were collected at the time of the LFS, which took place 4 to 6 weeks before the EICS. For women who were not yet back to work, the term refers to their last main job held; for women who had already returned, it refers to their current main job. If mothers, while pregnant or on leave, received employer payments, private insurance payments or other benefits in addition to EI maternity or parental benefits, they were considered as receiving a top-up.

### CST The proportion of mothers who took 9 to 12 months off work to care for their infants increased sharply

Months off before return



<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

<sup>F</sup> Too unreliable to be published.

1. Those who planned to return in 25 months or more, planned to return but did not know when, or did not plan to return at all.

Source: Statistics Canada, Employment Insurance Coverage Survey.

benefit remained unchanged at 55% of prior weekly insurable earnings, up to a maximum of \$413 per week.

One aim of the 2000 amendment was to enable working parents to care for their infant longer and still allow them secure re-entry into employment. After the extension of parental benefits, all provinces and territories revised their labour codes to give full job protection of 52 weeks or more to employees taking paid or unpaid maternity or parental leave.<sup>3</sup>

3. Under provincial or territorial labour codes, job-protected parental leave is granted to those with continuous employment, which can range from less than a week to one year.



## More mothers stay home for longer periods of time

In both 2000 and 2001, over 300,000 mothers had infants at home. In both years, roughly three-quarters of these mothers had been employed<sup>4</sup> prior to the birth of the child. And regardless of whether they received 10 weeks or 35 weeks of parental leave, just over 8 in 10 returned or planned to return to work within two years in both years.<sup>5</sup> Receiving longer paid leave does not appear to have affected mothers' return-to-work rate.

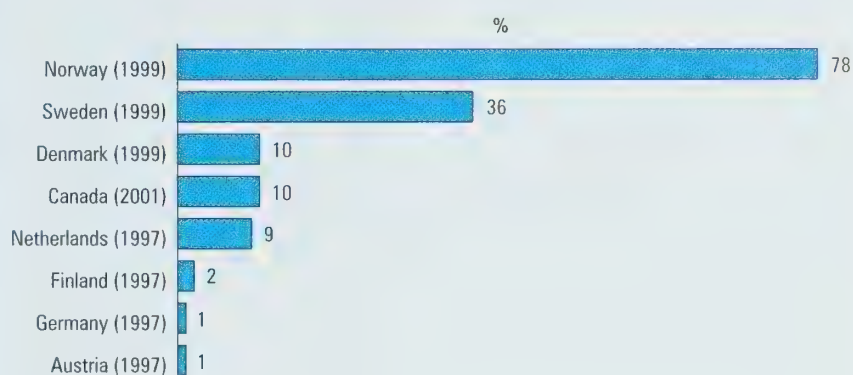
The combination of increased access to parental benefits and women's greater labour force participation raised the overall proportion of all new mothers receiving maternity or parental benefits from 54% in 2000 to 61% in 2001. Among those with paid jobs, the corresponding proportions jumped from 79% to 84%, respectively. Still, in 2001, 39% of mothers with newborns did not receive birth-related benefits because they were not in the labour force (23%), were paid workers who were ineligible or did not apply for benefits (12%), or were self-employed (5%).

For mothers who returned or planned to return to work within two years of childbirth, the most common return time changed from 5 to 6 months in 2000 to between 9 and 12 months in 2001. Clearly a result of the longer paid-benefit period, the

## CST Proportion of fathers claiming parental leave triples

The proportion of fathers who claimed or planned to claim paid parental benefits jumped from about 3% in 2000 to 10% by 2001. This is both a statistically and socially significant increase. Although the length of time involved is not known, approximately 1 in 10 fathers take a formal leave from their job to be at home caring for a newborn. This rate moves Canada ahead of many other countries, but still leaves it considerably behind those that offer non-transferable leave to fathers — Norway, for example, where almost 80% of fathers take parental leave.

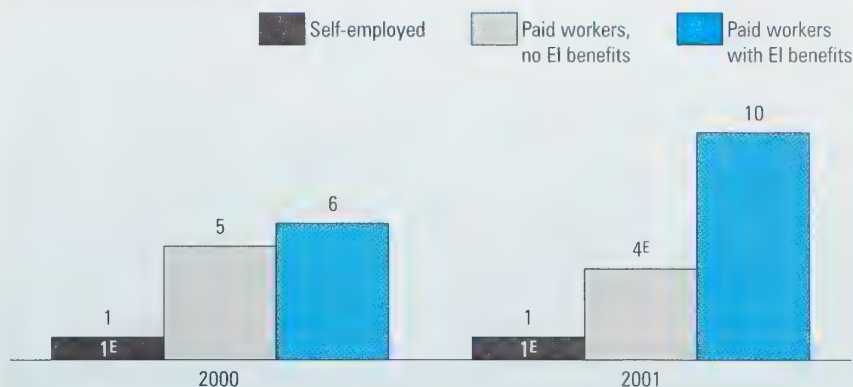
Fathers' participation in paid parental leave in selected countries



Sources: European Industrial Relations Observatory on-line ([www.eiro.eurfound.ie](http://www.eiro.eurfound.ie)); Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2001; Statistics Canada, Employment Insurance Coverage Survey, 2001.

## CST The time self-employed mothers took off work remained unchanged

Median months before return



<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

1. Based on completed spells only and therefore likely underestimates the true time off.  
Source: Statistics Canada, Employment Insurance Coverage Survey.

4. For at least one of the 52 weeks.

5. This finding differs from a 1993-94 study of women returning to work after childbirth using the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID), where 93% of women reported being back to work within two years. One reason for the difference may be that at the time of the Employment Insurance Coverage Survey (EICS), about 8% of mothers were undecided about their future return. With the undecided removed, 90% of the women in the EICS also reported returning within two years.



proportion of women returning to work after about a year off (9 to 12 months) jumped from 8% to 47% between the two years.

Roughly 1 in 10 women in both years took either no time, or only one or two months, off work after childbirth. The vast majority of these early returnees were self-employed or employees without maternity or parental leave benefits. At the other end of the spectrum, in both years, fewer than 2 in 10 women did not plan to return to work, or did plan to return but either did not know when or gave a date beyond two years.

### Time off work does not increase for self-employed mothers

Since self-employed individuals do not pay into the Employment Insurance program, they are not entitled to maternity or parental leave benefits. Moreover, entrepreneurs on leave can face a double financial loss, not only because of their own lost earnings but because of the possible expense of hiring a replacement worker.<sup>6</sup> As a result, the median time off work among self-employed women who returned to work within two years was only one month in both 2000 and 2001.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, employees who for whatever reason did not receive maternity or parental benefits also took very little time off work — five months in 2000, and four months in 2001.

The median time at home for women with benefits increased from 6 months in 2000 to 10 months in 2001. Although most took advantage of the revised parental leave program and were, or planned to be, off work for almost a year (67%), one-quarter stayed at home for 8 months or less, while the remainder took 13 to 24 months. These groups of mothers share many similarities; they had roughly the same median age (30), the same marriage rate (95%), and the same education (7 out of 10 had a postsecondary diploma or university degree).



About 3 in 4 mothers with infants under 13 months worked before their child's birth

	2000	2001
<b>Total mothers</b>	<b>314,300</b>	<b>203,300<sup>1</sup></b>
	%	
Worked during year before birth	74	77
Spouse claimed or planned to claim parental benefits <sup>2</sup>	3 <sup>E</sup>	10*
Worked prior to birth	100	100
Returned or planned to return to work within 2 years <sup>3</sup>	84	82
Reference job was paid	93	93
Employees	100	100
Received EI maternity and/or parental benefits	79	84
Received EI and employer or other top-up	23	20
Returned or planned to return to same employer <sup>4</sup>	84	89

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

\* Statistically significant difference between the two years at the .05 level or less.

1. The total of mothers in 2001 was 326,600, but because the extended parental benefit program began in 2001 only those who gave birth in 2001 were included.

2. Of those with a spouse present.

3. This finding differs from a 1993–94 study of women returning to work after childbirth using the Survey of Labour Income and Dynamics, where 93% of women reported being back to work within two years. At the time of the Employment Insurance Coverage Survey (EICS), about 8% of mothers were undecided about their future return. With the undecided removed, 90% of the women in the EICS also reported returning within two years.

4. Of those who took a break from work of one week or longer, and returned or planned to return within 18 months.

Source: Statistics Canada, Employment Insurance Coverage Survey.

However, their husbands' participation in the program differed significantly. Almost one-quarter of the husbands of women who took eight months or less off claimed or planned to claim benefits, while only

a handful of husbands of the long leavetakers did so. Logically, if fathers claim some of the 35 paid parental leave weeks, mothers would have less than a year of paid leave for themselves, and thus a shorter stay at

6. Marshall, K. Autumn 1999. "Employment after childbirth." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE) 11, 3: 18-25.

7. All self-employed women in 2000, and most in 2001, who had not yet returned to work were not asked about their intention to return. Therefore, the calculations are based on completed spells only and likely underestimate the true time off. However, the majority of the self-employed had already returned, and well over half did so in less than three months. This is consistent with analysis of self-employed mothers using SLID (Marshall 1999). Also, self-employed mothers who gave birth in 2000 were included in the 2001 data in Chart 2.

	Within 2 years <sup>1</sup>	Within 1 year	
		0–8 months	9–12 months
<b>Total employees</b>	<b>97,600*</b>	<b>24,000</b>	<b>65,700</b>
<b>Median time off (months)</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Personal characteristics</b>			
Median age (years)	31	30	31
		%	
Spouse employed <sup>2</sup>	90	84	92
Spouse not employed	10 <sup>E</sup>	F	F
Spouse claimed or planned to claim parental benefits <sup>2</sup>	10 <sup>E</sup>	F	F
Spouse did not claim benefits	90	77 <sup>E</sup>	94*
High school or less	28	F	29
Postsecondary diploma, university degree	72	73 <sup>E</sup>	71
<b>Income</b>			
Had employer top-up	26	27 <sup>E</sup>	26 <sup>E</sup>
No top-up	74	73	74
<b>Annual personal earnings</b>			
Under \$20,000	35	49 <sup>E</sup>	29*
\$20,000–\$39,999	45	31 <sup>E</sup>	51
\$40,000 or more	21	F	20 <sup>E</sup>
<b>Annual household earnings</b>			
Under \$40,000	41	46 <sup>E</sup>	38
\$40,000–\$59,999	34	32 <sup>E</sup>	34
\$60,000 or more	25	F	28 <sup>E</sup>
Median weekly EI benefits	316	300	323
<b>Job-related<sup>3</sup></b>		%	
Full-time job	86	82	87
Part-time job	14	F	13 <sup>E</sup>
Permanent job	95	87	98*
Temporary job	F	F	F
Unionized	36	33 <sup>E</sup>	34
Not unionized	64	67 <sup>E</sup>	66

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

F Too unreliable to be published.

\* Statistically significant difference at the .05 level or less. Tests were done between the two return groups for each variable.

1. Excludes cases of non-response. The sample for those who took or planned to take 13 to 24 months off work was too small to present by individual characteristics.

2. Only those with spouses, which was 95% for all groups.

3. Refers to reference job at time of interview.

Source: Statistics Canada, Employment Insurance Coverage Survey.

home. Further analysis<sup>8</sup> indicated that women with partners who claimed or planned to claim parental benefits were 4.6 times more likely to return to work within eight months than those with partners who did not claim benefits.

### Lower income associated with quicker return to work

Significantly more mothers who returned within eight months reported annual earnings below \$20,000 in their previous or current job (49%), than those who returned after almost a year (29%).<sup>9</sup> In other words, lower individual earnings were associated with a quicker return to work. For example, mothers with maternity or parental leave benefits who returned to work within four months had median annual earnings of just under \$16,000. This suggests that women with lower earnings (and possibly lower savings) may not be financially able to stay at home for an entire year on 55% of their earnings.

Since personal income influences total household income, early returnees were also more likely to be part of a household whose total income was under \$40,000 — 46%, compared with 38% for those who returned between 9 and 12 months.

Receiving an employer top-up or other compensation in addition to paid maternity and parental benefits does not appear to affect the timing of returning to work. Just over one-quarter of all employees who returned or planned to return to work within

8. A logistic regression model was used to examine the probability of having taken less than 9 months off work. The dichotomous dependent variable was less than 9 months (= 1) and 9 to 12 months (= 0).

9. An assumption is made that employment before and after the birth is largely similar. This is based on the fact that well over 80% of the women return to the same employer, and 90% to the same hours (Marshall 1999).



two years enjoyed this benefit.<sup>10</sup> Although the top-up was substantial for many — half received a supplement large enough to equal 90% or more of their previous earnings — its median duration was only 15 weeks.

The proportion of women receiving maternity and/or parental benefits as well as a financial top-up from either their employer or another source was 20% in 2001 and 23% in 2000. Women were much more likely to receive a top-up if they worked for a large firm (in 2001, 31% of those employed in firms of 500 employees or more compared with 18% of those in smaller firms).

### Women in permanent jobs more likely than others to take longer leave

Working full-time does not appear to be associated with the length of time mothers take off from work to take care of their children. Most mothers who took or planned to take a year off had worked full-time in their previous or current job (87%), as had those who took less time off (82%). Similarly, nearly equal proportions (one-third) of these two groups reported their job as unionized.

However, one job-related factor that did contribute to a relatively early return to work, despite receipt of maternity or parental leave benefits, was job permanency. Almost all (98%) mothers on leave for a year had a permanent job, compared with 87% of women who returned in eight months or less and 75% of those who returned in four months or less. Roughly 90% of these non-permanent jobs were temporary, term, contract or casual and so would, in theory, be less likely to offer job protection. Women in non-permanent jobs

were almost five times more likely to return to work in less than nine months than those in permanent jobs.

Some of the key factors influencing the time away from work for women with maternity and parental benefits may be interrelated. For example, non-permanent jobs generally offer lower wages than permanent ones, so an early return to work might reflect the possibility of job loss, economic necessity, or both.

### Summary

In 2000, a significant change to the *Employment Insurance Act* added 25 weeks of paid parental leave to the pre-existing 10. Including the 15 weeks of maternity benefits, parents are now entitled to receive up to one year of paid leave while caring for their infants.

Most of those who received these benefits took significantly more time off work after the birth or adoption of their child. However, one-quarter returned to work within eight months. Significant factors linked with a shorter leave from work included a father's participation in the parental benefit program, a mother's job being non-permanent, and low employment earnings. In addition, the program amendment had no effect on those without access to parental leave: self-employed women, paid workers who did not qualify or apply for benefits, and those who had not previously been employed.

Since the extension of parental leave benefits, fathers' participation rate in the program has increased. Not only are most newborns receiving longer full-time care by their mothers, but many are experiencing an at-home father for some of the time as well.



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10. The overall top-up rates of 20% and 26% found in Tables 1 and 2 respectively, differ because of the population examined. The 26% includes only employees with maternity or parental benefits who had returned to work within two years.

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# Update on education

This article is adapted from *Education in Canada: Raising the standard*, published as part of the March 11, 2003 data release on education from the 2001 Census of Population. The data release is available from the Statistics Canada Web site: [www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/educ/pdf/96F0030XIE2001012.pdf](http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/educ/pdf/96F0030XIE2001012.pdf).

Canada entered the 21<sup>st</sup> century with a population better educated than ever before. During the 1990s, the number of Canadians with college or university education increased steadily, continuing a trend that began after the Second World War. The current emphasis on higher education has its roots in three recent developments: a global and technologically advanced economy where wealth is created by increasingly well-trained workers; the arrival of highly skilled immigrants in the 1990s; and uncertain labour market conditions during the recession of the early 1990s, which encouraged young people to continue their studies.

## More college and university graduates

Over the past 50 years, the educational levels acquired by Canadians have grown remarkably. The proportion of individuals with a university degree, for example, surged tenfold, from 2% of the population aged 25 and over in 1951 to 20% in 2001, while the share of Canadians with less than grade 9 plunged from 55% to 11%. The trend toward university education was evident during the 1990s: the proportion of individuals aged 25 and over with a university

## CST What you should know about this study

The Census of Population asked people aged 15 and over to report their level of education. For this study, the population was classified into five levels based on the highest level of education completed and arranged in a hierarchy reflecting increasing time commitments to schooling.

- ☐ Less than high school graduation
- ☐ High school graduation
- ☐ Trade certificate (includes registered apprentices)
- ☐ College certificates or diplomas from community colleges, CEGEPs, schools of nursing, schools of radiology, technical institutes or private business colleges.
- ☐ University education (includes certificates below and above a bachelor's degree, bachelor's degrees, master's degrees, earned doctorates, and professional degrees in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine and optometry).

degree rose from 15% to 20% between 1991 and 2001. Similarly, the percentage of those with a college diploma increased from 12% to 16% during this decade, while that of individuals with a trade certificate remained stable at 12%.

All in all, the number of postsecondary graduates increased by 2.7 million individuals between 1991 and

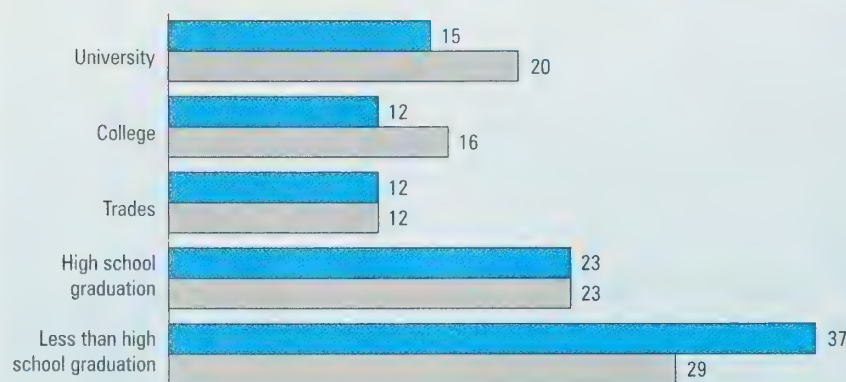
2001, a growth rate nearly three times higher than the rate at which the population aged 15 and over grew: 39% versus 14%.

Educational levels increased most dramatically for 25- to 34-year-olds. This group was aged 15 to 24 when the recession of the early 1990s hit and, as a result, many chose to continue their studies while delaying

% of population aged 25 and over

1991

2001



Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1991 and 2001.

entry into the labour market. In 2001, 28% of this group of young adults had a university qualification, 21% had a college diploma and 12% had trade credentials. In all, 61% had post-secondary credentials compared with 49% of those aged 25 to 34 in 1991.

As more and more jobs required postsecondary education, young men and women became more likely to extend their stay in their parents' home, and delay marriage and starting their own families. In the early 1990s, there was a major shift away from supporting postsecondary students through grants to student loans. With increased loan limits introduced in the mid-1990s, students received larger loans and less grant assistance. When combined with the higher costs of attending a postsecondary institution, the effect has been a dramatic increase in the average debt loads of students who borrow.<sup>1</sup> These factors have contributed to record high educational costs among young people and delayed economic independence from their parents.

However, education plays a crucial role in the development of individuals

and society. Because education empowers people to be involved in the issues and debates affecting them and society, an educated and knowledgeable work force is vital to a strong and prosperous economy.<sup>2</sup> Educated people also derive other benefits from their education. It has long been known that education greatly influences the types of jobs people obtain, the likelihood of being employed and the level of employment income. Indeed, according to the 2001 Census, people with a bachelor's degree were more likely to have higher earnings than high school graduates.

#### Fewer people without a high school diploma

In accordance with the increasing educational attainment of Canadians, it is not surprising that the number of adults aged 25 and over who did not have a high school diploma declined by nearly 690,000 between 1991 and 2001 to just under 5.8 million Canadians (37% to 29%, respectively). The pattern was similar among the 25- to 34-year-old age group. The proportion without a high school diploma

dropped from 23% in 1991 to 15% in 2001 (17% of young men and 13% of young women).

While there are fewer individuals who left high school before obtaining a diploma, those who did so still face many risks. To begin with, high school leavers are considerably more likely than high school graduates to be unemployed and have lower earnings. In addition, a host of other unfavourable conditions, such as poor health, crime, substance abuse and economic dependency<sup>3</sup> are associated with leaving school early. Some people eventually do recognize these risks and complete their secondary studies at a later time, while others may enrol in programs or courses outside of secondary school.

#### More university-educated young women than young men

In 2001, young women were less likely than young men to have not completed high school, and more likely to have a bachelor's or master's degree.<sup>4</sup> Women's

1. Clark, W. Winter 1998. "Paying off student loans." *Canadian Social Trends*. p. 26.
2. Statistics Canada and Council of Ministers of Education, Canada. February 2000. *Education Indicators in Canada — Report of the Pan-Canadian Education Indicators Program 1999* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-582-XIE). p. 1.
3. Gilbert, S., L. Barr, W. Clark, M. Blue and D. Sunter. 1993. *Leaving School: Results From a National Survey Comparing School Leavers and High School Graduates 18 to 20 Years of Age* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 81-575E). p. 4.
4. The level of schooling of 25- to 34-year-olds provides a picture of the future education profile for the entire population. Because most 25- to 34-year-olds have completed their formal schooling, their level of education provides a leading indicator of the future educational attainment of the entire population. Most young people aged 15 to 24 are still in school, so their current level of education understates the skills they will ultimately have.



presence has become more common at higher and higher levels of university education. In 1991, young women aged 25 to 34 represented just over half (51%) of bachelor's degree holders, but men remained in the majority at the master's and doctoral levels. According to the 2001 Census, young women in this age group increased their majority among bachelor's degree holders to 56% and, for the first time, outnumbered men at the master's level (52%). They still, however, fell short of men at the doctoral level (37%).

Between 1991 and 2001, educational attainment rose for both young men and women, but the growth in university credentials was stronger for young women. In 1991, equal proportions (18%) of men and women aged 25 to 34 had a university degree, certificate or diploma. By 2001, 25% of men and 30% of women had acquired these qualifications. During the 1990s, the number of university-educated women increased by 41%, while the number of men grew by 14%.

#### Colleges draw more women, trades more men

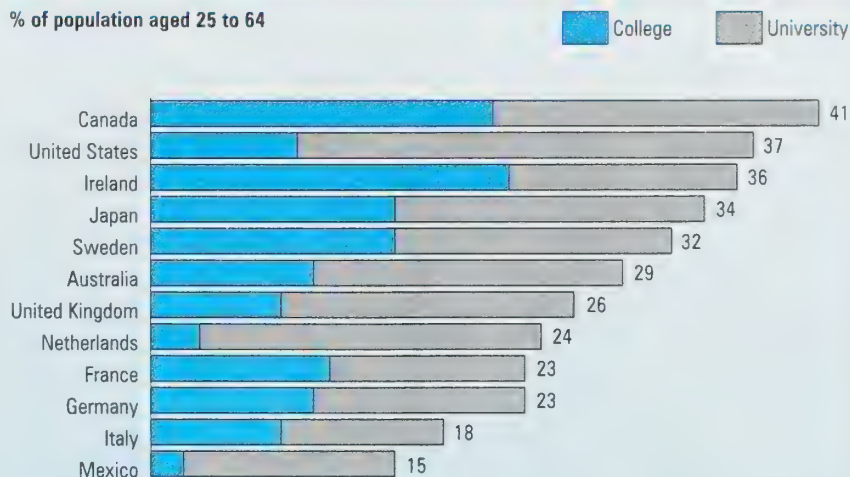
College education has also become more popular among young adults, increasing to 20% of 25- to 34-year-olds in 2001 from 17% in 1991, although the actual number of young college graduates declined slightly during the decade (by less than 1%). In 2001, women continued to represent the majority (58%) of young college graduates, a situation not much different from 10 years earlier.

Trades certificates and diplomas appear to be becoming less common. The proportion of young adults aged 25 to 34 holding trades certificates and diplomas decreased from 14% in 1991 to 12% in 2001 (a 28% drop in the actual number). In 2001, men accounted for 60% of young adults with a trades education, a slightly smaller majority than in 1991.

CST

In 2000, Canada led OECD countries in combined college and university educational attainment

% of population aged 25 to 64



Source: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Education at a Glance*, 2002.

#### Highly-educated immigrants

The Canadian labour force has benefited from the skills recent immigrants brought with them. Immigrants arriving in Canada in the 1990s had much higher levels of education than earlier entrants. In 2001, for example, 61% of recent working-age immigrants who arrived in the 1990s had qualifications above the high school level, compared with 48% of immigrants who arrived in the 1980s or 1970s. About 41% of recent immigrants were university-trained; another 13% had a college diploma and 8% a trade certificate.

Not only were recent immigrants better educated than their earlier counterparts, but they were also considerably more likely to have a university education than Canadian-born 25- to 34-year-olds, the other source of new workers. In 2001, 28% of young Canadian adults had a university education. On the other hand, recent immigrants were less likely than those born in Canada to have college (13% versus 21%) or trade (8% versus 12%) credentials. Trades qualifications have become increasingly

less common among immigrants, dropping from about 14% of 1970s entrants.

#### Canada, a leader in educational attainment

According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Canada ranked fourth among OECD countries in the proportion of its working-age population (aged 25 to 64) with a university degree and second with college credentials. In 2000, 20% of Canada's working-age population had a university education, and 21% a college education.

If university and college are combined, Canada has the highest proportion of university- or college-educated working-age population among OECD countries. In 2000, 41% of Canada's population aged 25 to 64 had either a college or university education, compared with 37% in the United States, 36% in Ireland and 34% in Japan.

One reason for this situation could be that Canada offers two parallel systems of education after high school,



each requiring a high school completion for admission and each playing a key role in the development of knowledge and skills. In contrast, in most other OECD countries, either university or college is prevalent.

### **Education gap narrows slightly between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people**

Among 25- to 64-year-olds who identified themselves as members of an Aboriginal group, the proportion with a high school diploma increased from 21% to 23% between 1996<sup>5</sup> and 2001. At the same time, the percentage of those with postsecondary credentials increased from 33% to 38%, and the share without high school diploma was down substantially from 45% to 39%.

These changes have slightly narrowed the gap between the educational attainment of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations. Working-age Aboriginal people were more likely to have a trade certificate (16%) than their non-Aboriginal counterparts (13%), while 15% of Aboriginal and 18% of non-Aboriginal individuals of working age had a college education. The gap remained wide for university graduates: 8% of the Aboriginal working-age population had a university education, compared with 23% of non-Aboriginals.

### **Engineering most popular field of study for university men**

Changes in the skill profile of university graduates over the last decade reflected technology and business trends in the 1990s. Slightly fewer than 3.7 million people aged 25 to 64 had a university education in 2001. That year, engineering (15%), business and commerce (10%) and teaching (8%) were the top three fields of study for working-age university-educated

men. Teaching (20%), nursing (6%) and business and commerce (6%) were the most popular fields of study for working-age women. While the proportion of students studying engineering and business and commerce increased between 1991 and 2001, the proportion that went into teaching and nursing declined. Teaching and engineering were the top two most common fields in both 1991 and 2001, while business and commerce crept up from fourth to the third most common field.

College graduates included just over 2.9 million working-age individuals, up by 0.9 million since 1991. According to the 2001 Census, the top five fields of study for college graduates were office administration and secretarial sciences (10%), nursing (8%), financial management (8%), business and commerce (7%), and data processing and computer science technologies (6%). Data processing and computer science technologies was the only newcomer to the top five since 1991, when it ranked seventh among college graduates. During the 1990s the share of working-age college graduates in office administration and nursing declined, while the proportion of those in financial management, business and commerce, and data processing and computer science technologies grew.

Trades certificates were more common among men. Nearly 2.1 million people aged 25 to 64 held trades certificates in 2001, up by 0.2 million since 1991. This represented a 9% rise, which was less than the growth rate for the entire working-age population. The top three fields were building and construction trade (16% of trade certificate holders), mechanical engineering trades (13%) and office administration and secretarial sciences (11%). During the 1990s, the proportion of people with these trades certificates declined slightly. In the meantime, the percentage of

data processing and computer science trades graduates moved into the top 10 fields with 3% of trade graduates in 2001.

### **Summary**

The Canadian population is now better educated than ever and Canada ranks highest among OECD countries in the proportion of its working-age population with college and university education combined. Among young adults aged 25 to 34, college and university education grew in popularity, while trade/vocational education was less common in 2001 than in 1991. At the university level, young women represented a majority, not only at the bachelor's but also at the master's degree level, while men remained in the lead at the doctoral level. Immigrants who arrived in the 1990s are more likely to have a university education than Canadian-born individuals and have contributed to raising the level of education in Canada.

The economy of the 21<sup>st</sup> century will be driven by knowledge, skills, and creativity. Data from the Census show that Canadians have continued to upgrade their education in order to get good jobs to support themselves and their families. In a fast-paced, global economy, today's workplace requires not only an ability to adjust smoothly to a continuously changing environment, but also higher levels of education and skills.



5. Comparable data does not exist for 1991.



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# Healthcare in French outside Quebec

by Louise Marmen and Sylvain Delisle

**P**revious studies have shown that patients and healthcare providers communicate better when they both speak the same language.<sup>1</sup> It thus comes as no surprise that French-language minority communities are concerned about access to healthcare services in their own language. Many of these communities are aging and, according to some studies, their socioeconomic situations predispose them to greater health risks than those faced by the general population.<sup>2</sup>

1. Bowen, S. November 2001. *Language Barriers in Access to Health Care*. Study prepared for Health Canada.

2. Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA). 2001. *French Language Healthcare: Improving Access to French-Language Health Services*. Ottawa: FCFA. p. viii; Public Health Research, Education and Development Program (PHREDP). 2000. *Rapport sur la santé des francophones de l'Ontario*. Sudbury: PHREDP. p. 100.

## CST What you should know about this study

This article uses data from the 2001 Census, collected from a 20% sample of Canada's households. The two-part question, newly included in 2001, asks about the language that is most often used and other languages that are used on a regular basis at work by individuals who were employed between January 1, 2000 and May 15, 2001. These data yield information on the pool of healthcare practitioners across Canada who provide services in French.

For the purposes of this article, "French speakers" are defined as individuals whose mother tongue<sup>1</sup> is French and who still speak this language, and those whose mother tongue is not French, but it is their first official language spoken.<sup>2</sup> These individuals make up the potential pool of healthcare users (referred to interchangeably as patients) who may require health services in French. "French-speaking practitioners" refers to healthcare providers who use French at work most often or on a regular basis.

The geographic regions employed in this article correspond to the geographic concepts used in the census. Major centres correspond to census metropolitan areas (CMAs) and census agglomerations (CAs). A "fringe" area is defined as one in which 5% or more of the total employed labour force that lives in its constituent municipalities works in a CMA or a CA urban core. A "remote" region is a municipality in which less than 5% of the total employed resident labour force works in a CMA or a CA urban core.

1. "Mother tongue" refers to the language first learned at home in childhood and still understood by the respondent at the time of the census. According to this definition, the respondent does not have to be able to speak the mother tongue language any more.

2. This variable represents the official language actually spoken by the person which, in most cases, was acquired first. It is based on three linguistic variables in the census: knowledge of the official languages, mother tongue and language spoken at home. For further information, see the 2001 Census Dictionary (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 92-378-XIE).



Until quite recently, national-level information on the use of French in the workplace by healthcare practitioners was not available. The 2001 Census of Population, however, asked a new two-part question about the language used most often at work and other languages that are used regularly in the workplace.

Using data from the 2001 Census, this article examines the potential pool of healthcare practitioners who use French at work (most likely within the framework of their practice) as well as those who do not regularly use French in the workplace, but who have knowledge of that language. The paper focuses on two groups of "primary health care"<sup>3</sup> providers: general practitioners and nurses who work in the healthcare field.

### French speakers older than overall population

French speakers (potential patients requiring service in French) include individuals whose mother tongue is French and who can still conduct a conversation in this language, as well as those whose first official language spoken is French, although it is not their mother tongue. Other than in New Brunswick, French speakers only represent a small proportion of the total population of the provinces and territories outside Quebec.

Not surprisingly, the most likely group to require healthcare services are seniors. Therefore, the higher the proportion of seniors in a group, the greater that group's demand for such services. In all provinces other than New Brunswick, the proportion of persons aged 65 and over is higher among French speakers than among the population as a whole (in New Brunswick it is the same at 13%). In Saskatchewan, seniors make up 28% of French speakers, twice the proportion in the general population (14%). A large gap also exists in Prince Edward Island (22% versus 13%,

CST

In most provinces, French speakers are older than the general population

	Total population		French-speaking population <sup>1</sup>	
	'000	% aged 65 and over	'000	% aged 65 and over
Newfoundland and Labrador	508	12	2	14
Prince Edward Island	133	13	6	22
Nova Scotia	898	13	36	19
New Brunswick	720	13	241	13
Ontario	11,286	12	587	13
Manitoba	1,104	13	46	20
Saskatchewan	963	14	18	28
Alberta	2,941	10	66	13
British Columbia	3,869	13	71	16

1. Individuals whose mother tongue is French and who still speak this language, and those whose mother tongue is not French, but it is their first official language spoken.

Source: Census of Population, 2001.

respectively), while in Ontario the difference is negligible (13% versus 12%).

The geographic distribution of French-speaking seniors varies depending on the province they live in. In some provinces, they are heavily concentrated in large urban centres (for example, 80% in Ontario, 84% in British Columbia), while in others the majority reside in fringe areas or remote regions (73% in Nova Scotia, 61% in New Brunswick). In provinces such as in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, the concentration of individuals most likely to require healthcare services is therefore higher in the fringe and remote regions.

A substantial proportion of French-speaking seniors are unilingual French speakers, a situation that makes them all the more vulnerable in circumstances when healthcare services are not available in their language. In New Brunswick, unilingual individuals represented some 32% of the senior French-speaking population in 2001. In the remote regions of this province, their proportion was even

higher (45%). In Ontario, 12% of this group was unilingual throughout the province as a whole, with 25% of them living in remote regions. In the other provinces, unilingual French seniors represented less than 4% of all senior French speakers.

### In New Brunswick and Ontario the proportion of French-speaking healthcare providers corresponds to the proportion of French-speaking population

The access of French speakers to French-speaking practitioners can be estimated by comparing the proportion of French-speaking healthcare providers in the population to the proportion of French speakers. The

3. Shah defined this as care dispensed directly by a practitioner during the patient's initial contact with the system. Shah, C.P. 1998. *Public health and preventive medicine in Canada* (4th ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press. p. 385.

"relative density ratio"<sup>4</sup> indicates if the number of healthcare providers who work in French is proportionate to the number of French-speaking individuals. If the ratio is 1, the proportion of healthcare providers who work in this language corresponds to the proportion of French-speaking individuals. Then, assuming that the total number of practitioners is adequate to meet the needs of the overall population, the French-speaking population should be well-served. If the ratio is larger than 1, healthcare providers are proportionally more numerous than French-speaking clients and if the ratio is less than one, the opposite is true. For example, in Ontario the relative density ratio for general practitioners is 1.7; this implies that the proportion of French-speaking general practitioners is nearly twice as high as the proportion of French-speaking clients.

Among the provinces, only New Brunswick and Ontario have a relative density ratio greater than 1 for both the general practitioner and nurse categories. While the proportion of French-speaking general practitioners is greater than the proportion of French speakers in all provinces,<sup>5</sup> that of French-speaking nurses is lower in all provinces except New Brunswick and Ontario.

Some healthcare practitioners who do not use French at work did, nonetheless, indicate that they were able to conduct a conversation in French. Although not everyone who can converse in French is able to work in that language, there is a strong possibility that at least some portion of this group would be able to do so. Accordingly, the potential pool of French-speaking healthcare practitioners comprises those who use French at work as well as those who do not, but who are, nonetheless, able to conduct a conversation in French.

Including this group substantially increases, in all provinces except New



**In New Brunswick and Ontario, the proportion of French-speaking general practitioners and nurses exceeds that of the French-speaking population**

	Relative density ratio	
	General practitioners	Nurses
Newfoundland and Labrador	F	F
Prince Edward Island	F	F
Nova Scotia	F	0.8
New Brunswick	1.1	1.3
Ontario	1.7	1.3
Manitoba	F	0.8
Saskatchewan	F	F
Alberta	1.4	0.4
British Columbia	1.4	0.3

F Too unreliable to be published.

Note: Ratios are not comparable between provinces.

Source: Census of Population, 2001.

Brunswick, (where practitioners able to conduct a conversation in French already seem to be practicing in this language) the number of French-speaking healthcare providers and, hence, this group's ability to meet the healthcare needs of their French-language clients. For example, in Alberta, the number of French-speaking general practitioners will then increase from 130 to 760 and in British Columbia from 140 to 975. However, if clients do not know how to find this additional group of practitioners or if these practitioners are not willing to provide services in French, the benefits might be quite limited.

### Healthcare practitioners concentrated in urban areas

In general, people can only make use of the services of healthcare providers if these practitioners are located within an accessible distance. Because healthcare providers, including those who work in French, are highly concentrated in large urban centres, French speakers in these locations do have adequate access to healthcare practitioners — particularly general practitioners — in their own language.

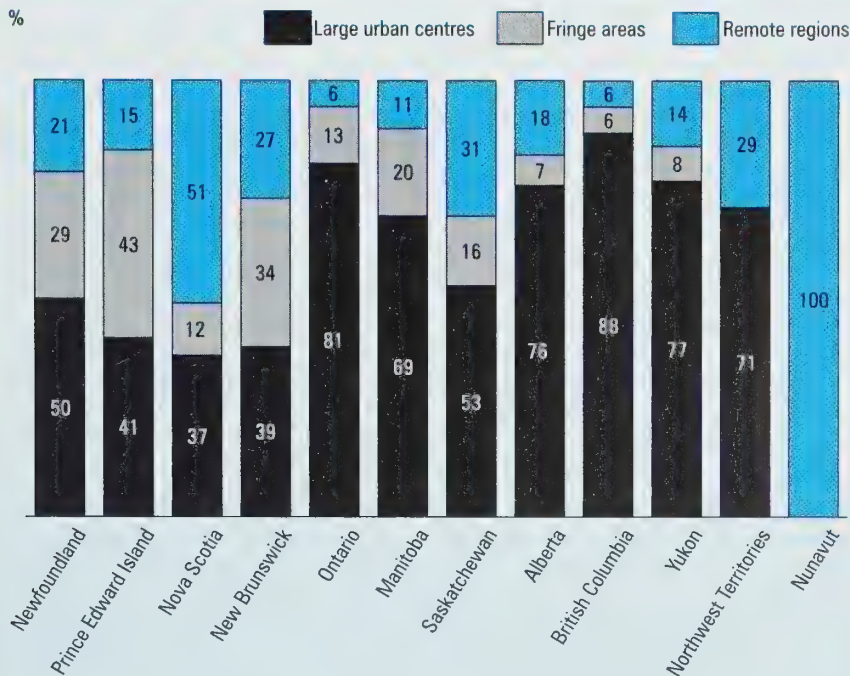
In Ontario, 91% of French-speaking practitioners are located in urban centres, while in British Columbia and Alberta the proportions are 89% and 85%, respectively. Although in New Brunswick the proportion is lower (73%), it is still almost twice that of French speakers who reside in this province (39%).

However, in many provinces a notable proportion of French speakers tend not to live in large cities; they are more likely to reside in remote regions and fringe areas, and for them finding healthcare service in French may be more problematic.

4. For general practitioners in a given province, this ratio is determined by dividing the proportion of French-language general practitioners by the proportion of French speakers. For more on the relative density ratio, see Robichaud, J.-B. 1986. *Objectif 2000. Vivre en santé en français au Nouveau-Brunswick. Le système de services de santé*, vol. 2. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie. p. 176.

5. Because of small sample sizes in some provinces, data must be used with caution.





Source: Census of Population, 2001.

For example, in eastern Canada, the proportion of French speakers who live in remote regions or fringe areas ranges from 50% in Newfoundland to 63% in Nova Scotia. In the remaining provinces, these proportions are lower, but in some cases, still substantial. In Saskatchewan, for instance, 47% of French speakers live in remote or fringe regions, as do 33% in Manitoba and 25% in Alberta. In contrast, in Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia, the majority of French speakers reside in large urban centres (81%, 76% and 88%, respectively).

However, even in provinces where the majority of French speakers live in large urban centres, the distribution of practitioners to clients can be problematic. For example, in Metropolitan Toronto, general practitioners who work in French in the Metropolitan Toronto area are highly concentrated in certain cities such as Toronto, Mississauga, Richmond Hill and Brampton,

while nearly one quarter of French speakers live outside these cities. French speakers in these locations have easier access to health care in French, a situation not necessarily shared by those outside these areas.

Practitioners who do not work in French but are able to converse in that language are also more concentrated in large urban centres. Therefore, including them in the pool of available French-speaking practitioners does not change the regional distribution of this group.

### Summary

Members of French-speaking communities outside Quebec are older than the overall population in all provinces except New Brunswick. In New Brunswick and Ontario only, the relative density ratio for French-speaking general practitioners and nurses is at least one, suggesting that as long as the number of practitioners is adequate to

meet the needs of the overall population, the pool of French-language practitioners is sufficient to serve French-speaking clients.

However, an adequate number of French-speaking practitioners within a province is not enough — health-care providers also have to be conveniently located for patients to be able to take advantage of their services. In the eastern provinces, French-speaking communities tend to be located in the fringe areas and remote regions, while healthcare providers are highly concentrated in large urban centers. And even in provinces where French-speaking communities are more likely to be located in urban centers, French speakers do not necessarily live in cities where French-speaking practitioners are highly concentrated.

The presence of practitioners who do not use French at work but are able to conduct a conversation in that language could increase the pool of French-speaking practitioners. However, these healthcare providers are not always inclined to use French at work and, even if they do, French-speaking patients need to be aware of their existence and know where to find them.

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## Dropout rates are lower for students who work moderate hours

Students who worked moderate hours at a paid job during their last year of high school were least likely to drop out of school. However, those who worked 30 or more hours a week during their last year of high school were the most likely to end up leaving.

Those who worked 30 or more hours a week were 2.4 times more likely to drop out than students with moderate work schedules (between 1 and 20 hours). Students who did not work at all were 1.5 times more likely to drop out than moderate workers.

The 2000 Youth in Transition Survey confirmed previous research showing that there is a strong relationship between the number of hours students worked and dropping out of high school. It points to the fact that working and finishing high school can mix, if working is done in moderation.

**Learning, earning and leaving: The relationship between working while in high school and dropping out**

*Catalogue no. 81-595-MIE, no. 4*



## High school graduates delay postsecondary studies

According to the 2000 Youth Transition Survey, 4 in 10 high school graduates delay postsecondary

studies by at least one year. By age 20, 2 in 10 high school graduates still have not enrolled in a postsecondary program.

High school graduates who did not continue studies by the age of 20 were more likely to have parents without a postsecondary education. In particular, the odds of not going to postsecondary school were three times greater than for graduates whose parents had a university degree.

Those who did not continue studies also reported that their parents thought furthering education past high school was not very important. Their odds of not going on to postsecondary studies were three times greater than those whose parents thought furthering their education was very important.

High school graduates who had delayed their postsecondary education by at least one year but had enrolled by the age of 20 differed from those who went directly to postsecondary studies. Those who delayed their studies were less socially engaged and had lower grades in their last year in high school compared to those who had gone on to postsecondary studies right after high school.

**Who goes to postsecondary education and when: Pathways chosen by 20-year-olds**

*Catalogue no. 81-595-MIE2003006*



## Rate of spousal violence higher in 2001 than in 1995

One-quarter of all violent crimes reported to a sample of police services in 2001 involved cases of family violence. Two-thirds of these cases were violence committed by a spouse or an ex-spouse (including

common-law partners), and 85% of the victims were women.

Rates of spousal violence reported to the police fluctuated between 1995 and 2001, but increased overall for both sexes. However, the rates were much higher for women. In 2001, there were 344 female victims of spousal abuse for every 100,000 women aged 15 and older in the population, compared with 302 in 1995. For men, in 2001, there were 62 incidents for every 100,000 men in the population, up from only 37 in 1995.

In some cases, spousal violence escalates to homicide. There has been an overall decline in spousal homicide rates since data collection began in 1974. At that time, the rate of females killed by a spouse or ex-spouse was 16.5 females per million couples and in 2001, the rate had dropped to 8.3. The rate of men killed by a spouse or ex-spouse was at its highest in 1975, at 5.9 men per million couples, and in 2001, the rate had dropped to 2.1.

**Family violence in Canada:**

**A statistical profile 2003**

*Catalogue no. 85-224-XIE*



## Home computers less common in rural areas

Data from the Youth in Transition Survey showed that only 8% of households with students aged 15 and 16 in cities with a population of 100,000 or more had no computer at home. However, the proportion was twice as high, around 18%, among students in villages with a population of less than 3,000.

In contrast, 29% of students who lived in rural villages reported that

they used a computer at school almost everyday, compared with 19% of students in cities. In addition, 8% of rural youth reported almost daily computer use at libraries, compared with 4% of students in cities.

Rural schools reported less access to educational software, and tended to use fewer types of specialized and subject-specific software than urban schools. They were also less likely to have different types of technical training for computer teachers.

**The digital divide in Canadian schools: Factors affecting student access to and use of information technology**

*Catalogue no. 81-597-XIE*



## Movie theatre attendance on the rise

According to new data from the Motion Picture Theatres Survey, movie theatres, including drive-ins, sold 119.6 million tickets in the 2001 fiscal year, an increase of only 0.3% from the previous year. Reduced attendance at older cinemas has been offset by increases at huge new multiplex cinemas, which have contributed significantly to gains during the last decade. In addition, the industry suffered an operating loss of \$26.5 million.

Nevertheless, the number of tickets sold was at a 41-year high. Attendance has increased for nine straight years, but the rate of growth has fallen in recent years. After posting a growth rate of 14% in 1998, attendance rose just 6% in 1999 and only 0.3% in 2000.

**Movie theatres and drive-ins**

*Catalogue no. 87F0009XPB*

# SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
<b>POPULATION</b>									
<i>Total population (July 1)</i>	29,035,981	29,353,854	29,671,892	29,987,214	30,248,412	30,509,323	30,790,834	31,110,565	31,413,990
0-17 years	7,129,781	7,165,631	7,205,638	7,209,093	7,185,557	7,147,999	7,118,038	7,090,396	7,057,074
18-64 years	18,466,074	18,676,227	18,884,263	19,119,660	19,333,509	19,568,865	19,813,562	20,092,509	20,367,720
65 years and over	3,440,126	3,511,996	3,581,991	3,658,461	3,729,346	3,792,459	3,859,234	3,927,660	3,989,196
<i>Population rates (per 1,000)</i>									
Total growth	11.2	10.8	10.4	9.8	8.0	9.0	9.5	10.3	8.2
Birth	13.3	12.9	12.3	11.6	11.3	11.1	10.6	10.6	10.4
Death	7.1	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.3	7.5
Natural increase	6.1	5.7	5.2	4.4	4.1	3.9	3.5	3.3	3.0
Immigration	7.7	7.2	7.6	7.2	5.8	6.2	7.4	8.0	7.3
Total emigration	0.8	0.8	1.4	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.2	2.4
Interprovincial migration	9.9	9.8	9.6	9.7	9.9	9.1	9.4	9.8	10.9
Marriage	5.5	5.5	5.3	5.1	5.1	5.1	5.1	5.0	5.0
<i>Percent growth in largest census metropolitan areas (to July 1)</i>									
Toronto	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.2	1.9	1.9	2.1	2.7	2.4
Montréal	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.9	0.9	1.1
Vancouver	3.2	3.2	3.3	2.9	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.8	1.1
<b>HEALTH</b>									
Total fertility per woman	1.66	1.64	1.59	1.55	1.54	1.53	1.49	..	..
Teenage pregnancies	46,484	45,161	44,140	41,540	41,588	..	..	..	..
Pregnancy rate per 1,000 women aged 15-19	48.8	46.9	45.1	42.1	41.7	..	..	..	..
Low birthweight babies (< 2,500 grams) as % of all births	5.8	5.8	5.7	5.8	5.7	5.6	5.6	..	..
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)	6.3	6.1	5.6	5.5	5.3	5.3	5.3	..	..
<i>Life expectancy at birth (years)</i>									
Men	75.0	75.1	75.5	75.8	76.0	76.3	76.7	..	..
Women	81.0	81.1	81.2	81.3	81.5	81.7	82.0	..	..
<i>Selected causes of death for men (per 100,000 males)*, **</i>									
Cancer	242.7	239.9	237.6	230.7	231.1	228.9	225.3	..	..
Lung	75.5	73.2	72.9	69.9	70.1	70.3	64.3	..	..
Colorectal	25.0	25.1	24.3	23.5	24.1	24.1	24.0	..	..
Prostate	30.7	31.0	29.0	28.4	27.9	26.7	26.7	..	..
Heart diseases	249.5	245.6	240.9	231.8	227.8	220.8	202.9	..	..
Cerebrovascular diseases	54.8	54.6	52.5	52.4	49.6	47.3	46.4	..	..
External causes**	65.8	66.1	64.3	60.8	61.2	63.7	58.6	..	..
<i>Selected causes of death for women (per 100,000 females)*, **</i>									
Cancer	155.6	152.4	155.7	149.1	151.6	149.4	149.4	..	..
Lung	31.9	31.3	33.6	32.3	34.5	34.8	34.4	..	..
Colorectal	16.1	16.2	15.7	15.2	15.7	15.2	15.1	..	..
Breast	30.0	28.7	28.9	27.4	26.4	25.2	25.0	..	..
Heart diseases	139.9	137.5	135.3	130.2	126.2	121.1	113.4	..	..
Cerebrovascular diseases	45.9	44.9	44.3	44.2	41.9	40.0	38.8	..	..
External causes**	25.3	25.8	25.5	24.4	24.4	25.0	23.5	..	..

.. Data not available.

\* Age-standardized to the July 1, 1991 Census of Population (both sexes combined).

\*\* Includes environmental events, circumstances and conditions as the cause of injury, poisoning and other adverse effects.

\*\*\* Significant disruption of some mortality trends was caused by the implementation of ICD-10 as the Canadian mortality classification standard, effective in 2000. The impact of the implementation of ICD-10 on Canadian mortality trends is assessed in Health Statistics Division's ICD-9/ICD-10 comparability study.

Sources: Population estimates come from Demography Division, and birth and death statistics come from Health Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.



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# LESSON PLAN

*Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends in the classroom*

Lesson plan for **"Across the generations: Grandparents and grandchildren"**

## Objectives

- ☐ To consider the social expectations associated with grandparenthood.
- ☐ To examine the factors influencing the level of involvement between grandparents and grandchildren.

## Classroom instructions

1. Poll your class to see how many students have at least one living grandparent. Use this as an introduction for a discussion of grandparenthood. How do the students see the grandparent–grandchild relationship as different from the parent–child relationship?
2. Explore with your class the social roles of grandparents and grandchildren and the expectations associated with each role. Examine the possible ways in which the grandparent–grandchild relationship might vary across age or sex of grandparents and grandchild?
3. Ask your students about the living arrangements of their grandparents. Have them think about advantages and disadvantages of having three generations in one home. In what ways can grandparents be both caregivers and care recipients at the same time?
4. Discuss with your class potential reasons for the existence of skip generation households, i.e. households in which grandparents are the full-time caregivers of their grandchildren, and there are no parents present. What challenges are faced by these grandparents, both within their own family and from the wider society?
5. Have your students research how grandparent–grandchild relationships might differ in another culture or historical period and have them report the findings to the rest of the class.
6. How might parental separation or divorce affect the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren? What could be some positive and negative consequences?
7. Although our society expects that many older people enjoy being grandparents, it can also be viewed as an involuntary role that arises from the actions of others. Have your students consider possible reasons why older persons might not wish to be active grandparents.

## Using other resources

*Profile of Canadian Families and Households: Diversification Continues*

[www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/fam/contents.cfm](http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/fam/contents.cfm)

Che-Alford, Janet and Brian Hamm. Summer 1999. "Under one roof: Three generations living together." *Canadian Social Trends*.

[www.statcan.ca/english/kits/pdf/social/3gene2.pdf](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/pdf/social/3gene2.pdf)

- ☐ For further ideas on this topic, see the lesson plan for "Under one roof: Three generations living together."  
[www.statcan.ca/english/kits/social/3gen1.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/social/3gen1.htm)
- ☐ To find other lessons for home economics and family studies, check out our Statistics Canada Web site at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach.htm). There are more than 30 lesson plans for secondary home economics and family studies.
- ☐ See the Family studies kit at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm) for detailed graphs that you can use to make overheads for your class.

## Educators

You may photocopy "Lesson plan" or any item or article in *Canadian Social Trends* for use in your classroom.



# Looking for health information online?

## Link up with Statistics Canada's ***Guide to Health Statistics!***



**T**he *Guide to Health Statistics* is a series of online links that lead you to health information published by Statistics Canada.

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- ➡ health status
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**Bookmark it!**

Here are some of the handy links you'll find in the *Guide to Health Statistics*

### Links to insightful analysis and data on:

Cancer

#### Health Surveys

- ➡ Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS)
- ➡ National Population Health Survey (NPHS)
- ➡ Smoking and Tobacco Use Surveys
- ➡ Health Care
- ➡ Therapeutic Abortions
- ➡ Vital Statistics

### Sample links to related sites:

- ➡ Canadian Cancer Statistics
- ➡ Canadian Institute for Health Information (CIHI)
- ➡ Health Canada
- ➡ Canadian Health Network



**Health information? We've got connections!**



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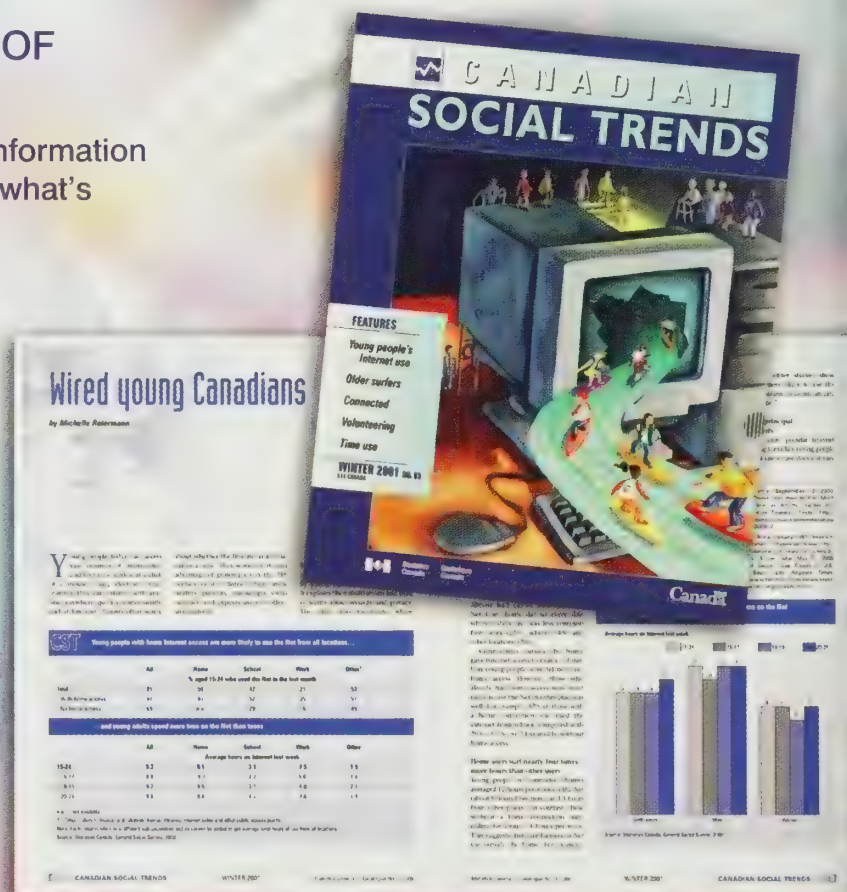
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# SOCIAL TRENDS



## FEATURES

*Blacks in Canada*

*Visible minority  
neighbourhoods*

*Profile of disability*

*Non-reserve  
Aboriginal people*

*Feminization of work*

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**Sharon (Lafferty) Fletcher** has a background in art education and now paints full time. Her focus is primarily on figurative works characterized by bold lines and strong colour. Humour is a common element and the artist takes pleasure in creating pieces that bring a quick smile to the viewer or remind them of someone they know. Sharon currently resides in Ottawa, Ontario, where she displays her work locally and via the Internet.

# Blacks in Canada: A long history

by Anne Milan and Kelly Tran

Canada is home to many visible minority groups,<sup>1</sup> some of whom have a long history here, while others have immigrated in recent years. In 2001, the three largest visible minority groups were Chinese, South Asians, and Blacks. There is, however, much diversity between and within minority groups. Blacks, in particular, vary extensively in their roots, with some born in the Caribbean, others in Africa, while yet others have been in Canada for many generations.

The experience of Canadian-born Blacks in this country differs from

that of foreign-born Blacks. This analysis will examine the historical and current residential settlement patterns of Blacks, and the places of birth of Black immigrants, especially those who arrived during the 1990s. In addition, the labour market experience of Blacks, and some family characteristics will also be explored.

## First Blacks came to Canada 400 years ago

The first Black person in Canada, who served as an interpreter under Governor de Monts in Nova Scotia, was

reported in 1605.<sup>2</sup> From 1628 until the early 1800s, Black slavery existed, particularly in Eastern Canada, where Loyalists immigrating from the United States would often bring slaves with them. In the late 1700s, Canada also became home to some Black Loyalists who had been promised land grants for supporting the British during the American Revolution.<sup>3</sup> Many early Blacks chose to remain in Canada and founded settlements in Nova Scotia and Ontario, and, later, in Western Canada with the opening of the frontier in the mid-1800s.

The 1901 Census of Population reported 17,400 Blacks (or what the early censuses refer to as "Negro") living in Canada, or 0.3% of the population. In the early 1900s, the growth in the Black population did not keep pace with that of other visible minority groups, particularly the Chinese. For example, while the number of Blacks actually decreased from 21,400 in 1881 to 19,500 in 1931, the number of Chinese grew tenfold from



1. Visible minorities are defined by the *Employment Equity Act* as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-White in colour". "Black" is one of the groups which make up the visible minority population, as identified by Employment Equity regulations.
2. Saney, I. 1998 "Canada: The Black Nova Scotian odyssey: a chronology." *Race & Class* 40, 1: 78-91.
3. Henry, F., C. Tator, W. Mattis, and T. Rees. 1998. *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society*. Scarborough, ON: Nelson Thomson.



This analysis uses data from the 2001 Census of Population, which asked respondents to identify themselves as belonging to one or more population groups. Blacks self-reported by checking a mark-in category on the questionnaire. Respondents could identify with several groups and could therefore check several boxes on the questionnaire, but most chose only one. With the exception of a small number of respondents who identified themselves as belonging to both Black and White groups, multiple responses are excluded from this analysis.

This type of question, used to identify visible minorities, was first introduced in the 1996 Census. Prior to 1996, data on visible minorities were derived from responses to the ethnic origin question, in conjunction with other ethnocultural information, such as language, place of birth and religion. Because different Census questions are used to identify the Black population over time, there may be some comparability problems in the time series.

4,400 to 46,500 during the same period.<sup>4</sup> Most Blacks living in Canada during this time resided in Ontario or the Maritime provinces. Over the next several decades, the number of Blacks in Canada grew slowly, to 32,100 in 1961, accounting for 0.2% of the population.

During the 1960s, immigration policy reforms eliminated preferences for immigrants of European origin and implemented a points-based system for economic immigrants to ensure maximum employability in an economy where skilled labour was becoming a priority.<sup>5</sup> Immigrants gained points based on criteria such as occupational skills, educational level, knowledge of English or French and age. Consequently, the source countries of immigrants became more diversified, including increasing numbers of Blacks from the Caribbean and Africa. By 1991, there were 504,300 Blacks living in Canada, roughly 1.9% of the total population.

### Blacks are the third largest visible minority group

In 2001, Blacks were the third largest visible minority group in Canada, behind Chinese and South Asians. The 2001 Census enumerated 662,200 Blacks, representing just over 2% of Canada's total population and 17% of the visible minority population.

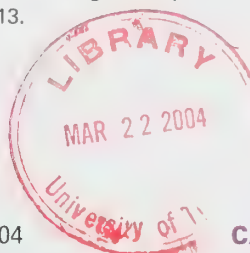
	Black population	Blacks in population (%)
1871*	21,500	0.6
1881	21,400	0.5
1901	17,500	0.3
1911	16,900	0.2
1921	18,300	0.2
1931	19,500	0.2
1941	22,200	0.2
1951	18,000	0.1
1961	32,100	0.2
1971	34,400	0.2
1981	239,500	1.0
1991	504,300	1.9
2001	662,200	2.2

\*Includes Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Note: 1996 was the first time a question on the population group was asked and used to derive counts for visible minorities. Prior to 1996, data on visible minorities were derived from responses to the ethnic origin question, in conjunction with other ethnocultural information, such as language, place of birth and religion.

Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of population.

- Statistics Canada. 1936. 1931 *Census of Canada* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-1931, vol. 1).
- Reitz, J.G. 2002. *Immigration and Canadian Nation-building in the Transition to a Knowledge Economy*. [www.utoronto.ca/ethnicstudies/Reitz\\_june2002.pdf](http://www.utoronto.ca/ethnicstudies/Reitz_june2002.pdf) (accessed March 11, 2003). p. 3-4; Reitz, J.G. 2001. "Immigrant success in the knowledge economy: Institutional change and the immigrant experience in Canada, 1970-1995." *Journal of Social Issues* 57, 3: 579-613.





In 2001, in Atlantic Canada, Blacks represented just over 1% of the population. Yet many Blacks in the Atlantic provinces have a history dating back several centuries. Most Black residents in Atlantic Canada are third-generation Canadian or beyond. Like their counterparts across Canada, Blacks who settled in Halifax more than 200 years ago were promised land grants and adequate food, clothing and shelter, but instead, many experienced destitute conditions. Despite these difficulties, Blacks established communities throughout Nova Scotia, one of the most famous located in the part of Halifax known as Africville.<sup>1</sup> A tightly-knit social network, Africville was formed by Black families as a way to maintain their culture and to resist poor treatment by the broader society.

Over time, several facilities were developed near the area, including a slaughterhouse, an infectious diseases hospital and a garbage dump. By the early 1960s, these residents were still without water or sewer services, and many residents were living in substandard housing. Consequently, Africville was perceived by outsiders

to be a slum area. The residents of Africville were relocated into public housing. This meant many Blacks became renters instead of landowners, and many felt that they lost the sense of belonging and neighbourhood which they had previously shared. A monument to Africville now stands in a park where the vibrant community once stood.

Today, in Nova Scotia, and especially in Halifax, there is a large population of Blacks who have called Canada home for many generations. In 2001, over 90% of Blacks living in Halifax were Canadian-born, the highest proportion among census metropolitan areas. Eight in 10 Haligonian Blacks aged 15 and older were third-generation or beyond, compared with one in 10 Blacks in Canada overall. There were nearly 13,100 Blacks in Halifax in 2001, representing close to 4% of the population, the third largest proportion behind Toronto and Montréal.

1. Clairmont, D.H. and D.W. Magill. 1999. *Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

In comparison, Blacks accounted for 13% of the population of the United States.<sup>6</sup> Between 1991 and 2001, the population of Canada increased by 10% while the Black population grew by 31% and the total visible minority population grew by 58%. The rapid growth of the Black population and other visible minorities has contributed to Canada's changing cultural mosaic.

## Nearly half of Blacks are born in Canada

The recent rapid growth of many visible minority groups has been driven by immigration. However, many Blacks have a long history of residing in

Canada. In 2001, nearly one half (45%) of Blacks were born in Canada, second only to Japanese (65%), and much higher than South Asians (29%) or Chinese (25%). In fact, that year only one in five Blacks was an immigrant who came to Canada in the previous 10 years compared with more than one in three Chinese and South Asians.

Among the Black population aged 15 and older, second-generation Blacks, or those who were Canadian-born with at least one parent born outside of Canada, accounted for 19% of the Black population. This proportion is behind only that of the Japanese population (31%) and was slightly higher than the national average (16%).

The third generation and beyond are those who have a longer ancestral history in Canada. These are people whose parents were also born in Canada. In 2001, 10% of Blacks were third-generation Canadian. In areas

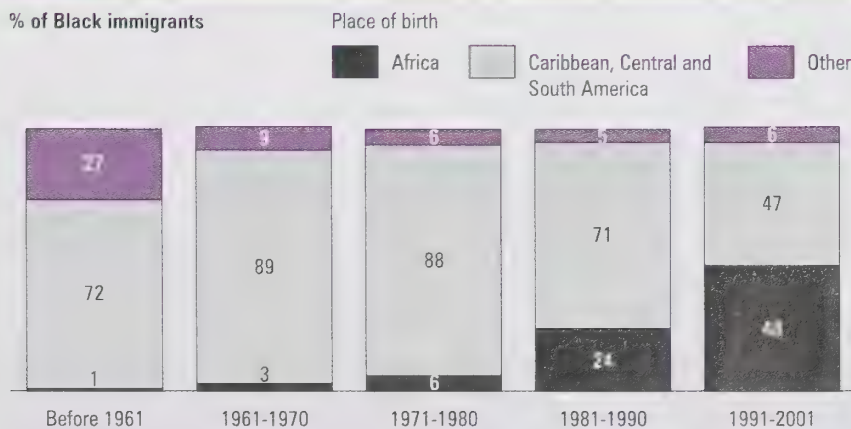
which have a longer history of Black settlement, such as Nova Scotia, more than four in five (84%) Black residents were at least third-generation Canadian.

## Black immigrants come from many countries

In 2001, about 48% of Black immigrants who came to Canada in the 1990s were born in Africa, virtually the same proportion as those born in the Caribbean, Central and South America (47%). Compared with Black immigrants from earlier decades, the source regions have shifted dramatically. Among foreign-born Blacks who came to Canada before 1961, only 1% was born in Africa, and 72% came from the Caribbean, Central and South America.

The Black foreign-born community consists of people from many different parts of the world, but predominantly from countries in the Caribbean and Africa. According to the 2001 Census,

6. McKinnon, J. April 2003. "The Black population in the United States: March 2002." *Current Population Reports*. U.S. Census Bureau. [www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/p20-541.pdf](http://www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/p20-541.pdf) (accessed October 30, 2003).



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

one third of the 4,400 Blacks who arrived in Canada prior to 1961 were born in Jamaica. Those from Barbados accounted for 15%, the United Kingdom (6%), Trinidad and Tobago (6%), and the United States (5%).

During the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, the number of Black newcomers to Canada grew. Jamaica remained the leading source of Black immigrants with 30% to 40% of all immigrants while Haiti became the second largest source. Haiti accounted for nearly 20% of Black immigrants during the 1970s and 1980s. During this period, declining proportions of Black immigrants arrived from Barbados, the United Kingdom and the United States.

According to the Census, about 139,800 Black immigrants residing in Canada in 2001 had arrived between 1991 and 2001. One fifth (20%) were from Jamaica, followed by Haiti (12%), Somalia (10%), Ghana (8%), and Ethiopia (5%).

### Black population younger than the overall population

In 2001, Blacks had a much younger age structure than the total Canadian population. Children under age 15 accounted for nearly 30% of the Black population, compared with 19% of

the total population. In addition, 17% of Blacks were aged 15 to 24 compared with 13% in the overall population. However, only 5% of Blacks were aged 65 or over, less than half the proportion of the Canadian population (12%). Possible explanations for this pattern include higher fertility and mortality rates for Blacks than the overall population.

### Black children more likely to live in lone-parent families

According to the 2001 Census, a much higher proportion of Black children aged 0 to 14 lived with only one parent than other children (46% versus 18%).<sup>7</sup> Canadian-born Black children were more likely to live with a lone parent (47%) than were foreign-born Black children (40%). Some researchers have argued that the economic obstacles faced by Blacks have affected their family circumstances.<sup>8</sup> Census data also found that Black children were more likely than other children to be living in low-income households (44% compared to 19%).<sup>9</sup>

Of the nearly 118,000 couples involving Blacks in 2001, 57% involved two Black partners, while 43% were comprised of a Black person and a non-Black person, most often a Black male

and a white female. The duration of residence in Canada for many Blacks may partially explain why they have one of the highest proportions of mixed marriages or common-law relationships among visible minority couples.

### Almost half of Canada's Blacks live in Toronto

In 2001, almost all Blacks (97%) lived in urban areas and nearly one half (47%) of the Black population, about 310,500, lived in the Toronto census metropolitan area (CMA), one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse urban areas in the world.<sup>10</sup> Blacks represent 7% of Toronto's total population, the highest proportion among CMAs. In some municipalities within Toronto, Blacks represented even larger shares of the population: Brampton (10%), Ajax (10%), and Pickering (9%).

In Toronto, 57% of Blacks were foreign-born. Close to three-quarters (73%) of the 178,200 foreign-born Blacks in Toronto were born in the Caribbean, and South and Central America, mainly from Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana. Indeed, every year since 1967 Toronto has celebrated its Caribbean presence with a carnival known as Caribana, which displays Caribbean culture in costume, music and dance.

7. Data for children aged 0 to 14 excludes a small proportion of children living in the territories or on Indian reserves.

8. Calliste, A. 1996. "Black families in Canada: Exploring the interconnections of race, class, and gender." In M. Lynn (ed.), *Voices: Essays on Canadian Families*. Toronto: Nelson Canada.

9. These are households below the low income cut-offs. The cut-offs convey the income level at which a family may be in difficult circumstances because it has to spend a greater proportion of its income on the basics (food, shelter and clothing) than the average family of similar size.

10. Statistics Canada. 2003. *Canada's Ethno-cultural Portrait: The Changing Mosaic* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 96F0030XIE2001008).



Selected census metropolitan areas	Black population (number)	% of total population who are Blacks	% of Blacks who are Canadian-born	% change in Black population 1991-2001
Canada	662,200	2.2	45	31
Toronto	310,500	6.7	40	29
Montréal	139,300	4.1	41	37
Halifax	13,100	3.7	91	24
Ottawa-Gatineau	38,200	3.6	38	75
Windsor	8,100	2.7	60	87
Oshawa	7,200	2.4	52	34
Hamilton	12,800	2.0	48	30
Kitchener	7,300	1.8	46	29
London	7,600	1.8	52	43
Winnipeg	11,400	1.7	45	17
Edmonton	14,100	1.5	49	20
Calgary	13,700	1.4	45	34
Vancouver	18,400	0.9	48	20
Non CMAs	41,000	0.4	72	14

Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of population.

Montréal has the second largest Black population in the nation (139,300), representing over 4% of its population. In some Montréal communities, Blacks represent even larger proportions of the population: Montréal-Nord (15%), LaSalle (9%) and Pierrefonds (9%). Like Toronto, most Blacks in Montréal (55%) are foreign-born and predominantly from the Caribbean, South and Central America. In 2001, 78% of Montréal's 76,200 foreign-born Blacks were born in this region, primarily Haiti where French is the official language. Fewer than one fifth (18%) of foreign-born Blacks living in Montréal in 2001 were born in Africa.

#### Canadian-born Blacks are just as likely to be university educated as others born in Canada

Blacks of prime working age (age 25 to 54) are less likely to be university educated and more likely to have a college education than the total population. In 2001, foreign-born and Canadian-born Blacks of prime working

	Total population					Blacks			
	Canadian-born		Foreign-born			Canadian-born		Foreign-born	
	1991	2001	1991	2001		1991	2001	1991	2001
Highest level of education					%				
Less than high school graduation	27	20	26	19		30	17	24	18
High school graduation	27	25	24	22		27	27	26	25
Trades	14	14	13	10		13	12	15	14
College	15	20	14	16		15	23	19	24
University	17	21	23	32		15	21	15	20
Labour force outcomes									
Age-standardized employment rate	78	81	77	76		72	76	77	77
Age-standardized unemployment rate	9.0	6.0	9.6	7.0		12.5	7.9	12.5	9.6
	1990	2000	1990	2000		1990	2000	1990	2000
Employment income					\$				
Average	34,100	37,200	34,900	34,800		29,200	29,700	30,100	28,700
Average age-standardized	34,100	37,200	34,900	34,800		30,000	32,000	30,700	29,200

Note: Includes prime working age population aged 25 to 54.

Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of population.



## ERRATA

Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-008-XPE  
*Canadian Social Trends*, Spring 2004

See article "Blacks in Canada: A long history." On page 7, the second sentence reads as follows: In 2001, 21% of foreign-born Blacks of prime-working age have a university education compared with 32% of all prime-working age immigrants.

It should read as follows:

In 2001, 20% of foreign-born Blacks of prime-working age have a university education compared with 32% of all prime-working age immigrants.



age are just as likely as all Canadian-born persons aged 25 to 54 to have a university education — about one in five. However, foreign-born Blacks are much less likely than other immigrants to have a university education. In 2001, 21% of foreign-born Blacks of prime-working age have a university education compared with 32% of all prime-working age immigrants. Recent Black immigrants tend to be better educated and more highly skilled than Canadian-born Blacks because admission of immigrants has increasingly emphasized skills which promote economic independence once in Canada.

Over the last decade, employment rates for Canadian-born Blacks improved while those of foreign-born Blacks remained the same. In 2001, the age-standardized employment rate of prime working age Canadian-born Blacks (76%) remained lower than the rate for all Canadian-born persons of prime working age (81%).<sup>11</sup> Although foreign-born Blacks aged 25 to 54 were substantially less likely to be university educated than other immigrants, employment rates were the same for both groups in both 1991 and 2001 at about 77%.

Unemployment rates in 2001 were substantially lower than they were in 1991, but rates for Blacks were higher than those for all prime working age adults. In 1991, Canadian-born and foreign-born Blacks of prime working age both had a 12.5% age-standardized unemployment rate. Like other visible minority groups, the unemployment rate of Canadian-born Blacks dropped more than that of foreign-born Blacks. In 2001, Canadian-born Blacks had a 7.9% unemployment rate compared with 9.6% for foreign-born Blacks.

Although Canadian-born Blacks aged 25 to 54 were just as likely to be university educated as all Canadian-born persons in the same age group, in 2000, Canadian-born Blacks' average employment income was substantially lower than all Canadian-born persons

(\$29,700 versus \$37,200). The younger age distribution of the Black population may contribute to the earnings gap, as younger people usually have lower earnings. Age-standardizing average employment earnings of Canadian-born Blacks aged 25 to 54 increases their average employment income to \$32,000 and reduces the earnings gap.<sup>12</sup> Between 1990 and 2000, the age-standardized average employment income of Canadian-born Blacks aged 25 to 54 increased by 7% compared with a 9% increase for all Canadian-born persons in the same age group.

Although foreign-born Blacks were less likely to be university educated than all foreign-born persons aged 25 to 54, the earnings gap was narrower than for Canadian-born Blacks, and earnings dropped between 1990 and 2000. Foreign-born Blacks aged 25 to 54 earned less than all foreign-born persons in the same age group (\$28,700 versus \$34,800). Age-standardizing foreign-born Blacks average employment income increases it to \$29,200. Between 1990 and 2000 the age-standardized average employment income for foreign-born Blacks decreased by 5% while it decreased by less than 1% for all foreign-born Canadians aged 25 to 54.

Lower employment rates and employment income and higher unemployment rates for Blacks may be related to discrimination or unfair treatment. According to the Ethnic Diversity Survey, Blacks are more likely to feel that they had been discriminated against or treated unfairly by others because of their ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion. Nearly one third (32%) of Blacks aged 15 and over said they had had these experiences sometimes or often in the past five years, compared with 20% of all visible minorities and 5% of those who were not a visible minority. Another 17% of Blacks rarely reported these experiences, compared with 15% for all

visible minorities and 5% of those who were not a visible minority.

### Summary

Blacks in Canada have diverse backgrounds and experiences in Canada. Some Blacks can trace their roots in Canada back several centuries, while others have immigrated in recent decades, and are just putting down roots. In many ways, Blacks have helped shape the cultural mosaic of the local and national landscape.

The Black population is growing faster than the Canadian population and is concentrated in Canada's largest cities, especially Toronto. Blacks are younger and their children are more likely to be living in lone-parent families and in low income households. Canadian-born Blacks are just as likely to be university educated as all persons aged 25 to 54 born in Canada, but foreign-born Blacks are much less likely to have a university education than other foreign-born persons. Blacks, in particular those who were Canadian-born, are slightly less likely to be employed and had lower employment incomes and have higher unemployment rates than all 25- to 54-year-olds.

11. All employment and unemployment rates are age-standardized. Rates for Canadian-born Blacks age 25 to 54 are age-standardized to the same age distribution as all Canadian-born persons in this age group while rates of foreign-born Blacks are standardized to the age distribution of all foreign-born people.

12. Average employment earnings of Canadian-born Blacks age 25 to 54 is age-standardized to the same age distribution as all Canadian-born people in this age group.



**Anne Milan** is an analyst with *Canadian Social Trends* and **Kelly Tran** is an analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.



# Visible minority neighbourhoods in Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver

by Feng Hou and Garnett Picot

Within Canada's large cities, ethnic neighbourhoods with a significant presence of a visible minority group vividly reflect how successive waves of immigrants have adjusted and adapted to Canadian society. The once up-and-coming neighbourhoods of some earlier European immigrant groups, such as "Little Italy" or "Little Greece," have gradually dispersed or stopped growing as the result of declining immigration from these countries.

Unlike the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, immigrants arriving in the later half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century have settled primarily in a few large metropolitan areas. Many of these recent immigrants belong to visible minority groups.<sup>1</sup> In 2001, nearly three-quarters (73%) of the nation's 4 million visible minorities lived in Canada's largest census metropolitan areas (CMAs): Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver.<sup>2</sup> According to the 2001 Census of Population, about one third (34%) of the visible minority population entered Canada during the 1990s, one third (33%) are immigrants who entered Canada before

1991 and another one third (30%) are Canadian-born.<sup>3</sup> In 2001, the three largest groups, in the decreasing order of their population size, were the South Asians, Chinese, and Blacks in Toronto; Blacks, Arabs and West Asians, and South Asians in Montréal; and the Chinese, South Asians, and Filipinos in Vancouver.

In this article, the expansion of visible minority neighbourhoods in Canada's three largest CMAs is examined using Census data from 1981 to 2001. The article explores how visible minority neighbourhoods were formed. In particular, are they formed by non-visible minority residents moving out as large numbers of a visible minority group move into the neighbourhood?

## Visible minority neighbourhoods are formed in a variety of ways

There are many possible reasons for the establishment of visible minority neighbourhoods in Canada's largest cities. International immigration has historically provided a demographic base for the emergence of ethnic neighbourhoods. Kinship ties and community

bonds associated with immigration may draw together newcomers of the same origin.<sup>4</sup> Visible minority neighbourhoods could form rapidly if immigrants from a minority group settle exclusively

1. Visible minorities are defined by the *Employment Equity Act* as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." Chinese, South Asians and Blacks are among the groups identified as visible minorities in the Employment Equity regulations.
2. Statistics Canada. 2003. 2001 Census: analysis series. *Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The Changing Mosaic* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no: 96F0030XIE 2001008).
3. In 2001, another 3% of visible minorities were non-permanent residents.
4. The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, conducted during 2000 and 2001, found that family and friends were a strong magnet for newcomers. In fact, 41% of newcomers chose where they live because they had a family member living there and 18% chose because they had friends living there. Statistics Canada. 2003. *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada: Process, Progress and Prospects* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-611).

This study used data from the 1981 to 2001 censuses. Census tracts are small geographic areas that usually have a population of a few thousand. In 2001, the median population size of tracts was about 4,000 to 5,000. In this article, a census tract is the basic unit of neighbourhood. A census tract becomes a visible minority neighbourhood if a visible minority group represents over 30% of the population of the tract.

The isolation index measures the extent to which minority group members are exposed only to one another in their neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup> The index ranges from 0 to 100, and is interpreted as the probability that a member of one group will only meet other members of the same group. In this article, the groups are particular visible minorities. For example, an isolation index value of 13 for Blacks in Toronto is interpreted as Blacks having a 13% chance of only meeting other Blacks in their neighbourhood.

The isolation index depends on a group's residential segregation where a group becomes increasingly concentrated in particular neighbourhoods and on its proportion in the CMA's population. The effect upon the isolation index of changes in a group's proportion in the CMA's population between two time points can be estimated by holding the group's initial distribution constant.

### Changes in the composition of visible minority neighbourhoods

Between 1981 and 2001, the population in some neighbourhoods grew substantially. When substantial growth occurs within a tract, the census divides it into two or more tracts. New tracts are also added as the boundaries of CMAs expand. To study changes in neighbourhoods over the 20-year period, census tracts were longitudinally

matched using published conversion tables. New tracts created due to CMA expansion are excluded from the longitudinal analysis of visible minority neighbourhoods.

The composition of the population in census tracts is traced between 1981 and 2001 using longitudinally-matched census tracts. Each tract is classified into one of four types based on the characteristics of the change in composition: relative concentration, rapid replacement, gradual transition and stable or in decline. In the case of "relative concentration", both non-visible minorities and a visible minority group increased in numbers in a neighbourhood, but the visible minority group increased at a faster pace. For both "rapid replacement" and "gradual transition", the non-visible minority population in the neighbourhood decreases while a visible minority group increases. "Rapid replacement" and "gradual transition" only differ in the rate of decrease of the non-visible minority population. "Rapid replacement" implies that the rate of decrease of the non-visible minority population is faster than that of "gradual transition."<sup>2</sup> Lastly, a minority neighbourhood is classified as "stable or in decline" if the percentage of the minority group did not increase between 1981 and 2001.

1. Massey, D.S. and N.A. Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
2. Visible minority neighbourhoods formed by rapid replacement have a non-visible minority population that decreases at a rate higher than the median rate among all tracts that experienced decreases in the non-visible minority population. The median rate of decrease between 1981 and 2001 was 24% in Toronto, 20% in Montréal and 21% in Vancouver.

### How visible minority neighbourhoods are formed

#### Method of formation

Total	142
Relative concentration	12
Gradual transition	15
Rapid replacement	111
Stable or in decline	4

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

#### Number of longitudinally-matched census tracts that are visible minority neighbourhoods in 2001

in neighbourhoods where members of the same minority already live.

Concentration of a visible minority is most likely to occur in neighbourhoods with new housing developments and owner-occupied housing. Members of a visible minority group who arrive in large numbers may have a strong demand for home ownership, which can only be satisfied where housing is in plentiful supply. Group differences in housing demand and the spatial concentration of the supply of housing in a given period may influence the formation of visible minority neighbourhoods.

New immigrants could also be restricted to poor neighbourhoods with affordable housing since they often come at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder in the receiving society. Many neighbourhoods experience a life cycle as the neighbourhoods age and as relative housing values change. The composition of the population of the neighbourhoods also changes as families in a neighbourhood are often at similar life stages (child-birth, children in school, children leaving home, retirement). When neighbourhood housing no longer meets the needs for the residents' stage in the life course, they may move away to be replaced by new immigrant groups.

Residential segregation may also endure because of "social distance."<sup>5</sup> There may be own-group preference in choosing neighbours, either on the part of minority group members to stay in proximity to each other, or as an avoidance strategy on the part of dominant group members. This tends to preserve ethnic residential segregation.<sup>6</sup> Racism and discrimination may also play a role.

### The number of visible minority neighbourhoods is growing

In this article, a visible minority neighbourhood has over 30% of its population from a particular visible minority group. The number of such



## Visible minorities have an increasing share of the population in Canada's three largest CMAs

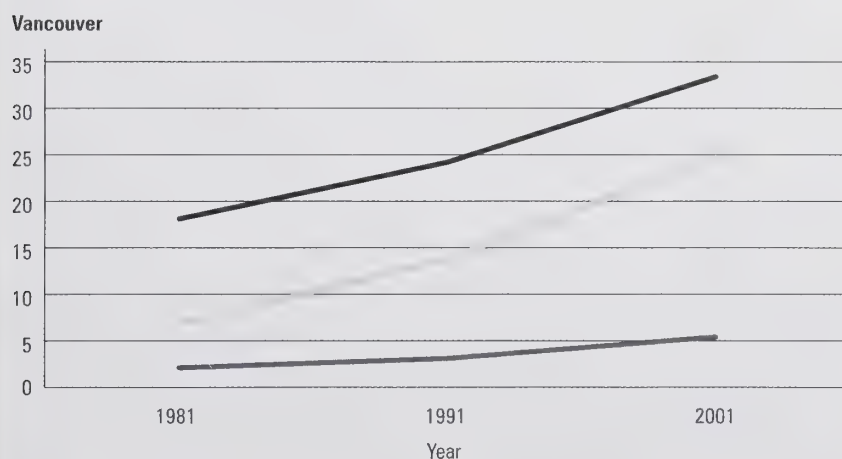
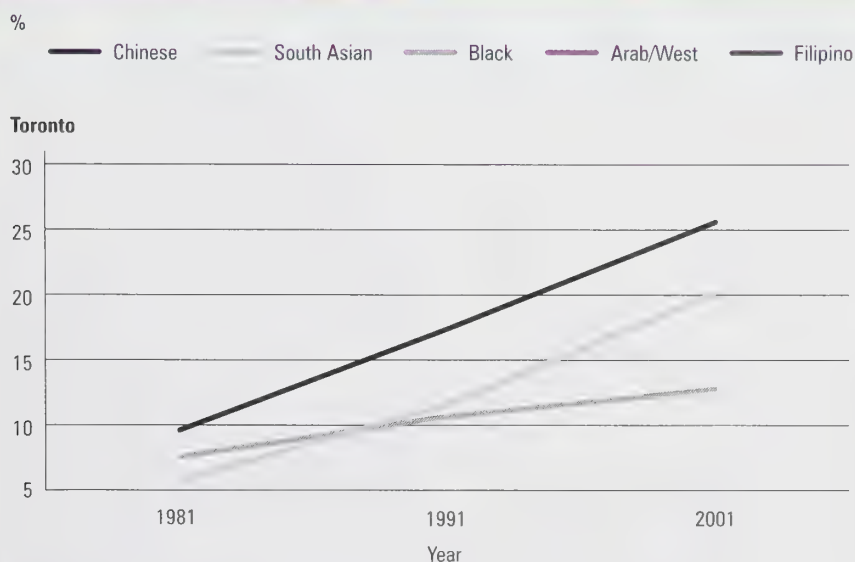
		Visible minority group as a % of the total population	Isolation index
<b>Toronto</b>			
South Asian	1981	2.7	6
	1991	6.0	12
	2001	10.6	20
Chinese	1981	3.1	10
	1991	6.4	17
	2001	9.2	26
Black	1981	4.1	8
	1991	6.2	11
	2001	6.9	13
<b>Montréal</b>			
Black	1981	1.8	5
	1991	3.2	8
	2001	4.2	10
Arab/West Asian	1981	1.2	6
	1991	3.0	11
	2001	2.4	7
South Asian	1981	0.6	3
	1991	1.0	4
	2001	1.7	12
<b>Vancouver</b>			
Chinese	1981	6.8	18
	1991	10.9	24
	2001	17.4	33
South Asian	1981	3.0	7
	1991	5.4	14
	2001	8.4	25
Filipino	1981	0.9	2
	1991	1.6	3
	2001	2.9	5

Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of population.

5. Massey, D.S. 1981. "Social class and ethnic segregation: A reconsideration of methods and conclusions." *American Sociological Review* 46, 5: 641-650; Driedger, L. 1989. *The Ethnic Factor: Identity in Diversity*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.

6. Schelling, T. 1971. "Dynamic models of segregation." *Journal of Mathematical Sociology* 1: 143-186; Clark, W. 1989. "Residential segregation in American cities: Common ground and differences in interpretation." *Population Research and Policy Review* 8: 193-197.





Note: 1996 was the first time a question on the population group was asked and used to derive counts for visible minorities. Prior to 1996, data on visible minorities was derived from responses to the ethnic origin question, in conjunction with other ethnocultural information, such as language, place of birth and religion. These changes in particular affected counts of the Arab/West Asian group.

Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of population.

neighbourhoods increased dramatically between 1981 and 2001 in Canada's three largest metropolitan areas; 6 in 1981, 77 in 1991 and 254 in 2001.<sup>7</sup> More than 60% of these minority neighbourhoods were Chinese (157 out of 254), and they were primarily in Vancouver and Toronto. About one third were South Asian (83), distributed primarily in Toronto and Vancouver. There were relatively few Black neighbourhoods in Canadian cities: 13 in 2001. This may be because the Black population in Canada is a diverse population made-up of people who have been in Canada for several generations as well as immigrants from diverse regions, especially the Caribbean and Africa. Toronto and Vancouver have many more visible minority neighbourhoods (135 and 111, respectively in 2001) than Montréal (8).

In Toronto, most of the Chinese neighbourhoods are located in Scarborough, Markham and Richmond Hill, and less than 10% of Chinese neighbourhoods are in the old Chinatowns east and west of the downtown core. South Asian neighbourhoods are scattered over East York, North York, Scarborough, Mississauga and Brampton. Blacks are concentrated in Etobicoke and North York. In Montréal, the few minority neighbourhoods are scattered around the downtown area. In Vancouver, Chinese neighbourhoods are primarily located in the City of Vancouver and in parts of Richmond and Burnaby, while most of the South Asian neighbourhoods are in Surrey.

7. There was little overlap in the minority neighbourhoods of different groups. Among the 135 visible minority neighbourhoods in Toronto, only in three did both Chinese and South Asians represent at least 30% of the neighbourhood population. In addition, in only one neighbourhood did both South Asians and Blacks each have at least a 30% share of the population.

## Visible minorities increased their presence in most neighbourhoods

Not only has the number of minority neighbourhoods increased, but the presence of visible minorities has also increased in other neighbourhoods. One of the measures of the average presence of a group in neighbourhoods across a CMA is the isolation index. This index is interpreted as the probability that a member of a visible minority group will meet only members of the same group in a particular neighbourhood.

The isolation index for the Chinese in Toronto and Vancouver and for South Asians in all three CMAs increased substantially. This was influenced by the arrival of new immigrants from the same visible minority groups and by the natural increase in visible minorities already in Canada. The Chinese in Toronto had an isolation index of 26% in 2001. This was up from 10% in 1981. The isolation index for the Chinese in Vancouver increased to 33% in 2001 from 18% in 1981. In 2001, the isolation index for South Asians in Vancouver was 25%; in Toronto, 20%; and in Montréal, 12%. Other visible minorities also experienced increases in their isolation indexes, although their isolation indexes remained much lower than those for South Asians and the Chinese.

The calculation of the isolation index is dependent on a group's residential segregation and upon the group's proportion of the total population in the CMA. In nearly all of the cases where the isolation index has increased, most of the increase is associated with the growth in a group's share of the city population rather than increased concentration of the group in particular neighbourhoods. Visible minority groups have a much larger share of the populations of Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver in 2001 than in 1981.<sup>8</sup> The increase is particularly strong among South

Asians, whose share almost tripled in Montréal and Vancouver and quadrupled in Toronto.

For the Chinese in Vancouver, all of the increase in their isolation index was due to the increase in their population share. For South Asians and Blacks in Toronto, Blacks in Montréal and Filipinos in Vancouver, over 70% of the increase in their isolation index was associated with a larger population share. Only among South Asians in Vancouver and Montréal was increased residential segregation the dominant factor in growth in their isolation index.

## Visible minorities replace some non-visible minority residents in minority neighbourhoods

Most of the newly-formed visible minority neighbourhoods went through a transition where the population of the visible minority group increased while the numbers of those who did not identify themselves as visible minorities decreased. When the rate of decrease of the non-visible minority in a neighbourhood is greater than the median of all neighbourhoods losing non-visible minority population, this transition is called "rapid replacement," as a visible minority group replaces some of the non-visible minority residents.

In Toronto, 23 out of 26 newly-formed South Asian neighbourhoods, 24 out of 32 newly-formed Chinese neighbourhoods, and 5 out of 6 of Black neighbourhoods were created through rapid replacement in which many non-visible minority residents

moved out while visible minority group members moved in. In Montréal, all 3 Black and 3 South Asian neighbourhoods experienced rapid replacement. In Vancouver, 48 out of the 55 newly-formed Chinese neighbourhoods and 5 out of 12 South Asian neighbourhoods experienced rapid replacement.<sup>9</sup>

The visible minority presence increased in visible minority neighbourhoods and it also increased in neighbourhoods with lower concentrations of visible minorities. Even for the Chinese, who had the highest concentration level in Vancouver and Toronto among the selected groups, only about half of its population lived in Chinese neighbourhoods (i.e. with over 30% of the population who were Chinese). Less than 5% of the Blacks in Toronto and Montréal lived in Black neighbourhoods, probably because the Black population is diverse.

As visible minority neighbourhoods have become more common, analysis suggests that rapid replacement occurs only in the initial stage of neighbourhood transition. It is unlikely to lead to a complete turnover of population groups. This suggests that co-residence of members from different groups is an important element of communities, even in visible minority neighbourhoods.

## Visible minority neighbourhoods have higher unemployment rates

Visible minority neighbourhoods are more likely to experience higher unemployment and low income rates than other neighbourhoods.<sup>10</sup> As the

8. The exception is Arabs/West Asians in Montréal, which had a larger share of the CMA population in 1991 than in 2001. This is mostly likely due to changes in the definition of the Arab/West Asian group.

9. The numbers of visible minority neighbourhoods in this paragraph refer to longitudinally matched census tracts where over 30% of the population belongs to a visible minority group.

10. Hou, F. and G. Picot. 2003. *Visible Minority Neighbourhoods and Labour Market Outcomes of Immigrants*. Analytical Studies Branch research paper series (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11F0019MIE, no. 204).

presence of a minority group increases, so does the unemployment rate and low-income rate. For example, in Toronto, even though the proportion of the population with university degrees is similar across neighbourhoods with a Chinese presence,<sup>11</sup> the unemployment rate<sup>12</sup> rises from 5.7% in neighbourhoods with a minor presence of Chinese (less than 10%) to 7.1% in neighbourhoods where the Chinese account for at least 50% of the population, and the low-income rate increases from 17% to 23%.

Chinese communities in Vancouver and South Asian communities in all three CMAs have similar trends in unemployment and low-income rates. In 2001, the Black neighbourhoods in Montréal had particularly high unemployment and low-income rates, and high proportions of lone-parent families; the three neighbourhoods with a "strong" Black presence (over 30% Black) experienced an average unemployment rate of 21.7%, a low-income rate of 54%, and 41% of the families were lone-parent families. A growing body of literature in the U.S. and Europe points to the negative consequences of living in deprived neighbourhoods on individuals' socio-economic mobility, health status, and criminal activity.<sup>13</sup>

There are, of course, many reasons for the poor economic outcomes in

visible minority neighbourhoods. Through the 1980s and 1990s, the economic outcomes of successive waves of immigrants to Canada have been declining,<sup>14</sup> while their low-income rate has been rising.<sup>15</sup> Recent immigrants tend to cluster in minority communities, and their economic outcomes are inferior. This affects overall economic conditions of the neighbourhoods where they live.

### Summary

The mass immigration of visible minorities has made the ethnic mosaic in Canadian cities more diverse and visible. Visible minority neighbourhoods in Canada's large metropolitan areas rapidly expanded between 1981 and 2001. These minority neighbourhoods were primarily concentrated among the Chinese and South Asians in Toronto and Vancouver. The rapid emergence of visible minority neighbourhoods in Canada's three largest CMAs is associated more with the increase in a group's share in the city population than with an increased concentration of the group in particular neighbourhoods. Most of the visible minority neighbourhoods were formed through an increase in the visible minority group in a neighbourhood, with a corresponding decline in the non-visible minority population.

Ethnic neighbourhoods may affect the socio-economic interaction both within a minority group and between the group and the rest of the society. Residential concentration enables the retention of ethnic identity and the maintenance of religious, educational, and welfare institutions that are crucial for the social interaction of the group. On the other hand, residential concentration of minority groups may result in social isolation and reduce minorities' incentives to acquire the host-country language or to gain work experience and educational qualifications. Although neighbourhoods with a large concentration of visible minorities tend to have poor economic status, in terms of high unemployment rates and low-income rates, this may be because about one third of visible minorities are recent immigrants.



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11. "Neighbourhoods with a Chinese presence" refers to census tracts with at least one person who identified themselves as Chinese.

12. Unemployment rate is as of May 2001.

13. Massey, D.S. and N.A. Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.; Pickett, K.E. and M. Pearl. 2000. "Multilevel analyses of neighbourhood socioeconomic context and health outcomes: A critical review." *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 55, 2: 111-122.

14. Reitz, J. 2001. "Immigrant success in the knowledge economy: institutional changes and the immigrant experience in Canada, 1970-1995." *Journal of Social Issues* 57: 579-613; Frenette, M. and R. Morissette. 2003. *Will They Ever Converge? Earnings of Immigrants and Canadian-born Workers over the Last Two Decades*. Analytical Studies Branch research paper series (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11F0019MIE, no. 215).

15. Picot, G. and F. Hou. 2002. *Rising Low-income among Recent Immigrants in Canada*. Paper presented at the Canadian Employment Research Forum Conference and annual conference of the Canada Economics Association, May 30-June 2, 2002, Calgary.



# Profile of disability in 2001

This article is adapted from several Statistics Canada reports released earlier from the Participation and Activity Limitation Survey, 2001, including: *A Profile of Disability in Canada, 2001*, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-577; *Disability Supports in Canada, 2001*, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-580; *Children with Disabilities and Their Families*, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-585; and *Education, Employment and Income of Adults with and without Disabilities*, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-587. These releases were prepared by Behnaz Behnia, Lucie Cossette and Renée Langlois from Statistics Canada and Edith Duclos from Human Resources Development Canada.

Disabilities that limit everyday activities may have a profound impact on peoples' lives. They vary in severity and tend to become more common and severe with age. They affect different aspects of people's lives with impacts on mobility, agility, independence, the ability to find and hold a job, income levels, leisure activities, psychological well-being and other dimensions of life. As anyone with a child who has disabilities can attest, people's disabilities can also affect the lives of their caregivers.

This article profiles disability in Canada using data from the 2001 Participation and Activity Limitation Survey (PALS). It looks at the prevalence of disability in the Canadian population, the severity of disability, types of disability, the impact of child disabilities on parental employment, the need for specialized aids for help with everyday activities, and for specialized modifications to homes, barriers to travel and the impact of disabilities on economic well-being. Persons with disabilities include those who report having difficulties with

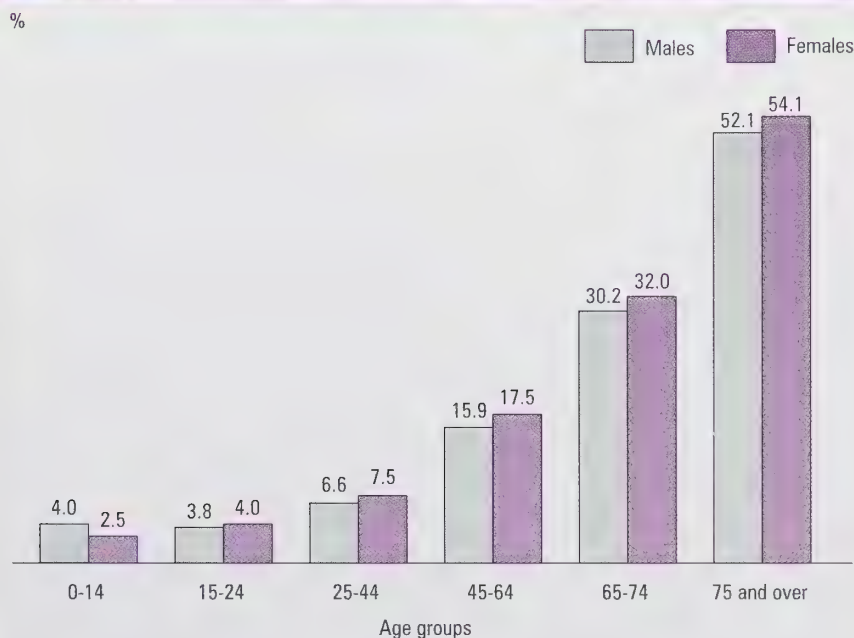
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## What you should know about this study

The Participation and Activity Limitation Survey (PALS) is a post-censal survey that sampled about 43,000 people (35,000 adults and 8,000 children) with disabilities whose everyday activities are limited because of a health-related condition or problem. Human Resources Development Canada funded the survey, which took place between September 2001 and January 2002. The survey covers persons residing in private households in the 10 provinces, and excludes people living in institutions and on Indian reserves. Persons with disabilities include those who report having difficulties with daily living activities, or who indicate that a physical, mental or health condition reduces the kind or amount of activities they could do. The respondents' answers to the disability questions represent their perception of the situation and are therefore subjective.

### Severity of disability

The severity of disability is based on the intensity and frequency of activity limitations reported by the respondent. For each type of disability, a single score is computed and then standardized. The overall disability score for each respondent is the average score of all disability types. For school-aged children (aged 5 to 14) and adults, these overall scores are divided into four groups — mild, moderate, severe and very severe. For children under age 5, severity of disability scores is divided into two groups — mild to moderate and severe to very severe.



Source: Statistics Canada, Participation and Activity Limitation Survey, 2001.

daily living activities, or who indicate that a physical, mental or health condition reduces the kind or amount of activities they could do.

### One in eight Canadians has disabilities

In 2001, 3.6 million Canadians living in households experienced limitations in their everyday activities because of physical, psychological or health conditions. This represents a disability rate of 12%. Not surprisingly, the disability rate increases with age. About 3% of children aged 0 to 14 have a disability, compared with 53% of seniors aged 75 and over. In general, women over age 25 have slightly higher disability rates than men in this age group.

### Disabilities of children often affect their parents' employment

Among children aged 0 to 4, 26,000 have a disability representing 2% of all children in this age group. Developmental delay<sup>1</sup> is the most common

type of disability for children in this age group, experienced by about two-thirds of children under age 5 with disabilities. Three in five young children are also limited in their activities because of a chronic health condition.

About 155,000 children aged 5 to 14 have a disability, representing a 4% disability rate. Chronic health conditions<sup>2</sup> and learning disabilities are the two most common forms of disability among these school-aged children. About 66,000 school-aged children experience severe to very severe disabilities.

One in four school-aged children with disabilities receive help with everyday activities including personal care, such as bathing, dressing, feeding or moving within the home, because of a condition or health problem. Mothers provide most of the personal care for 62% of children requiring care while both mothers and fathers provide it in 30% of the cases. Only in 3% of the cases did the father primarily provide help.

Children's disabilities have an impact on the entire family. Parents of 84,000 school-aged children with disabilities report that their child's condition has an impact on their family's employment situation.<sup>3</sup> Not surprisingly, this impact is greater in families where children have more severe disabilities. About 40% of children with mild to moderate disabilities have family members whose employment is affected by the child's disability, while among children with severe to very severe disabilities the proportion is 73%. Because mothers are usually the primary caregiver for their children, it is their employment that is most often affected by their child's condition. Households with disabled children had a lower household income than households without disabled children. Parents may work fewer hours or choose jobs based on the availability of flexible hours rather than high pay. On average, in 2000, households of children with disabilities had 88% of the income of households of children without disabilities.

Depending on the type of disability and its severity, children may use specialized aids. Specialized aids such as hearing aids, wheelchairs, magnifiers and voice amplifiers may help a child with daily activities. Of the 155,000

1. Developmental delay refers to children who are delayed in their physical, intellectual or another type of development. Of the 1% of young children with developmental delay, 59% had a delay in their intellectual development, 54% in their physical development and 38% had other types of delay such as speech difficulties.
2. Examples of chronic health conditions, which limit everyday activities, are asthma or severe allergies, complex medical care needs, cerebral palsy, migraines, autism, heart condition or disease, and attention deficit disorders with or without hyperactivity.
3. Examples of an impact on employment include situations where family members had to work fewer hours or change their work hours to a different time of day or night in order to take care of the child.



school-aged children with disabilities, about 94,000 or three out of every five required specialized aids, according to their parents. Of those requiring specialized aids, about 37% had some but needed more, and about 15% did not have any but needed some. Cost was a contributing factor for about half the children with unmet needs for specialized aids.

While specialized aids help the child with daily activities, parents may also need help with housework, or time off for personal activities because of their child's condition. Help can come from family, friends and neighbours and from government organizations and agencies. About 52,000 children with disabilities have parents who need help with housework, family responsibilities and time off for personal activities because of their child's condition. Of these, about one third or 18,000 receive all the help they need, while parents of 34,000 (65%) children with disabilities have unmet needs for help. Once again, cost contributes to preventing parents from getting help (71%), but the unavailability of help from family and friends is also a factor for many (62%).

### One in seven adults has disabilities

About 3.4 million adults aged 15 and over or 15% of the adult population have a disability. People have various levels of severity of disability varying from mild to very severe. About one third of these adults (1.2 million) have a mild degree of activity limitation, one quarter (860,000) have a moderate level, one quarter have a severe level (920,000) and one seventh have a very severe disability (480,000). Like the number of disabilities, the severity of disabilities increases with age. Men are more likely than women to experience a mild degree of limitation, whereas a higher proportion of women experience a severe level.



## Government disability initiatives

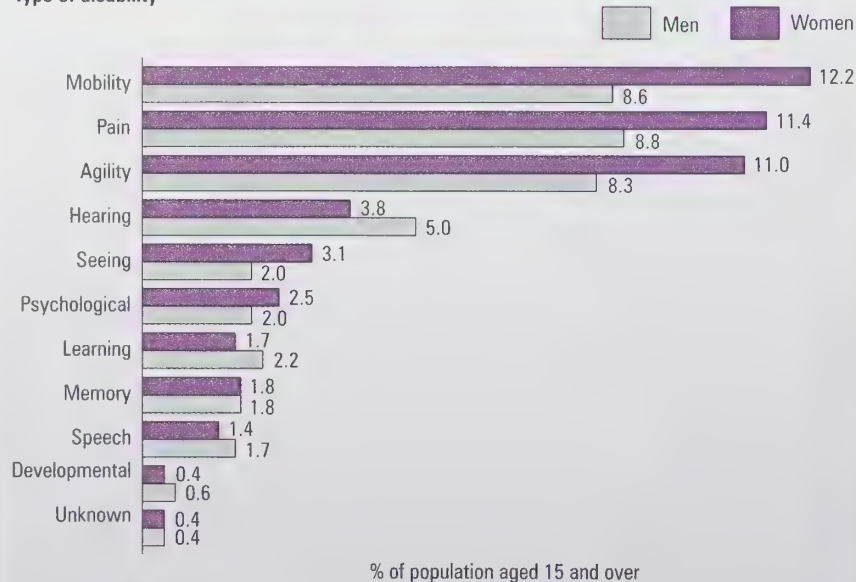
Governments have implemented policies to address issues of equality and access to the workplace and the costs of disability. The *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* of our Constitution guarantees persons with disabilities the right to equality and to equal protection and benefit of the law without discrimination. The *Canadian Human Rights Act* ensures that federal employers and service providers are supportive of, and accessible to, persons with disabilities. Federal-provincial-territorial agreements under the Employability Assistance for People with Disabilities (EAPD) initiative reflect an increased focus on helping people with disabilities prepare for, find and keep jobs.<sup>1,2</sup> Other measures, such as the Disability Tax Credit, reduce federal income tax for taxpayers with severe and prolonged disabilities. The Medical Expenses Tax Credit provides tax relief for people who have sustained significant medical expenses.

1. Government of Canada. 2002. *Future directions to address disability issues for the Government of Canada: Working together for full citizenship*. <http://www.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/sp-ps/socialp-psociale/reports/disability/futdire.pdf> (accessed Sept. 24, 2003).
2. EAPD funding depends on local priorities and the needs of people with disabilities. Examples of funded interventions include employment counselling and assessment, employment planning, pre-employment training, postsecondary education, skills training, assistive aids and devices, wage subsidies or earning supplements and other workplace supports.



## Mobility and pain-related disabilities are most prevalent among those aged 15 and over

Type of disability



Source: Statistics Canada, Participation and Activity Limitation Survey, 2001.



## Disability takes many forms

About 2.5 million adults have mobility-related disabilities and have difficulty walking, climbing stairs, carrying an object for a short distance, or moving from one room to another. Regardless of age, women are more likely than men to have a mobility-related disability. Some 2.4 million adults (10%) have activity limitations related to chronic pain,<sup>4</sup> which is more prevalent among women (11%) than among men (9%). In fact, pain-related disability is the most common form of disability among the working-age population, affecting 8% of persons aged 15 to 64. Another 2.3 million or 10% of adults have agility difficulties such as bending down to pick up an object, getting dressed or undressed, or cutting one's food.

About 1 million adults (4%) have a hearing-related disability while about 590,000 have vision difficulties (3%) and 360,000 report a speech-related disability.<sup>5</sup> Hearing limitations are more common among men, while women are more likely to have vision difficulties. About 520,000 adults have psychological disabilities and 450,000 report learning disabilities.

Mobility, agility, hearing, vision and pain disabilities increase in prevalence with age whereas disabilities related to psychological problems and learning disabilities are most prominent in the 45 to 64 age group. Women live longer than men and therefore outnumber men in the senior age groups, where mobility, pain and agility disabilities are more prevalent. This may partially explain why women have much higher disability rates than men for these types of disabilities.

## Nearly half of adults with disabilities need specialized aids and services

Specialized aids and services enable persons with disabilities to carry out their everyday activities, such as getting around (wheelchair, hand or arm support) or by helping them to hear, see or speak (hearing aid, Braille reading

materials, keyboard device for communicating).<sup>6</sup> Of the 3.4 million adults aged 15 and over with disabilities, nearly half (1.6 million) need specialized aids and devices. The majority of adults requiring specialized aids (61%) have all the aids they need; however, 29% use aids but need more, and 10% have none of their needed aids.

The more severe the disability, the more likely adults requiring specialized aids report having unmet needs. Only 10% of those with mild disabilities requiring specialized aids have some but not all of the aids they need. This percentage climbed to 50% for those with very severe disabilities. Regardless of the severity of the disability, 10% have none of the specialized aids they need. Cost or lack of insurance coverage are the most frequent reasons given to explain why adults with disabilities have unmet needs for specialized aids.

## Adults with disabilities often need help with their everyday activities

Some 2.2 million adults with disabilities reported requiring help with everyday activities.<sup>7</sup> About two-thirds of this group receive all the help they require, but 35% or 765,000 have unmet needs for help. Help comes from many sources. According to PALS, 63% of adults with disabilities who receive help get it from members of their family living with them, 42% receive it from family members not living with them, 24% from friends or neighbours, 22% from organizations or agencies, and 14% from other sources.<sup>8</sup>

Of those with unmet needs, over half cite cost as the reason for not getting needed help. One quarter indicate that help from family and friends is not available and a quarter indicate that the cost of help is not covered by their insurance plan. Lastly, just under a quarter of respondents do not know how to obtain the help they need, suggesting that many adults with disabilities do not know about available resources for assistance.

## Most people with disabilities have all the home modifications they need

Adults with disabilities can live more easily if their home has specialized features to help them with their activity limitations. Special features such as handrails, visual or audio alarms, adapted bathrooms and accessibility aids such as ramps or lifts can help. In 2001, 483,000 adults with disabilities needed special features in their dwelling. Most of them (63%) have all the modifications they need, 26% have none of their needed modifications and 11% have some but need more. High costs or lack of insurance coverage are the most common reasons for unmet needs. Persons with more severe disabilities are more likely to have unmet needs for special features in their home than people with mild disabilities.

## Travel is a barrier for some adults with disabilities

Travel enables people to visit family and friends, attend appointments, participate in recreational and volunteer

4. Persons who have pain but who did not associate it with any activity limitation are not considered to have a pain-related disability.

5. Hearing-related disabilities refer to difficulty hearing one other person in a conversation with three or more persons or in a telephone conversation when using a hearing aid if needed. Vision difficulties refer to difficulty seeing ordinary newsprint or clearly seeing the face of someone from 4 metres (12 feet) when wearing glasses or contact lenses if needed.

6. Assistive aids do not include glasses and contact lenses, as most people who use them report not having activity limitations caused by their visual problems.

7. Examples of everyday activities include: meal preparation, housework, heavy household chores, transportation for grocery shopping or getting to appointments, personal finances, child care, personal care and moving around within the home.

8. Help can come from more than one source.

activities, find and retain a job and live independently. For most people with disabilities, their condition does not pose problems with transportation. According to PALS, during the 12 months preceding the survey, 135,000 adults with disabilities (4%) could not use public transportation services, while 59,000 (2%) could not travel locally by car.<sup>9</sup> Another 179,000 who used public transportation had some difficulty.

An even larger number of adults with disabilities experienced problems with long distance travel. About 270,000 adults with disabilities are completely prevented from travelling long distances. Of the 1.2 million adults with disabilities who travel long distances only by car, about 32% have difficulties during those trips because of their condition.

### Adults with disabilities have high unemployment rates

Accessible transportation is one of the barriers faced by adults with disabilities, but other barriers also limit participation in society. There are barriers that limit physical access to buildings and facilities, to training necessary for jobs and to technologies that assist persons with disabilities to find and keep jobs.

According to PALS, the result of these barriers is that many adults with disabilities are unemployed and are more likely to live at the bottom of the income scale. In 2001, the unemployment rate among adults aged 25 to 54 with disabilities was 10.7%, compared with 5.9% for adults the same age without disabilities. For adults aged 25 to 54 with disabilities, 47% have personal income below \$15,000, compared with 25% of adults without disabilities.

Part of the reason for the lower income of adults with disabilities and higher unemployment rates may be the lower educational attainment of adults with disabilities. In 2001, 14% of adults aged 25 to 54 with disabilities

had a university education while 30% had not obtained a high school diploma. In contrast, those without disabilities were nearly twice as likely to have a university education (25%) and were much less likely to have not obtained a high school diploma (18%). Although efforts have been made to reduce barriers to education for young adults with disabilities, half (51%) of 15- to 24-year-olds with a disability have not completed high school, compared with 42% of those without disabilities.<sup>10</sup>

### Summary

Large numbers of Canadians have various disabilities, especially limitations related to mobility, agility and pain. Many disabilities increase in prevalence and severity with age. As the Canadian population ages, Canada may face rising numbers of people with more severe disabilities. This occurs at a time when families are getting smaller and more widely dispersed, so the traditional network of family care is not as strong.

People with disabilities seem to be at a disadvantage in the labour market, partly related to their lower levels of education. They have higher unemployment rates and are more likely to have low personal income.

9. Public transportation services include buses, specialized buses, subways and taxis.

10. Some 15- to 24-year-olds are still attending school and may eventually obtain a high school diploma or higher qualification.



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# Well-being of the non-reserve Aboriginal population

by Vivian O'Donnell and Heather Tait

This article has been adapted from *Aboriginal Peoples Survey 2001 – Initial findings: Well-being of the non-reserve Aboriginal population*, September 2003, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-589-XIE.

**T**he concept of well-being is a complex one with physical, mental, emotional and spiritual aspects. The interrelation between these facets is a theme explored by many indigenous cultures. For example, many Aboriginal societies use the “Medicine Wheel”, a symbol of holistic healing that embodies these four elements of “whole health.” The natural world is also an essential part of well-being because of the intrinsic connections and inter-relationships between people and the environment in which they live. Well-being flows from balance and harmony among these elements.

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## What you should know about this study

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS), conducted between September 2001 and June 2002, surveyed about 117,000 individuals to collect information regarding the lifestyles and living conditions of Aboriginal people. It was developed in partnership with several national Aboriginal organizations, including the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Métis National Council, National Association of Friendship Centres and the Native Women's Association of Canada.

Aboriginal identity population refers to those people who reported being North American Indian, and/or Métis and/or Inuit. Also included are those who did not identify as an Aboriginal person but who had registered Indian status as defined by the *Indian Act* of Canada and/or Band or First Nation membership.

The non-reserve population includes the over 700,000 Aboriginal people who do not live on Indian reserves, except in the Northwest Territories, where both on- and off-reserve Aboriginal populations are included. According to the 2001 Census, the total non-reserve Aboriginal population represents about 70% of the total Aboriginal population in Canada.

For this analysis, the Canadian Arctic consists of the four Inuit regions as defined by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, where the majority of Inuit live: the northern coastal and south-eastern part of Labrador, Nunavik in Northern Quebec, the territory of Nunavut, and the Inuvialuit region in the northwestern corner of the Northwest Territories.



While it is difficult to completely measure well-being using quantitative methods, this article uses several different health, education, housing and language indicators to contribute to an understanding of the experiences and living conditions of Aboriginal people living outside of reserves. Data from the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) and the 1996 and 2001 Censuses are used to provide a more complete picture of the well-being of the non-reserve Aboriginal population across Canada.

### Most non-reserve Aboriginal people report excellent or very good health

Health is a key component of well-being. Self-rated health status is considered a reliable indicator of health that successfully crosses cultural lines.<sup>1</sup> In 2001, the majority of non-reserve Aboriginal adults (56%) reported that their health was excellent or very good. By comparison, 65% of the total Canadian adult population reported excellent or very good health.<sup>2</sup>

While the total non-reserve Aboriginal population rated their health status lower than the total Canadian population, this gap was negligible among young adults. The APS data showed some promise for the new generation of Aboriginal young people. Seven out of 10 Aboriginal people (69%) aged 15 to 24 in non-reserve areas rated their health as very good or excellent, virtually on par with 71% of the total Canadian population in the same age group. As the Aboriginal population is the fastest growing component of the youth population, these young people will play a pivotal role in the future.

The gap between the health status of the Aboriginal population and the total Canadian population widened significantly in the older age groups. For every 10-year age group between the ages of 25 and 64, the proportion of Aboriginal people with fair or poor

% of population reporting excellent or very good health



Source: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 2001 and Canadian Community Health Survey, 2000-01.

health was about double that of the total Canadian population. This was even more pronounced among Aboriginal women. For example, four in 10 (41%) Aboriginal women aged 55 to 64 reported fair or poor health, more than double the 19% of women in the same age group in the total Canadian population.

Differences in health ratings are also linked to the existence of chronic conditions, that is, a health condition that had been diagnosed by a health-care professional and had lasted, or was expected to last, at least six months. Individuals with chronic conditions rated their health as fair or poor more often than those without chronic conditions. Nearly one half, or 45%, of all Aboriginal adults reported the presence of one or more chronic conditions. The most common chronic conditions for the adult non-reserve Aboriginal population were arthritis or rheumatism (19%), high blood pressure (12%), and asthma (12%).

### Prevalence of diabetes is increasing

In 2001, diabetes was the fifth most prevalent health problem among the adult non-reserve Aboriginal population, with 7% reporting the disease compared with an age-standardized rate of 2.9% for the total Canadian population. It has also become an important health issue because rates are rising among the non-reserve Aboriginal population, particularly among North American Indian adults. In addition to high rates, according to Health Canada, diabetes is a significant concern for the Aboriginal population because of "early onset,

1. Idler, E.L. and Y. Benyamini. 1997. "Self-rated health and mortality: A review of twenty-seven community studies." *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour* 38, 1: 21-37; Shields, M. and S. Shooshtari. 2001. "Determinants of self-perceived health." *Health Reports* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-003) 13, 1: 35-52.

2. Age-standardized to the Aboriginal population.

greater severity at diagnosis, high rates of complications, lack of accessible services, increasing trends, and increasing prevalence of risk factors for a population already at risk.”<sup>3</sup> In 2001, 8.3% of non-reserve North American Indian adults stated that they had been diagnosed with diabetes, compared to 5.3% in 1991. The percentage of Métis and Inuit adults diagnosed with diabetes remained almost the same from 1991 to 2001. For Métis adults, the 2001 rate was 5.9% compared with 5.5% in 1991. Among Inuit adults, the rate remained almost unchanged: 2.3% for 2001 compared to 1.9% in 1991.

Diabetes was particularly prevalent among older Aboriginal women in 2001. Among Aboriginal women aged 65 and over, one in four reported they had been diagnosed with diabetes, compared with one in 10 for all Canadian senior women. For Aboriginal men the gap was smaller, with one in five Aboriginal senior men reporting diabetes compared to one in seven for all Canadian senior men.

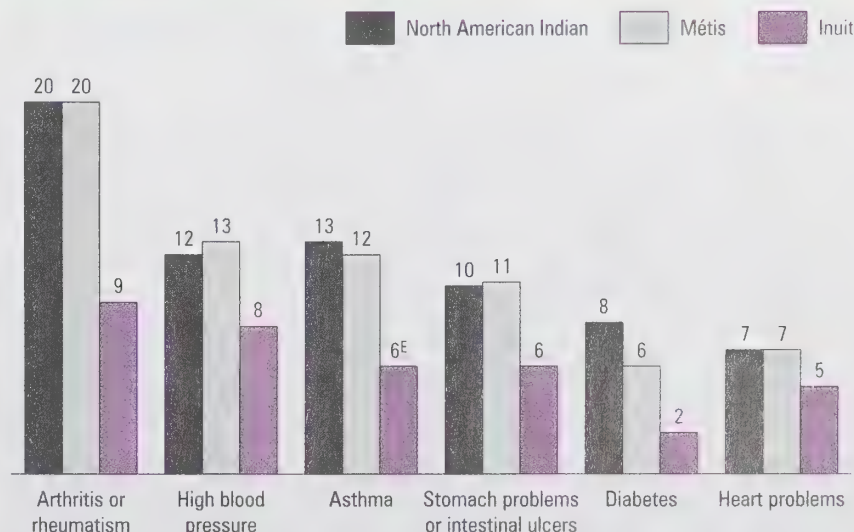
### Schooling: Aboriginal young people making progress at all levels

Education has been called “the key that unlocks the door to the future.”<sup>4</sup> There are many types of knowledge and many things of great value that can be learned outside the classroom. However, a sound formal education is increasingly important for participation in today’s workforce and is often a key component of mental and intellectual well-being.

Progress is being made at the secondary level as fewer young Aboriginal people in non-reserve areas are leaving secondary school prior to graduation. Census data showed that in 1996, 52% of Aboriginal youth aged 20 to 24 had incomplete secondary school as their highest level of schooling, declining to 48% in 2001.<sup>5</sup>

Despite this progress, completing elementary or secondary school

% of population aged 15 and over



<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

Source: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 2001.

remains a challenge for some. APS data show that for those aged 15 to 19, the most common reason for leaving school early was boredom. One-fifth (20%) of young non-reserve Aboriginal people who did not complete high school reported this reason. Data from the 1999 Youth in Transition Survey also show that boredom was the top reason given for not completing high school by Canadians aged 18 to 20 years living in the 10 provinces.

There has also been positive change at the postsecondary level. In 1996, 5% of young Aboriginal people aged 25 to 34 living in non-reserve areas had completed university compared with 8% in 2001.<sup>6</sup> For other types of postsecondary education (including college and trades), there was an increase from 27% to 30% over the five-year period. Young people in each of the three main Aboriginal groups have made progress at the postsecondary level. The proportion of Métis people aged 25 to 34 with a completed postsecondary education rose from 34% to

40%; the proportion of North American Indian people rose from 31% to 36%; and the proportion of Inuit rose slightly from 27% to 29%. As large numbers of people retire and leave the work force in coming years, employment opportunities will exist for many well-educated young Aboriginal people. Aboriginal youth are making strides that could contribute to their success in the paid labour market.

However, APS indicates that there are still some obstacles to overcome. For women aged 25 to 44 who had

3. Health Canada. 2000. *Diabetes among Aboriginal (First Nations, Inuit and Métis) People in Canada: The Evidence*. Ottawa: Health Canada.

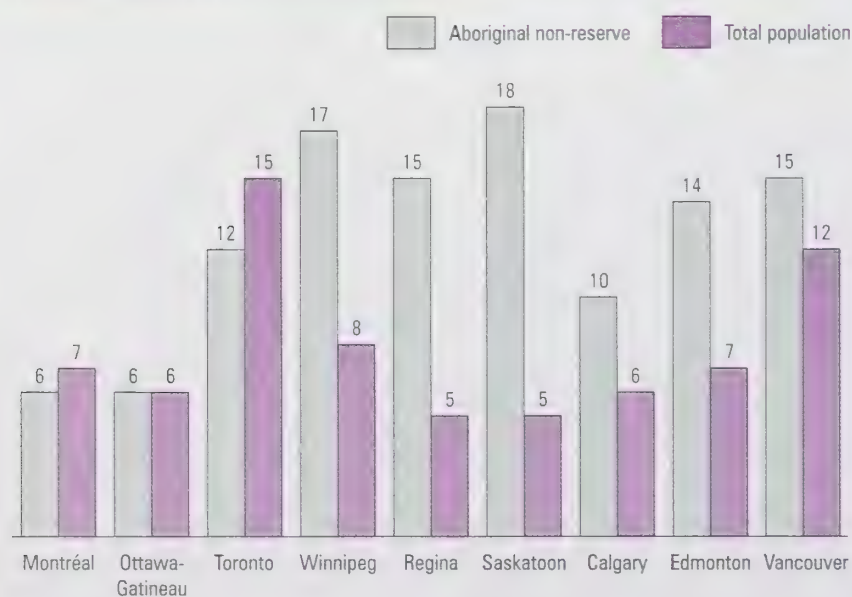
4. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. 1996. *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: Gathering Strength* vol. 3. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada. p. 161.

5. Excluding people who were attending school at the time of the 2001 Census.

6. See footnote 4.



% of population with 1.0 or more persons per room



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

started their postsecondary schooling, the most common reason for not completing their education was family responsibilities (34%). Financial reasons topped the list for men, with nearly one in four (24%) stating this reason.

### Non-reserve Aboriginal people are more likely to live in crowded conditions and be concerned about water quality

Health experts maintain that inadequate housing can be associated with a host of health problems. For example, crowded living conditions can lead to the transmission of infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and hepatitis A, and can increase risk for injuries, mental health problems, family tensions and violence.<sup>7</sup> The census found that Aboriginal people were more likely to live in crowded conditions, that is, one or more people per room, than the total Canadian population, although the situation has improved slightly over time. In 2001, about 17% of non-reserve Aboriginal

people lived in crowded conditions, down from 22% five years earlier. In comparison, about 7% of all Canadians lived in crowded conditions in 2001.

Crowding continues to be an issue in the Canadian Arctic, where four-fifths of Inuit live. In 2001, more than one half (53%) of Inuit living in this region were in crowded conditions, down slightly from 61% five years earlier. This was particularly true in Nunavik in northern Quebec, which was the only Inuit region in which the crowding situation did not improve between 1996 and 2001.

In addition to adequate housing, a safe source of drinking water is also fundamental to good health. There were concerns over water quality among Aboriginal people, especially among Inuit in the Canadian Arctic. Just over one third (34%) of Inuit in the Arctic said there were times of the year when their water was contaminated. The problem was most serious in the Nunavik region in northern

Quebec, where nearly three-quarters (73%) of Inuit felt that their water was contaminated at some point in the year.

### Aboriginal languages:

#### Some evidence of revitalization

Language is often recognized as the essence of a culture. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples has stated that the revitalization of traditional languages is a key component in the creation of healthy individuals and communities.<sup>8</sup> Language is "not only a means of communication, but a link which connects people with their past and grounds their social, emotional and spiritual vitality."<sup>9</sup> The retention and revitalization of Aboriginal languages presented some challenges, as many people have found their Aboriginal languages slipping away from lack of use. However, the importance of Aboriginal languages is still widely recognized by Aboriginal people.

In general, the vitality of many of the Aboriginal languages spoken by North American Indian and Métis people in non-reserve areas declined between 1996 and 2001. In 2001, among non-reserve North American Indian adults aged 15 and over, just under one third (32%) said they could speak or understand an Aboriginal language. Less than 15% said they were able to speak an Aboriginal language very well or relatively well. Aboriginal languages among North American Indian children in non-reserve areas were not as strong, as

7. Health Canada. 1999. *A Second Diagnostic on the Health of First Nations and Inuit People in Canada*. Ottawa: Health Canada. p. 14.

8. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. 1996. *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: Perspectives and Realities* vol. 4. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada. p. 163.

9. Norris, M. Winter 1998. "Canada's Aboriginal Languages." *Canadian Social Trends*. p. 8.



only 25% could speak or understand an Aboriginal language. Of the three main groups, the Métis were least likely to know an Aboriginal language. In 2001, only 16% of Métis adults reported being able to speak or understand an Aboriginal language and only 5% were able to speak very well or relatively well. Moreover, only 11% of Métis children less than 15 years of age could speak or understand an Aboriginal language.

### **Inuktitut is one of the healthiest Aboriginal languages**

Inuktitut, spoken by many Inuit, remains one of the healthiest Aboriginal languages in the country. APS found that the vast majority (90%) of Inuit aged 15 and over living in the Canadian Arctic said they could understand or speak Inuktitut. Eighty percent said they could speak it very well. Inuktitut remains strong among Inuit children in Canada's Arctic, as nine in 10 could speak or understand this language, and 63% could speak it very well or relatively well.

The 2001 Census showed some evidence of language revitalization. A slightly larger percentage of people could converse in an Aboriginal language than the share who reported having an Aboriginal mother tongue. Mother tongue is the first language learned in childhood and still understood. While 12% said they had an Aboriginal mother tongue, 15% said they could converse in an Aboriginal language. This perhaps suggests that some people are learning to speak an Aboriginal language later in life.

### **Parents are most likely language teachers**

In non-reserve areas, parents were cited as the people most likely to help young language learners. Data from the 2001 APS show that almost seven in 10 children (68%) who could understand or speak an Aboriginal language received some help from their parents. This

was followed by grandparents, who were cited by 51% of children able to speak or understand an Aboriginal language.<sup>10</sup>

APS data showed that schools also help facilitate language learning. Although parents contribute much to teaching their children an Aboriginal language, schools have an important role to play. For example, children enrolled in Aboriginal Headstart, a pre-school program designed specifically for Aboriginal children, are introduced to the basics of many Aboriginal languages. Just over one third (35%) of children who could speak an Aboriginal language received help in learning their language from their school teachers. This was especially the case in the Canadian Arctic, where 54% of Aboriginal children received some help with language learning from their teachers.

The majority of Aboriginal people recognized the importance of Aboriginal languages. About six in 10, or 59%, of non-reserve Aboriginal adults stated that keeping, learning or relearning an Aboriginal language was very or somewhat important. The same proportion of people responding on behalf of children reported that it was very or somewhat important to them that the child speak and understand an Aboriginal language.

The greatest support for Aboriginal languages came from the Inuit, as nearly nine in 10 Inuit adults stated that their language was very or somewhat important. A similar proportion was provided by those answering on behalf of Inuit children. The comparable proportions for Métis and North American Indian people were one half and two-thirds respectively.

### **Summary**

Gains are being made as the data for young Aboriginal people show health ratings similar to the national average and increasing numbers completing secondary school and moving on to finish postsecondary studies. However,

Canada's non-reserve Aboriginal population, consisting of North American Indian, Métis, and Inuit, face ongoing challenges in health, education, housing and language.

Despite their progress, Aboriginal people are more likely to have poorer health, including chronic conditions, lower levels of education and are more apt to live in crowded homes compared to the overall population in Canada. In addition, Inuit in the Far North have concerns about water quality. There is also a declining knowledge of Aboriginal languages, although it remains high for Inuktitut, the language spoken by many Inuit.

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10. The person who knew the most about the child usually provided responses for children.



**Vivian O'Donnell** is a PhD student at Trent University and an analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, and **Heather Tait** is an analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

# The feminization of work

by **Melissa Cooke-Reynolds and Nancy Zukewich**

**T**he increased presence of women has been a defining characteristic of the Canadian labour force in recent decades. Some have described this as the “feminization of work,”<sup>1</sup> a concept encompassing three distinct developments: the entry of women into the paid labour force; their continued concentration in certain kinds of employment; and “harmonizing down,” or the increasing tendency for men to do the kinds of jobs traditionally performed by women.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the feminization of work describes a process that affects both women and men and influences gender equality.

Using data from the Labour Force Survey, the General Social Survey, the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics and the Survey of Self-Employment, as well as data from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development and the International Labour Organization, this article describes trends in the feminization of work, and compares the situation in Canada with those in Australia, France, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States.

## **Canadian women have made greatest gains in labour force participation**

In 1971, only 44%<sup>3</sup> of Canadian women were in the labour force, the lowest proportion among the study countries.<sup>4,5</sup> By 2001, this figure had risen to about the same level (71%) as that in the United States, and had outstripped the rate in Australia, the United Kingdom and France. Female labour force participation is still highest among women in Sweden (76%).

Looking at the growth in another way, women in the study countries currently account for about half of all labour force participants. Again, the growth has been most dramatic in Canada. In 2001, Canadian women accounted for 46% of the labour force, up from 34% in 1971.

In Canada, married women and women with children accounted for much of this increase. Despite earlier writings, which described women as a “reserve army of labour” that could be called upon temporarily when needed, many of today’s women interrupt their employment only for relatively short periods of time.<sup>6,7</sup>

## **Men’s labour force participation declines but still exceeds that of women**

While the presence of Canadian women in the labour force has grown, that of men has fallen slightly, from around 85% in 1971 to 82% in 2001. Men aged 55 and over, many of whom are taking early retirement, accounted for most of the drop.<sup>8</sup> The average

retirement age has declined from 63.9 in 1976 to 60.4 in 2002 for women and from 65.3 to 61.7 for men. The situation was similar in the other study countries. In the early 1970s, Canadian, French and American men were least likely to participate in the labour force while British men had the highest participation rate (94%). By 2001, the labour force participation of Canadian men was in the middle of the six study countries (82%) while France was lowest at 76%.

Although participation rates are rising for women and falling for men, men of all ages are still more likely than women to be employed or looking for work. For example, labour force participation peaks between the ages of 25 and 54 for both women and men. In each of the six study countries, at least 90% of men this age were active in the labour force in 2001. Women’s rates ranged from a high of 86% in Sweden to 79% in Canada and France, 76% in the United States and the United Kingdom and a low of 71% in Australia. It is during these years that individuals are most likely to both work for pay and care for children.<sup>9</sup>

## **Most women work in traditionally female occupations**

An important aspect of the feminization of work is the tendency for women to work in occupations that resemble the kinds of unpaid work they have traditionally done in the household.<sup>10</sup> In 2002, about 70% of employed Canadian women worked as



nurses, teachers, and clerks and in sales and service occupations, compared with just 30% of employed men.<sup>11</sup>

In most study countries, the broad occupational grouping of "clerk" has the highest concentration of female workers. About three-quarters of clerical workers in Canada, the United Kingdom, the United States and Sweden were female in 2001.<sup>12</sup>

### Women's presence in professional jobs on the rise

While most women do work in traditionally female occupations, their presence in professional jobs has been rising over the past three decades in most study countries. For example, among doctors and dentists in Canada, the proportion who were women rose from 44% in 1987 to 54% by 2002, an increase of 10 percentage points in only 15 years. Since professional jobs are typically well-paying, this increase represents a substantial economic improvement for certain women.<sup>13</sup>

In Canada, Australia, Sweden and the United States, women have also made gains in the managerial category, a high status and well-paying

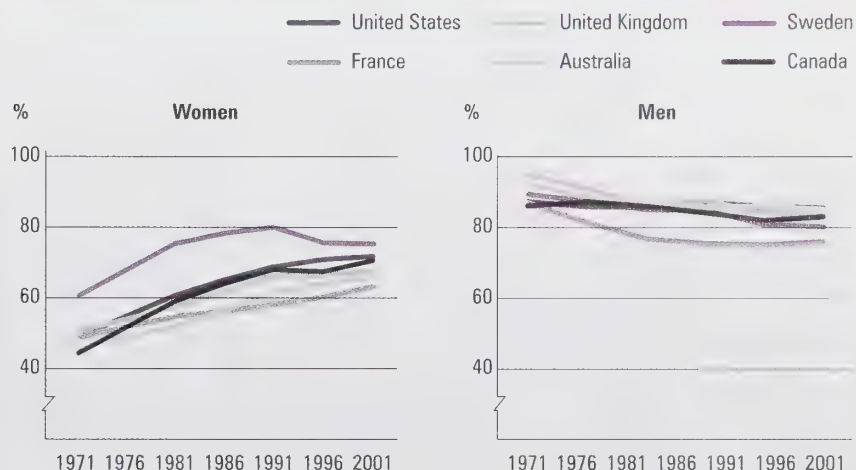
one, traditionally dominated by men. In 2001, Canadian women made up 35% of managers, up from only 17% in 1972.<sup>14</sup> In most study countries, however, women still account for a relatively small share (one fifth to one third) of managers except the United

States where nearly half (46%) of managers are women. In addition, women managers do not often hold the top positions. For instance, Canadian women are more likely to be employed as administrative or "other" managers.<sup>15</sup>

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### Labour force participation increasing for women but declining for men

Labour force participation rate



Note: Total labour force as a percentage of the population aged 15 to 64.

Source: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Labour Force Statistics 1981-2001* and *Labour Force Statistics 1971-1991*.

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### In 2001, women of all ages were less likely than men to be in the labour force

Age	Sex	Canada	United States	United Kingdom	Australia	France	Sweden
Labour force participation rate (%)							
15 and over	Women	71	71	69	66	62	77
	Men	82	83	84	82	74	81
15 to 24	Women	63	62	64	68	27	54
	Men	66	67	72	71	33	54
25 to 54	Women	79	76	76	71	79	86
	Men	91	91	91	90	94	91
55 to 64	Women	42	53	44	37	34	67
	Men	61	68	64	60	44	74
65 and over	Women	3	10	3	3	1	6
	Men	9	18	7	10	2	14

Source: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Labour Force Statistics 1981-2001*.



## **Women double their presence in agriculture and manufacturing**

In most of the study countries, women have also increased their presence in agriculture and manufacturing jobs. Canadian women essentially doubled their representation in these two fields between 1971 and 2001. In Australia and Sweden, women's share of manufacturing jobs also doubled. The proportion of women in agriculture increased nearly fivefold in Australia. Despite these gains, however, women remain a small minority of workers in these occupations. For example, in 2001, in all study countries except Australia, less than one quarter of employees in manufacturing were women.

Women's increased presence in professional, managerial, agricultural and manufacturing jobs suggests that they are slowly moving into traditionally male-dominated occupations. However, while professional and managerial jobs often result in better pay, in Canada those in agriculture pay below average weekly wages and manufacturing pays about average.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the wage gap is particularly large for jobs unique to primary industry.<sup>17</sup> In 2002, on average, Canadian women in primary industry jobs had hourly wages that were 63% those of men's; in manufacturing jobs, 71% those of men's; and across all occupations, 82% those of men's.<sup>18,19</sup>

The large hourly wage gap between women and men in manufacturing jobs may be influenced by the fact that women and men typically perform different types of work. For example, men are more likely than women to be in unionized jobs that offer benefits.<sup>20</sup>

## **Non-standard work more common for women**

In all study countries women are still responsible for the majority of housework and child care, which may affect the types of paid work in which they engage. In Canada, women make

up the majority of those with non-standard employment.<sup>21,22</sup> Non-standard forms of work may offer advantages for balancing work and family, such as flexible hours and easy "entry/exit/re-entry" to the labour force.<sup>23</sup> For example, a notable increase in part-time employment seems to coincide with a rise in the labour force participation of women and a growth in service sector employment.<sup>24</sup> These forms of work, however, can also mean relatively lower pay, reduced access to social benefits and training and limited career possibilities.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, the 2000 Survey of Self-Employment finds that financial security is a concern for many self-employed people, as is the lack of employer-sponsored and government benefits like extended medical coverage, pension plans and maternity and parental leave.<sup>26</sup>

In Canada in 2002, 15% of women working part-time, compared with just 1% of men, worked part-time because of childcare responsibilities. Similarly, in 2000, 10% of self-employed women and only 1% of men cited balance of work and family as the main reason for becoming self-employed. In some instances, part-time or self-employment reflects the unavailability of full-time paid jobs. In 2002 in Canada, slightly over one quarter (27%) of all part-timers were working part-time because of poor business conditions or because they could not find full-time work, and in 2000 just over one fifth of the self-employed (22%) said that they became self-employed because they could not find suitable paid employment.

## **Women are still far more likely to work part-time than men**

While women's part-time work as a proportion of women's employment has stayed reasonably stable in Canada, Sweden and the United Kingdom in the past 20 years, it has grown in Australia and France and declined

in the United States.<sup>27</sup> In comparison, the men's percentage has been rising in most study countries. The United States is an exception to this trend. This indicates a process of "harmonizing down," since more men are moving into an employment situation typically thought of as "female."

Nonetheless, in all six countries, employed women are still substantially more likely than employed men to work part-time. In the United Kingdom and France, for example, employed women are five times more likely than employed men to work part-time hours, four times more likely in Sweden, three times as likely in Canada and Australia, and twice as likely in the United States. Part-time employment among women ranged from a high of 42% in Australia to 27% in Canada to a low of 18% in the United States. Canadian men had the second highest rate of part-time employment (10%) behind Australia (16%). France had the lowest rate (5%).

## **Temporary employment on the rise**

In Canada, temporary employment is slightly more common among women than men (14% compared to 12% in 2002).<sup>28</sup> This is up from 8% for women and 7% for men in 1989. However, Canadian women and men generally perform different kinds of temporary jobs. Men usually work at full-time seasonal jobs, while women make up the majority of casual temporary employees, the majority of whom work part-time.<sup>29</sup> In addition to the insecurity of not having long-term employment, temporary jobs also tend to pay less than permanent jobs and recent wage growth has been slower for temporary than permanent work.<sup>30</sup>

In most study countries (except the United States), women are somewhat more likely than men to have a job with a pre-determined end date. As in Canada, temporary work is on the rise among both sexes in France. However,

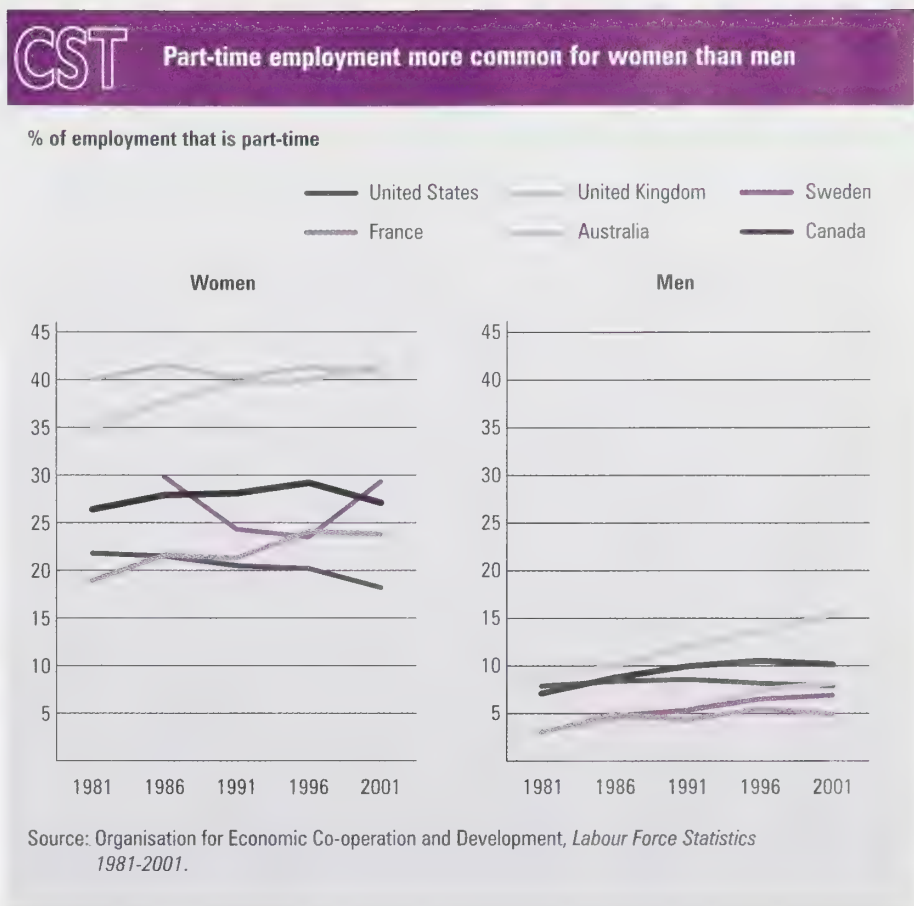
there has been little change in the share of employees with temporary work in the United Kingdom (7% for women and 5% for men) or the United States (4% for both women and men), the two study countries with the lowest prevalence of temporary work. In contrast, the temporary employment rate has virtually doubled in Canada and France since the mid-to late 1980s. Temporary work is also very common in Sweden, which has reported rates of 17% for female employees and 12% for male employees each year from 1997 to 2002. In 2002, women made up about half of all temporary employees in most study countries, while they accounted for nearly six in 10 in Sweden.<sup>31</sup>

### Self-employment grows fastest in Canada

In Canada, men have historically been more likely than women to be self-employed. This also holds true in the other study countries. In 2002, Canadian women had among the highest rates of non-agricultural self-employment. Along with women in Australia (9%), Canadian women (8%) had the highest prevalence of self-employment, while this form of work was most common among men in Australia and the United Kingdom (15%). The comparable figure for Canadian men was 9%.

Between 1990 and 1997, non-agricultural self-employment in Canada grew faster for women than for men (average annual growth of 6.5% versus 3.8%).<sup>32</sup> However, self-employed women working on their own without paid help account for most of this growth.<sup>33</sup> The "solo" self-employed generally work fewer hours and earn less money than those who employ others.<sup>34</sup> Self-employed women are also much more likely than men to work part-time.<sup>35</sup>

Self-employment grew marginally in the 1990-1997 period in Sweden and for women in France and the



United States, but was stable for women in Australia. In contrast, self-employment declined slightly for both sexes in the United Kingdom and for men in the United States and Australia. By the end of the 1990s, non-agricultural self-employment had fallen slightly for both sexes in most study countries. Men in Australia were the exception, experiencing a marginal increase in self-employment between 1996 and 2002. By 2002, women accounted for a high of 42% of non-agricultural self-employment in Canada and a low of 26% in Sweden and the United Kingdom.

### Earnings gap narrows over time

In Canada, the gap between the earnings of men and women has narrowed over time, due to an increase in women's and a slight decline in men's earnings.<sup>36</sup> In 2000, women employed full-time earned 72% of men's earnings, up from 59% in 1976. In both

the mid-1970s and today, the earnings ratio in Canada is among the lowest of the study countries. The ratio was close to 80% in both Australia and Sweden even 20 years ago. Over the past two decades, the gap narrowed dramatically in Canada, France, the United Kingdom and the United States, but changed little in Australia and Sweden. By the end of the 1990s, the earnings ratio was highest in Australia and France, where women earned 82% as much as men, while the gap was still greatest in Canada.

Some of the wage gap between men and women can be attributed to characteristics such as education, experience, job tenure, union status, firm size, presence of children, marital status and part-time status. However, a substantial proportion of the gap remains unexplained by factors measured in Canadian labour market surveys.<sup>37</sup>



% of employment that is self-employed



Note: Excludes the agricultural sector and unpaid family workers.

Source: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. September 26, 2002. Table on "Labour market statistics - Data — Employment (civilian) by professional status." [www.oecd.org](http://www.oecd.org) (accessed October 23, 2003).

have declined slightly, with the drop being most pronounced in France.

Most of the study countries also demonstrate the persistent concentration of women in particular kinds of work, despite greater gender parity in certain occupations. A process of harmonizing down is occurring in each country. More men are now starting to experience employment situations typical of female employment, such as part-time and temporary work. The prevalence of part-time employment has increased everywhere except in the United States, while temporary employment has become more common among men and women in Canada and France. The earnings gap has also narrowed, and is the smallest in France and Australia, where some aspects of harmonizing down are most pronounced.

These indicators of the feminization of work illustrate that gender equality has improved not only because of gains made by women but also by relative declines in men's status.

Is Canada a leader in labour force gender equality? According to the United Nations, in 2003, Canada ranked ninth in the world in terms of gender empowerment. Sweden was third, the United States 10<sup>th</sup>, Australia 11<sup>th</sup> and the United Kingdom 17<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1</sup> Iceland and Norway were first and second in this measure. The Gender Empowerment Measure encompasses a wide array of indicators that relate to the feminization of work, including labour force participation, occupational segregation and earned income of men and women.

1. France is not ranked on the gender empowerment measure but ranks 17<sup>th</sup> on the Gender development index, another measure of gender equality, behind all of the other countries studied in this article.

### Summary

The past 30 years have seen a substantial increase in women's labour force participation rate in all the industrialized countries included in this study. This is the most basic indicator of the feminization of work. Canadian

women have made the most progress in terms of participation rates, and have caught up with women in most other countries. However, women in Sweden continue to have the highest rate of labour market participation. At the same time, male participation rates

1. Armstrong, P. and H. Armstrong. 1994. *The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart; Vosko, L. 2000. *Temporary Work: The Gendered Rise of a Precarious Employment Relationship*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; Vosko, L. 2002. *Rethinking Feminization: Gendered Precariousness in the Canadian Labour Market and the Crisis in Social Reproduction*. Presentation given at the 18<sup>th</sup> Annual Roberts Lecture, April 11, York University, Toronto.
2. Armstrong and Armstrong. 1994.
3. Total labour force as a percentage of 15- to 64-year-olds.
4. The Labour Force Survey undergoes a redesign every 10 years following the decennial census. Data from 1976 have been revised, but data prior to 1976 have not been revised.
5. Sweden had the highest women's labour force participation rate at 63%.



6. Armstrong, P. and H. Armstrong. 1990. *Theorizing Women's Work*. Toronto: Garamond Press.
7. Fast, J. and M. Da Pont. Autumn 1997. "Changes in women's work continuity." *Canadian Social Trends*. p. 2-7; Marshall, K. 1999. "Employment after childbirth." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE) 11, 3: 18-25; Statistics Canada and Status of Women Canada. 2000. *Women and Men in Canada: A Statistical Glance* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 12F0084XPE). Ottawa: Status of Women Canada.
8. Statistics Canada and Status of Women Canada. 2000; Habtu, R. 2002. "Men 55 and older: work or retire?" *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE) 3, 12: 27-34.
9. Statistics Canada and Status of Women Canada. 2000; Johnson, K., D. Lero and J. Rooney. 2001. *Work-Life Compendium 2001: 150 Canadian Statistics on Work, Family and Well-being*. Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada, Strategic Policy Branch.
10. Armstrong and Armstrong. 1994; International Labour Organization (ILO). 1999. *World Employment Report: Women and Training in the Global Economy*. Geneva: ILO.
11. Statistics Canada. 2003. *Women in Canada: Work Chapter Updates* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89F0133XIE).
12. Data were not available for France.
13. In 2002, female professionals earned on average \$23.71 an hour, while men earned \$26.22, for an earnings ratio of 90%.
14. Occupational coding has changed over the years, which means that the time series may not be completely comparable.
15. Marshall, K. 1996. "The diversity of managers." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE) 8, 4: 24-30.
16. Statistics Canada. 2002. *Labour Force Historical Review 2002* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 71F0004XCB).
17. About 60% of jobs unique to primary industry are agricultural jobs.
18. Statistics Canada. 2002. *Labour Force Historical Review 2002* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 71F0004XCB). Table Cd1T38an.
19. Manufacturing includes occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities.
20. Akyeampong, E. 1999. "Unionization: an update." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE) 11, 3: 45-65.
21. Non-standard work includes part-time employment, own-account self-employment and temporary work which has a fixed termination date.
22. Krahn, H. 1995. "Non-standard work on the rise." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE) 7, 4: 35-42; Vosko, L.F., N. Zukewich and C. Cranford. 2003. "Precarious jobs: A new typology of employment." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE) 4, 10: 16-26.
23. Anker, R. 1997. "Theories of occupational segregation by sex: An overview." *International Labour Review* 136, 3; Arai, A.B. 2000. "Self-employment as a response to the double day for women and men in Canada." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 37, 2: 127-42.
24. International Labour Organization. 1997. "Part-time work: Solution or trap?" *International Labour Review* 136, 4.
25. *ibid.*; Fudge, J., E. Tucker and L. Vosko. 2002. *The Legal Concept of Employment: Marginalized Workers*. Report prepared for the Law Commission of Canada.
26. Hughes, K. May 1, 2003. "How are women faring in the entrepreneurial economy?" *Breakfast on the Hill Seminar Series*. Ottawa: Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences. [www.fedcan.ca/english/policyandadvocacy/breakfastonthehill/breakfast-hughes0503.pdf](http://www.fedcan.ca/english/policyandadvocacy/breakfastonthehill/breakfast-hughes0503.pdf) (accessed October 29, 2003).
27. Part-time employment refers to persons who work less than 30 hours per week at their main job. Australia is the exception where part-time employment refers to less than 30 hours per week in all jobs. In the United States, part-time employment includes only wage and salary workers.
28. A temporary job has a predetermined end date, or will end as soon as a specified project is completed.
29. Vosko, Zukewich and Cranford. 2003.
30. Grenon, L. and B. Chun. 1997. "Non-permanent paid work." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE) 9, 3: 21-31; Tabi, M. and S. Langlois. 2003. "Quality of jobs added in 2002." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE) 4, 2: 12-17.
31. Temporary employment data are not available for Australia.
32. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 2000. *Employment Outlook*. Paris: OECD.
33. Statistics Canada. 2000. *Women in Canada 2000* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-503-XPE).
34. Hughes, K. 1999. "Gender and Self-Employment in Canada: Assessing Trends and Policy Implications." *Changing Employment Relationship Series. CPRN Study No. W/04*. Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks.
35. Vosko, Zukewich and Cranford. 2003.
36. Statistics Canada. 2000.
37. Drolet, M. 2002. *The 'who, what, when and where' of gender pay differentials* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 71-584-MIE, no. 4).



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## Newcomers to Canada

Newcomers to Canada are developing a strong attachment to the country. A vast majority (91%) expressed the intention to settle here permanently and become Canadian citizens. Almost all indicated that Canada was the only country they applied to when they decided to emigrate (98%), according to the first data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada.

Family and friends played an important role in newcomer's initial settlement. The majority (87%) already had some form of social support system in Canada when they immigrated. As well, 59% of all immigrants cited joining family and friends as the most important reason for their destination choice. Seven in 10 immigrants reported that they were satisfied with their new lives in Canada. Most immigrants (85%) had made new friends since coming to Canada, especially with people from the same cultural background as themselves. In fact, 63% reported that all or most of their new friends were from the same ethnic group. As well, 47% of the immigrants reported that they wanted to bring their relatives to Canada by sponsoring their immigration.

Starting a new life in Canada was not without obstacles, however. Finding employment was the area where most immigrants reported some difficulties: 70% of newcomers who tried to enter the labour force identified at least one problem with the process, such as transferability of foreign qualifications, lack of contacts, and language barriers.

**Highlights of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada**  
Catalogue no. 89-611-XIE



## Retirement intentions

Recent data from General Social Survey emphasize the extent to which people in their late 40s and 50s are uncertain about when they will retire. Nearly one third of people in their late 40s and 50s feel they haven't made adequate financial preparations to maintain their standard of living after they leave their job. About 12% of Canadians aged 45 to 59 did not know when they plan to retire, while an additional 18% did not intend to ever retire. Together, these two groups represent nearly 1.4 million people of all non-retired Canadians aged 45-59.

The likelihood of not intending to retire was strongly associated with income. For example, individuals with personal incomes of less than \$20,000 were almost three times as likely to say they did not intend to retire as individuals with personal incomes of \$40,000 or more.

Uncertainty about retirement was especially prevalent among immigrants who arrived in Canada since the beginning of the 1980s. Almost one half (47%) of non-retired immigrants of this age group reported that they did not know when they planned to retire, or that they did not intend to retire. As well, 45% of non-retired immigrants expressed concerns about adequacy of their financial preparations for retirement.

**General Social Survey Cycle 16: Caring for an aging society**  
Catalogue no. 89-582-XIE



## Family income and participation in postsecondary education

Postsecondary education is no more the domain of students from well-to-do families than it was two decades ago, according to the Survey of Consumer Finances and the General Social Survey.

The study confirmed that individuals from higher-income families are much more likely to attend university. However, this has been a long-standing tendency. In fact, the participation gap between students from the higher- and lower-income families attending university narrowed through the 1990s.

This in part reflects increases in the participation rates among students from the lower-income families. It also reflects declines in the rates of those from higher-income families. The only group to make steady gains in university participation rates through the 1990s consisted of young people aged 18 to 24 from families with the lowest incomes.

**Family income and participation in post-secondary education**  
Catalogue no. 11F0019MIE2003210



## Visible minorities and discrimination or unfair treatment

The vast majority of Canadians (93%) aged 15 and over said that they had never, or rarely, experienced discrimination in the past five years because of their ethnic-cultural characteristics. However, 7%,

or an estimated 1.6 million Canadians aged 15 and over, said they had experienced discrimination or unfair treatment in the past five years sometimes or often because of these characteristics.

One in five (20%) people aged 15 and over who were part of a visible minority, said they felt that they had experienced discrimination or unfair treatment sometimes or often in the five years prior to the survey because of their ethnicity culture, race, skin colour, language accent or religion.

Blacks were more likely to report feeling that they had been discriminated against or treated unfairly by others because of their ethnic-cultural characteristics. Nearly one third (32%) of Blacks, or an estimated 135,000, said that they had had these experiences sometimes or often in the past five years, compared with 21% of South Asians and 18% of Chinese.

**Ethnic Diversity Survey: Portrait of a multicultural society**  
Catalogue no. 89-593-XIE



## University tuition fees

Canada's undergraduate university students expect to pay an average of 7.4% more in university tuition fees the biggest increase in four years. In the 2003 academic year students should pay an average of \$4,025 up from \$3,749 in 2002.

Additional compulsory fees vary from one institution to the next and may include recreation and athletics, student health services and student associations. Undergraduate students will pay an average of \$623 in additional compulsory fees for the 2003 academic year.

**The Daily**  
August 12, 2003  
Catalogue no. 11-001-XIE



# SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
<b>INCOME<sup>1</sup></b>									
<i>Average market income</i>									
Economic families <sup>2</sup>	54,563	54,813	55,011	56,659	59,392	60,507	63,209	63,734	--
Unattached individuals	20,821	21,239	20,848	20,931	21,861	23,208	23,846	24,326	--
<i>Average total income (includes transfer payments)</i>									
Economic families <sup>2</sup>	62,337	62,280	62,695	64,194	66,837	67,595	70,063	70,814	--
Unattached individuals	26,777	26,807	26,242	26,343	27,247	28,315	28,843	29,311	--
<i>Average income tax</i>									
Economic families <sup>2</sup>	12,275	12,359	12,320	12,704	13,430	13,083	13,939	12,798	--
Unattached individuals	4,837	4,847	4,658	4,582	4,915	5,241	5,301	4,911	--
<i>Average after-tax income</i>									
Economic families <sup>2</sup>	50,062	49,922	50,376	51,490	53,407	54,512	56,124	58,016	--
Unattached individuals	21,940	21,960	21,584	21,761	22,332	23,075	23,541	24,400	--
<i>Average after-tax income by quintiles for families</i>									
Lowest quintile	19,350	19,301	18,643	18,671	19,404	20,157	20,351	20,721	--
2 <sup>nd</sup>	33,662	33,258	32,895	33,187	34,226	35,456	36,057	36,830	--
3 <sup>rd</sup>	45,744	45,038	45,538	45,964	47,389	48,456	49,443	51,074	--
4 <sup>th</sup>	59,450	59,007	59,839	60,886	62,917	64,474	65,999	67,878	--
Highest quintile	92,110	93,014	94,972	98,784	103,157	104,032	108,793	113,615	--
<i>Earnings ratios (full-year, full-time workers)</i>									
Dual-earners as % of husband-wife families	60.3	60.5	61.3	63.0	63.4	63.8	65.0	65.7	--
Women's earnings as % of men's (full-time full year workers)	69.7	73.0	72.8	69.2	72.1	69.4	71.7	71.6	--
<i>Prevalence (%) of low income after tax (1992 low income cut-offs)</i>									
Families with head aged 65 and over	2.5	2.1	3.0	3.8	3.6	2.7	2.9	3.3	--
Families with head less than 65	10.6	11.3	11.9	11.2	9.6	9.5	8.7	8.3	--
Two-parent families with children	8.3	9.7	9.7	9.3	7.4	7.6	7.4	6.7	--
Lone-parent families	42.1	42.5	45.3	41.3	35.5	34.3	30.2	28.6	--
Unattached individuals	30.7	30.6	33.7	33.0	30.5	30.4	28.6	27.6	--
<b>FAMILIES</b>									
Marriage rate (per 1,000 population)	5.5	5.5	5.3	5.1	5.1	5.0	5.0	4.9	--
Crude divorce rate (per 1,000 population)	2.7	2.6	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	--
Total number of families ('000) <sup>3,4</sup>	7,778	7,876	7,975	8,039	8,096	8,151	8,214	8,284	8,358
<b>% of all families</b>									
Husband-wife families	86.1	85.8	85.5	85.2	84.9	84.6	84.2	83.9	83.6
with children	51.1	50.9	50.6	50.4	50.1	49.9	49.7	49.4	49.2
without children	35.0	34.9	34.9	34.8	34.7	34.7	34.6	34.5	34.4
Lone-parent families	13.9	14.2	14.5	14.8	15.1	15.4	15.8	16.1	16.4
<b>% of husband-wife families</b>									
with children	59.4	59.3	59.2	59.1	59.1	59.0	59.0	58.9	58.8
all children under 18	66.2	65.8	65.4	65.0	64.6	64.2	63.8	63.4	62.9
Females as % of lone-parent families	82.8	83.0	83.1	83.2	83.3	83.4	83.5	83.6	83.6

1. All incomes are in 2001 constant dollars.

2. An economic family consists of two or more people who live in the same dwelling and are related by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption.

3. A census family is referred to as immediate or nuclear family consisting of married or common-law couples with or without children, or lone parents and their children, whereas a child does not have his or her own spouse residing in the household.

4. Excluding the territories.

Sources: *Income in Canada* (Catalogue no. 75-202-XPE), *Income Trends in Canada* (Catalogue no. 13F0022-XCB), *Annual Demographic Statistics* (Catalogue no. 91-213-XPB) and *Divorces* (Catalogue no. 84F0213-XPB).



# LESSON PLAN

*Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends in the classroom*

## Lesson plan for “Feminization of work”

### Objectives

- ☐ To understand trends in the work of women and men.
- ☐ To examine why work has increasingly become feminized internationally.

### Classroom instructions

1. Have your students discuss how women’s employment experiences differ from men’s.
2. Survey the class to find out what types of jobs their mothers have (e.g. occupations, work full-time or part-time, temporary or permanent job). Discuss how these jobs are clustered. Are they clustered in particular occupations and do they have similar characteristics? Do the same for the jobs their fathers have.
3. There have been major changes in gender roles and in women’s work in the labour market and at home. Among the female students, discuss how they expect their employment experiences to be different from their mothers’ experiences. Among the male students, discuss how they expect their employment experiences to differ from their fathers’.
4. On average, women have always had lower earnings than men, but the gap has been narrowing. Ask your students to explore the reasons for this gap. Why it is narrowing?
5. Internationally, part-time work is more common for women than for men. Explore the reasons for this.
6. Women are increasingly working in occupations that were traditionally male-dominated. Explore if the reverse situation is true where men are increasingly entering female-dominated occupations.

### Using other resources

*Women in Canada: Work Chapter Updates*

([www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89F0133XIE/free.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89F0133XIE/free.htm))

**2001 Census Results Teacher’s Kit — Women in the labour force**

([www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/teacher%27s\\_kit/activity.cfm](http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/teacher%27s_kit/activity.cfm), then select Activity 13)

*The Changing Profile of Canada’s Labour Force*

([www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/paid/pdf/96F0030XIE2001009.pdf](http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/paid/pdf/96F0030XIE2001009.pdf) or

[www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/paid/contents.cfm](http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/paid/contents.cfm))

- ☐ To find lesson plans, articles and data for elementary and secondary schools, check out the Statistics Canada Web site at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach.htm). There are more than 30 lesson plans for high school students, many articles and access to E-STAT and other data.
- ☐ See the Family studies kit at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm) for detailed graphs that you can use to make overheads for your class.

### Educators

You may photocopy “Lesson plan” or any item or article in *Canadian Social Trends* for use in your classroom.

# What do Canadians eat?

**A**re you a nutritionist, food industry analyst, market researcher or a consumer who needs to know what Canadians are eating? If the answer is yes, then the publication ***Food Consumption in Canada*** will meet your needs.

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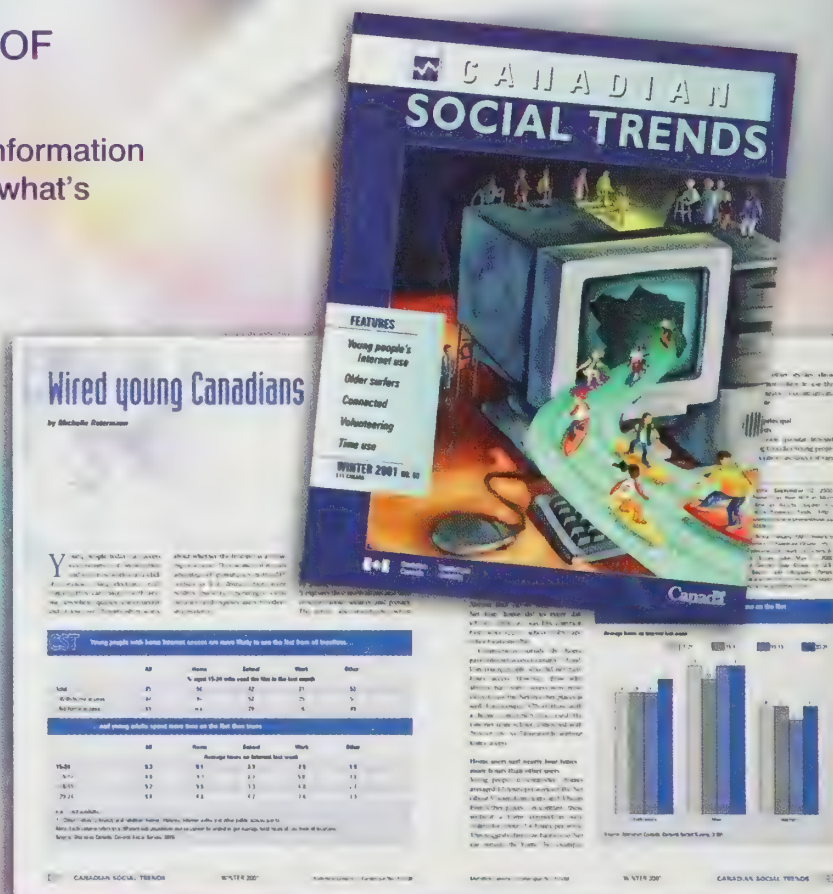
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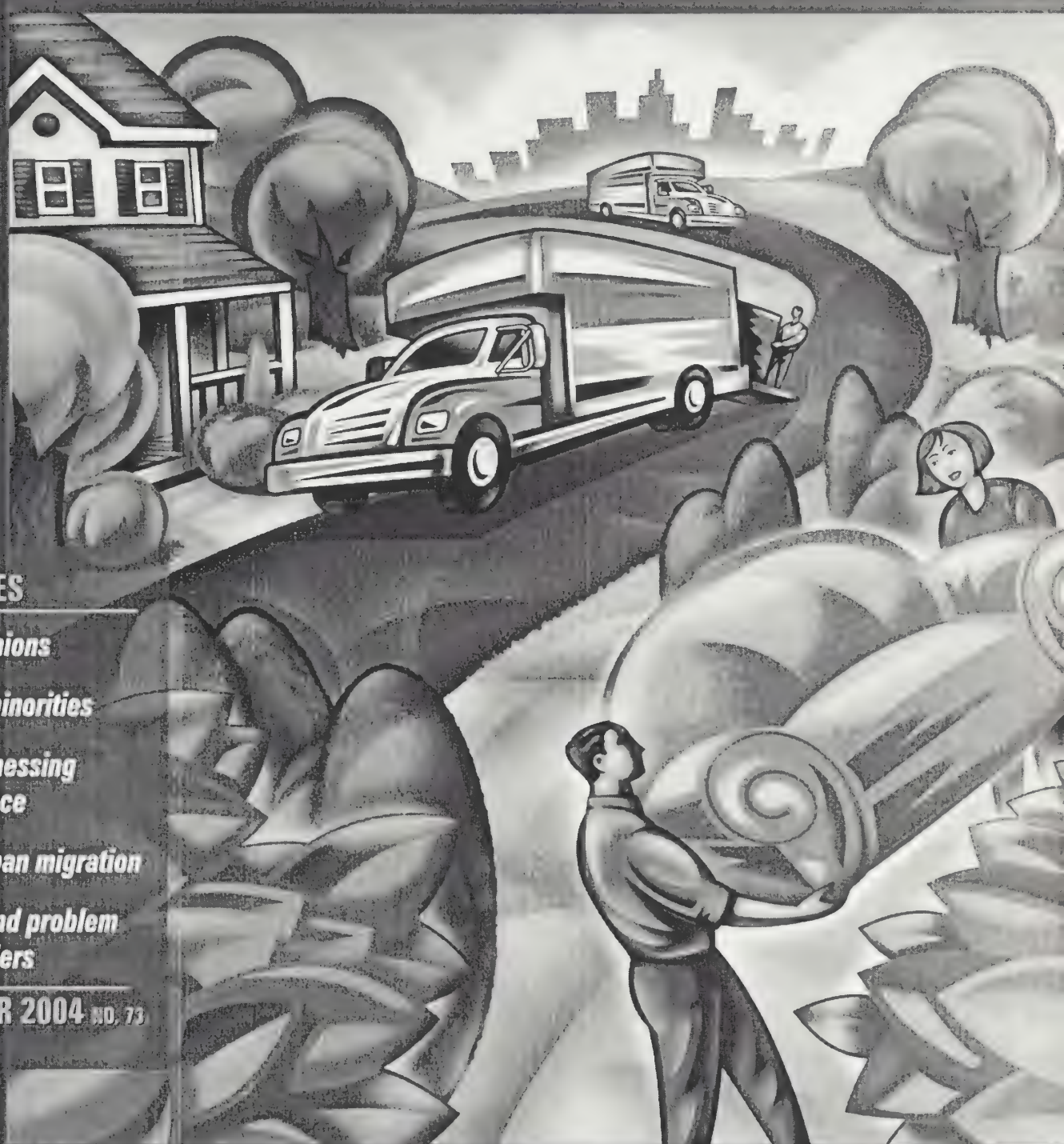




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# SOCIAL TRENDS



## FEATURES

*Mixed unions*

*Visible minorities*

*Kids witnessing  
violence*

*Rural-urban migration*

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# Mixed unions

by Anne Milan and Brian Hamm

In Canada, most people marry or live common-law with individuals from the same cultural group. However, with the growing diversity of Canada, an increased number of relationships involve individuals from different groups. Mixed unions between non-visible minorities and visible minorities or between two different visible minorities may be seen as an outcome of multiculturalism, which emphasizes the acceptance and interaction of all persons within a society. Mixed unions can be seen as "an engine of social change"<sup>1</sup> by fostering positive attitudes toward visible minority groups, and by linking the social and family networks of the two partners.<sup>2</sup>

This article uses data from the 2001 and 1991 Censuses of Population to examine the prevalence of mixed unions in Canada and to answer several questions related to mixed unions. Are particular visible minority groups more likely to form mixed couples? Does age, educational level, place of birth, or residence in large urban areas affect who is more likely to be in such a relationship? Are mixed unions more apt to be marriages or common-law relationships, and are these unions more or less likely to have children present? Are mixed unions as prevalent in Canada as they are in the United States?

## Over 3% of Canadians are in mixed unions

Of the 14.1 million persons in couples in 2001, 452,000 people were in mixed unions (marriages and common-law

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## What you should know about this study

Data in this article are drawn from the 1991 and 2001 Censuses. Mixed unions could refer to couples involving partners from different ethnic origins, religions, visible minority groups or some other characteristic. In this article, mixed couples include one member of a visible minority and one member of a non-visible minority, as well as couples comprised of two different visible minorities. Visible minorities are defined by the *Employment Equity Act* as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour". "Person-level" data were used to obtain information on characteristics of individuals in mixed unions, such as age, educational level, and immigrant status. In addition, "couple-level" data included such information as whether the union was a marriage or common-law relationship, the extent of pairings within a particular visible minority group, and whether mixed couples had children present in their home.

unions) comprised of one visible minority and one non-visible minority or two different visible minority group members. This was up 35% from 1991, compared with an increase of 10% for all persons in couples. In 2001, mixed unions represented 3.2% of all persons in couples in Canada.<sup>3</sup> Mixed couples could be increasing for many reasons. In general, there is more societal acceptance of non-traditional behaviours, such as same-sex or opposite-sex common-law unions. Social and geographical mobility creates more opportunities to meet and develop relationships with people from a variety of backgrounds. Interaction with many different people can occur at school, work, through

family and friends, or other social networks. There is also greater cultural diversity in Canada than ever before. Indeed, in 2001, there were more visible minority persons in Canada than at any time in the past, creating a larger pool of potential mates. There

1. Goldstein, J.R. 1999. "Kinship networks that cross racial lines: the exception or the rule?" *Demography* 36, 3: 399-407.
2. Kalmijn, M. 1998. "Intermarriage and homogamy: Causes, patterns, trends." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 395-421.
3. In 2001, 86% of persons in couples were those in which both individuals were non-visible minorities, and an additional 10% of persons in couples were comprised of two people from the same visible minority group.



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were 4.0 million visible minorities in 2001, or over 13% of the population.<sup>4</sup> This was up from 1.1 million in 1981, when they accounted for less than 5% of the population. Consequently, a more pluralistic society may decrease social distance between persons of different origins and produce more mixed unions.<sup>5</sup>

Overall, the most common type of mixed marriage or common-law union in Canada was between a visible minority person and someone who was not a visible minority. There were 394,300 people in such couples in 2001, accounting for 2.8% of all persons in couples, up from 2.4% in 1991. In 2001, of these couples, just over half (53%) included a non-visible minority man with a visible minority woman, while 47% involved a visible minority man and a non-visible minority woman. Among mixed couples, it was more common for a non-visible minority woman to be paired with a South Asian, Arab/West Asian, or Black man, while it was more likely for a non-visible minority man to be partnered with a woman who was Chinese, Filipino, Latin American, Japanese, Korean, or Southeast Asian.

Couples may also be comprised of individuals from two different visible minority groups, although this pairing occurred less frequently. There were 57,700 individuals in such couples (0.4% of all people in couples) in Canada in 2001, up from 34,000 a decade earlier (or 0.3% of all persons in couples). Of all mixed visible minority couples, Chinese-Southeast Asian pairings were the most frequent combination followed by Chinese-Filipino. However, there is much variation in the extent to which different visible minority groups form unions outside of their group.

#### Japanese most likely to partner outside their group

Japanese were the most likely visible minority group to marry or live common-law with a non-Japanese person. Although there were only 25,100 couples in Canada in 2001 which included at least one Japanese person, 70% of these pairings also included a non-Japanese partner. The long Canadian heritage of many Japanese may partially explain why they have the highest proportion of mixed unions. In 2001, almost two-thirds (65%) of Japanese were born in Canada. Previous

research found that mixed unions of immigrant groups may increase with subsequent generations, as adaptation to the host country may be easier for them.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the small number of Japanese in Canada might increase the level of contact with non-Japanese individuals.

The second and third most common groups to be in mixed unions were Latin Americans, followed closely by Blacks. Of the 57,800 couples involving Latin Americans, 45% were mixed unions, or 0.4% of all couples. One possible explanation is that Latin Americans are less likely to live in Latin American neighbourhoods within large cities compared to some other visible minority groups such as Chinese or South Asians. Consequently, Latin Americans may have more interaction outside of their group.<sup>7</sup>

About 43% of couples that included at least one Black person were mixed, which accounted for 0.7% of all couples in Canada. In terms of absolute numbers, Blacks had the largest number of mixed unions (50,400 out of 117,800 couples

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#### Proportion of mixed couples is highest for Japanese

Selected visible minority groups	Total couples	Partners within the same visible minority group	Mixed unions
	Number	% of couples	
Japanese	25,100	30	70
Latin American	57,800	55	45
Black	117,800	57	43
Filipino	78,700	67	33
Southeast Asian	45,200	74	26
Arab/West Asian	73,800	76	24
Korean	24,800	82	18
Chinese	265,600	84	16
South Asian	232,000	87	13

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

4. Statistics Canada. 2003. *Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The Changing Mosaic* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 96F0030 XIE2001008).

5. Tzeng, J.M. 2000. "Ethnically heterogeneous marriages: the case of Asian Canadians." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 31, 3: 321-337.

6. Lieberman, S. and M.C. Waters. 1988. *From Many Strands: Ethnic and Racial Groups in Contemporary America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

7. According to the 2001 Census, the Toronto census metropolitan area (CMA) has the largest Latin American visible minority population in Canada. Only 13% of the Latin American visible minorities live in neighbourhoods where 10% or more of the neighbourhood is Latin American. In contrast, over 70% of Chinese and South Asian visible minorities in Toronto live in neighbourhoods where at least 10% of the population in their neighbourhood is from their visible minority group. Latin American visible minorities are even less concentrated in other CMAs.





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involving Blacks). Similar to the Japanese, many Blacks have a long history in Canada; close to half (45%) of Blacks were Canadian-born. Other visible minority populations had more moderate proportions of unions outside of their groups: Filipinos (33%), South-east Asians (26%), Arab/West Asians (24%), and Koreans (18%).

### Chinese and South Asians least likely to form mixed unions

Among the least likely to partner outside of their group were South Asians (13%) and Chinese (16%). There were 29,100 mixed South Asian couples in 2001, or 0.4% of all couples.

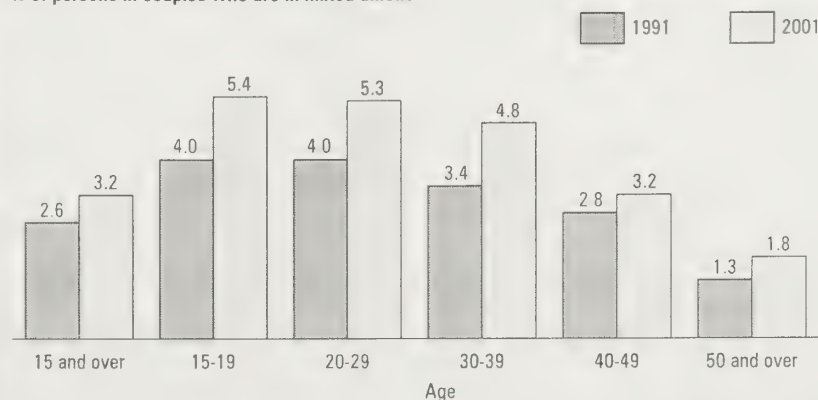
Because Chinese are the largest visible minority group — now over one million people — even a lower probability of forming relationships outside their group still results in a high number of mixed Chinese couples (41,600 couples,<sup>8</sup> representing 0.6% of all couples in the country). The number of mixed couples comprised of a Chinese person paired with a non-Chinese visible minority was also high. There were 10,500 such couples in 2001, representing 0.1% of all couples. The growing number of Chinese in Canada may contribute to an increased number of mixed unions in the future.

### Young urban dwellers most commonly in mixed unions

Becoming part of a couple, either through marriage or a common-law union, remains an important process for men and women in their twenties. Despite the increase in the proportion of young adults living common-law, there has been an overall decrease in 20- to 29-year-olds living in couples during the last two decades.<sup>9</sup> Even though there are fewer young adults in unions, they are more likely to be in mixed unions than are older adults. While more than 5% of men and women in couples in their twenties were in a mixed union in 2001, this was true for only 1% of those in couples aged 65 and

## CST Young people are more likely to be in mixed unions than older adults

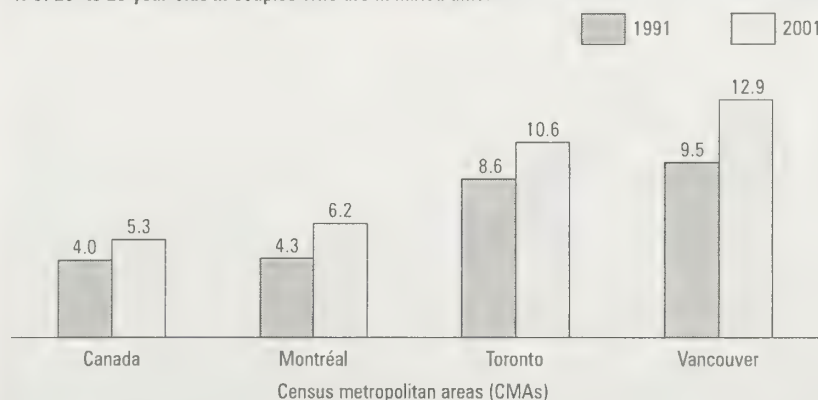
% of persons in couples who are in mixed unions



Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of population.

## CST Young Vancouver adults are more likely to be in mixed unions than young adults in other CMAs

% of 20- to 29-year-olds in couples who are in mixed unions



Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of population.

over. Younger people, in general, tend to be more receptive to behaviours and attitudes that extend the boundaries of social norms, such as living common-law.<sup>10</sup> Another interpretation is that many older people would have married or established relationships at a time when there were fewer visible minority group members living in Canada and, therefore, there were fewer visible minorities available as potential mates.

Greater acceptance of diversity might also explain why persons in

8. Includes 31,200 couples where one partner is Chinese and the other is not a visible minority and 10,500 couples where one partner is Chinese and the other is another visible minority.

9. Statistics Canada. 2002a. *Profile of Canadian Families and Households: Diversification Continues* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 96F0030XIE2001 003).

10. Statistics Canada. 2002b. *Changing Conjugal Life in Canada* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-576-XIE).



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mixed couples are more likely to live in large urban areas. Big cities provide more opportunities to meet others from a variety of backgrounds. In addition, visible minority groups are more commonly found in larger cities, increasing the likelihood of forming a relationship with someone from a different group. Mixed unions accounted for 7% of persons in couples in Vancouver, 6% in Toronto, and 3% in Montréal. Among the 20- to 29-year-olds in couples, the proportions are even higher in Vancouver (13%), Toronto (11%) and Montréal (6%).

#### Persons in mixed unions likely to have higher education and be foreign-born

According to the 2001 Census, about seven out of every 10 individuals who were visible minorities were born outside of Canada. Since the 1960s, an emphasis on the economic criteria for admitting immigrants means that many foreign-born persons are highly educated. Consequently, visible minority group members in couples also tend to have higher than average levels of education. About 28% of visible minorities in unions with a partner from the same visible minority group had a university degree, as did 31% of persons in mixed unions, and 18% of all persons in couples. Similar proportions of persons in same-group visible minority couples (27%) and the overall population in couples had less than high school, while this was true for only 13% of persons in mixed couples. With rising educational levels and higher social mobility, achieved characteristics in the form of socio-economic resources may become more significant than visible minority status or ethnicity when choosing a partner.<sup>11</sup>

More highly educated persons may have higher tolerance for differences, as well as a more universal outlook than persons with lower levels of education.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, ascribed characteristics, that is, attributes a

person is born with, such as skin colour, become less important in mate selection, as educational levels increase. Nearly four times as many people with university degrees were in mixed unions (5.6%) compared to those individuals with high school or less (1.5%). This difference in the prevalence of mixed unions by education levels is also age-related, as university degree-holders tend to be younger than those with high school or less and visible minorities are younger and more highly educated than the Canadian-born population.

Pursuing postsecondary education might provide exposure to an environment where individuals meet others from many cultures. In addition, having a higher education might open a

person to more situations where there could be contact with people from a variety of backgrounds.

In 2001, close to 7% of the foreign-born in unions were in a mixed union while this was true for only 2% of the Canadian-born. This likely reflects the high proportion of visible minority persons who are foreign-born compared to the overall population. Couples involving foreign-born persons tend to differ from the average in other respects as well — for example, they are more likely to be in age-discrepant marriages.<sup>13</sup> Marriages comprised of much older men and younger women may reflect the attitudes and behaviours found in their countries of origin.

Interestingly, Canadian-born visible minorities were more likely to be

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#### Persons with university degrees are more likely to be in mixed unions

	Mixed unions		
	Total	Two different visible minorities	One visible minority and one non-visible minority
	% of people in unions who are in mixed couples		
<b>Age</b>			
15 and over	3.2	0.4	2.8
15 to 19	5.4	0.7	4.6
20 to 29	5.3	0.6	4.6
30 to 44	4.3	0.6	3.8
45 to 64	2.5	0.3	2.2
65 and over	1.0	0.1	0.9
<b>Education</b>			
Less than high school	1.5	0.2	1.3
High school	2.3	0.3	2.0
Some postsecondary	3.6	0.5	3.1
University degree	5.6	0.7	5.0
<b>Place of birth</b>			
Canadian-born	2.1	0.1	2.0
Foreign-born	6.7	1.5	5.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

11. Tzeng. 2000.

12. Kalmijn. 1998.

13. Boyd, M. and A. Li. Autumn 2003. "May-December: Canadians in age-discrepant marriages." *Canadian Social Trends*. p. 29-33.



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# Visible minorities in the labour force: 20 years of change

by Kelly Tran

Over the past several decades the Canadian population has become more ethnically and culturally diverse. Immigration patterns have changed dramatically with people from Europe no longer dominating the flow of immigrants. More and more, immigrants are from Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East. As a result, the visible minority population has been steadily increasing. Between 1981 and 2001, the visible minority population grew from 1.1 million to nearly 4.0 million, growing from 5% to 13% of the population in 20 years. According to the 2001 Census of Population, two-thirds of visible minorities were foreign-born, and one third were Canadian-born, some having lived for generations in Canada.

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## What you should know about this study

This article uses data from the 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996 and 2001 Censuses of Population. It examines the labour market experiences of visible minorities and non-visible minorities in the 25- to 54-year-old age group over the 20-year period from 1981 to 2001 using employment and unemployment rates.

Four groups are compared: foreign-born visible minorities, Canadian-born visible minorities, foreign-born non-visible minorities and Canadian-born non-visible minorities. Visible minorities, as defined by the *Employment Equity Act*, are "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour". In Canada, the visible minority population includes the following groups: Blacks, South Asians, Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Southeast Asians, Filipinos, Arabs and West Asians, Latin Americans and Pacific Islanders.

As visible minorities and non-visible minorities have very different demographic profiles, employment and unemployment rates have been age-standardized using the non-visible minority age distribution as the reference. This eliminates the impact of different age distributions of visible and non-visible minorities upon the rates.

**Employment rate:** Also known as the employment/population ratio. It represents the number of employed people during the week prior to the Census as a percentage of the population aged 15 and over. The employment rate for a particular group (age, visible minority group, place of birth, etc.) is the number employed in that group expressed as a percentage of the population for that group.

**Unemployment rate:** Refers to the unemployed (i.e. not employed and looking for work) expressed as a percentage of the labour force in the week prior to Census Day. The unemployment rate for a particular group is the number of individuals unemployed in that group, expressed as a percentage of the total number in the labour force in that group.





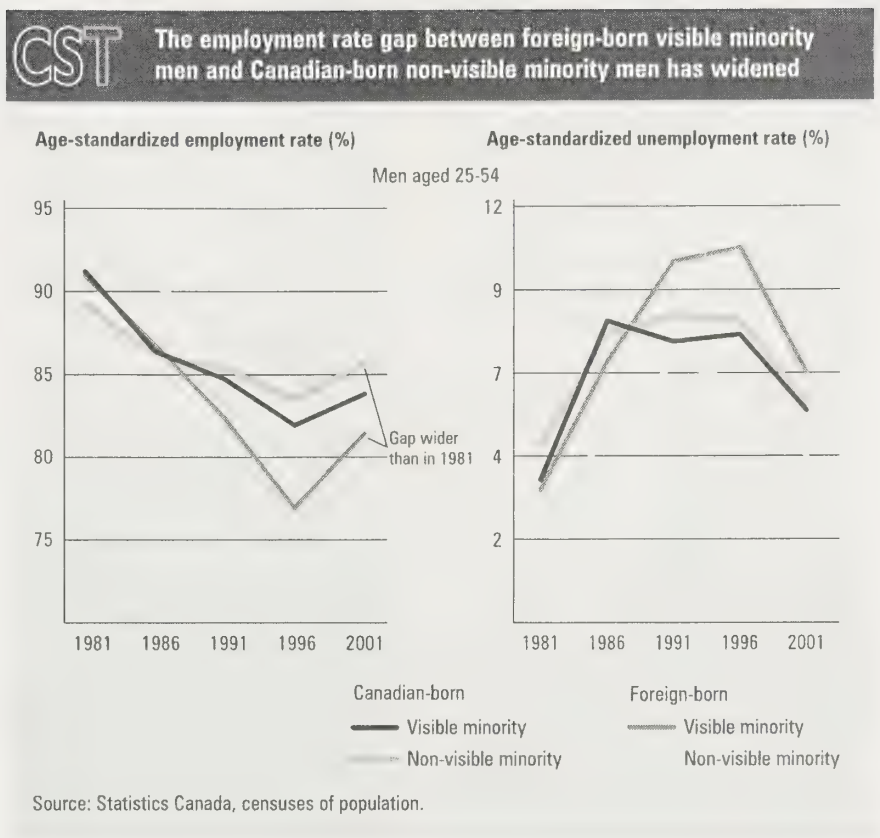
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This article examines employment and unemployment rates of visible and non-visible minority groups aged 25 to 54 using census data from 1981 to 2001. These rates have been age-standardized to account for demographic differences between the groups. Canadian-born and foreign-born visible minorities are compared to their non-visible minority counterparts to understand the relationship between labour market outcomes and immigration issues, such as recognition of foreign education qualifications or language abilities. Employment and unemployment rates are examined separately by gender as men and women had different employment trends over the last 20 years.

Between 1981 and 2001, significant economic changes occurred in Canada, which may help to explain trends in visible and non-visible minority employment and unemployment rates. During the recession of the early 1980s, employment growth slowed compared with the previous decade.<sup>1</sup> The early 1990s also saw slow employment growth in conjunction with a weak economy.<sup>2</sup> Only in 1997 did the labour market show signs of increased job creation, helping to push up the employment rate in the 2001 Census compared with the rate observed in 1996.<sup>3</sup>

Other factors also contributed to visible minority labour market outcomes. Foreign-born visible minorities face greater challenges in workplace integration than Canadian-born visible minorities and non-visible minorities do. Barriers such as lack of fluency in an official language, lack of recognition of educational credentials, lack of relevant Canadian employment experience and discounting of previous work experience outside Canada are obstacles to favourable labour market outcomes.<sup>4</sup> Although immigrants may face these barriers regardless of their visible minority status, trends suggest that the foreign-born visible



minority groups experience more labour market difficulties than non-visible minorities. All of these factors may contribute to foreign-born visible minority difficulties in the labour market.

#### Employment outcomes of foreign-born visible minority men deteriorated during the 1980s and early to mid-1990s

While in 1981 foreign-born visible minority men aged 25 to 54 had better employment and unemployment rates than Canadian-born non-visible minorities, the 1980s and early to mid-1990s saw their employment situation deteriorate more quickly than that of other men of prime-working age.<sup>5</sup> By 1996, a wide gap had developed between foreign-born visible minority men of prime-working age and Canadian-born non-visible minority men.<sup>6</sup> In 2001, this gap had narrowed compared with 1996, but was still larger than it had been in 1981.

1. Côté, M. 1990. "The labour force: into the '90s." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE) 2, 1: 8-16.
2. Picot, G. and A. Heisz. 2000. "The performance of the 1990s Canadian labour market." *Canadian Public Policy* 26, 1: S7-S24.
3. Sunter, D. and G. Bowlby. March 2001. "Demography and the labour market." *Canadian Economic Observer* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-010-XPB) 14, 3: 3.1-3.24.
4. Heisz, A., A. Jackson and G. Picot. 2002. "Winners and losers in the labour market of the 1990s." *Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11F0019MIE 2002 184).
5. In 2001, Canadian-born non-visible minorities represented 77% of men of prime-working age, but foreign-born visible minorities represented 12%, the second largest group of men in this age group.
6. Chui, T., J. Badets and K. Tran. 2003. *Labour Market Performance of the 1990s Immigrants to Canada*. Paper presented at the 29th annual meeting of the Canadian Population Society, June 5, Halifax.



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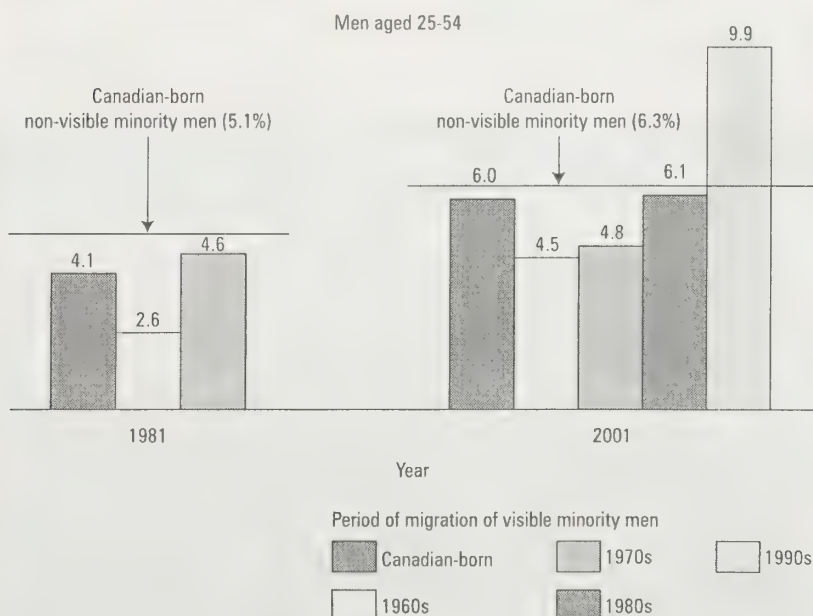


## % with a university education



Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of population.

## Age-standardized unemployment rate (%)



Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of population.

The widening gap in labour market performance occurred even though visible minorities were more likely to be university-educated than non-visible minorities and the educational advantage of foreign-born visible minorities over Canadian-born non-visible minorities had increased. This pattern contradicts the widely-held view that workers benefit from more skills, education and experience and are in greater demand.

Other studies have made similar observations. One found differences in education, earnings, income, and labour force participation between visible minority groups and non-visible minorities.<sup>7</sup> According to another study using 1991 Census data, visible minorities earned less than non-visible minorities.<sup>8</sup> Another study found that although visible minorities are more likely to be university-educated than non-visible minorities, this education did not necessarily lead to better jobs or higher income.<sup>9</sup>

The labour market problems experienced during the 1990s by foreign-born visible minorities are directly related to the difficulties recent immigrants have had. In 2001, although visible minority prime-working age men who immigrated in the 1990s were more likely to be university-educated than Canadian-born men, their unemployment rate was higher than Canadian-born non-visible

7. Pendakur, K. and R. Pendakur. 1998. "The colour of money: Earnings differentials among ethnic groups in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Economics* 31, 3: 518-548; Hum, D. and W. Simpson. November 1998. "Wage opportunities for visible minorities in Canada." *Income and Labour Dynamics Working Paper Series* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75F0002M); Chui, Badets and Tran. 2003.

8. Pendakur and Pendakur. 1998.

9. Kunz, J.L., A. Milan and S. Schetagne. 2000. *Unequal Access: A Canadian Profile of Racial Differences in Education, Employment and Income*. Toronto: Canadian Race Relations Foundation.



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minority men (9.9% versus 6.3%). However, those who arrived earlier had similar or lower unemployment rates than Canadian-born non-visible minorities. In contrast, in 1981, foreign-born visible minority men who had recently immigrated had lower unemployment rates than Canadian-born non-visible minority men.

#### Canadian-born visible minority and non-visible minority employment outcomes for prime-working age men are similar

Most visible minorities are immigrants, but in 2001, about 90,000 men aged 25 to 54 were Canadian-born visible minorities (1% of men aged 25 to 54). They probably were educated in Canada and able to speak at least one official language and in 2001 were nearly twice as likely to be university-educated than Canadian-born non-visible minority men. This education advantage grew throughout the 20-year period, but employment outcome trends remained very similar to Canadian-born non-visible minority men, with a small but growing disadvantage in employment rates during the 1990s.

Visible minorities are very diverse, originating from different countries

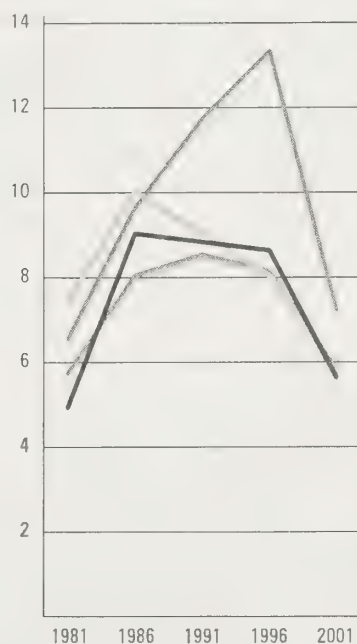
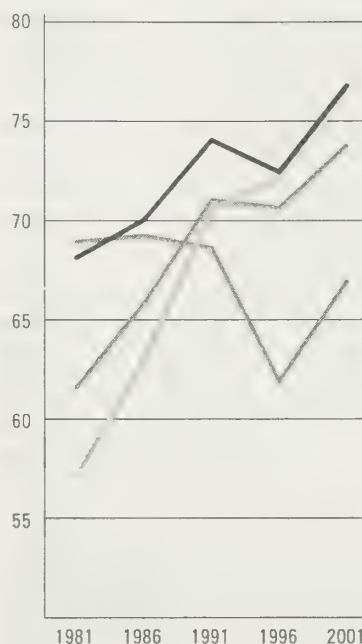
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### The employment rate advantage of foreign-born visible minority women disappears

Age-standardized employment rate (%)

Age-standardized unemployment rate (%)

Women aged 25-54



Canadian-born

— Visible minority  
— Non-visible minority

Foreign-born

— Visible minority  
— Non-visible minority

Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of population.

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### Employment Equity Act

In 1986, the Canadian government responded to the growing diversity of the work force and the disadvantaged position in the workplace of some groups by implementing the *Employment Equity Act*. This act identified four target groups as under-represented or disadvantaged in the workplace: Aboriginal people, women, people with disabilities and visible minorities. The aim of the *Employment Equity Act* was to increase representation of disadvantaged groups in the workforce by addressing issues such as hiring, occupational segregation and earnings gaps.<sup>1</sup> The goal was to ensure that an

individual's qualifications and abilities were to be the only criteria for employment opportunities. The act covers private and public sector employers under federal jurisdiction that employ 100 or more employees. After the passage of the *Act*, many provincial governments followed suit, signalling an awareness of possible discrepancies between different groups in the labour market.

1. Stelcner, M. 2000. "Earnings differentials among ethnic groups in Canada: A review of the research." *Review of Social Economy* 58, 3: 295-317.





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with widely varying education and cultural backgrounds. In 2001, three-quarters of the Canadian-born visible minority men aged 25 to 54 were from the three largest groups: Blacks (31%), Chinese (29%) and South Asian (15%). About half of the Chinese and South Asians in this group were university-educated compared with less than one fifth (18%) of Blacks. This large difference in education levels may contribute to Canadian-born male Blacks of prime-working age having lower employment rates and higher unemployment rates than either of the other two large Canadian-born visible minority groups.<sup>10</sup>

### Foreign-born visible minority women go from first to last in employment rates

Over the last 20 years, women in general, and especially women with children, have substantially increased their involvement in the labour market. While in 1981 foreign-born visible minority women aged 25 to 54 had the highest employment rate among women in that age group, by 2001 they had the lowest. They were the only group of prime-working age women to experience a decrease in employment rates between 1981 and 2001. This may reflect a shift in immigration from Europe to Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East. Women from these regions were less likely to participate in the labour force. In fact, previous research has found that women in Canada who were born in Europe, Southeast Asia or the United States had higher employment rates than Canadian-born women, while those born in Western Asia and the Middle East had lower employment rates.<sup>11</sup>

All other women had increasing employment rates. Canadian-born visible minority women had higher employment rates than Canadian-born non-visible minority women. This is not surprising because Canadian-born

visible minority women are nearly twice as likely to be university-educated.

Unemployment rates for women increased between 1981 and 1986 and continued to increase for foreign-born visible minority women until 1996. Between 1986 and 1996, unemployment rates remained stable or decreased slightly for other prime-working age women. In 2001, unemployment rates decreased for all women and especially for foreign-born visible minorities, but rates for this group of women remained above those of other groups of prime-working age women. Unemployment rates were quite similar for Canadian-born women, regardless of their visible minority status, despite the education advantage of Canadian-born visible minority women.

### Summary

Over the past 20 years, the visible minority population in Canada has nearly quadrupled, bringing increased diversity, especially in Canada's largest cities. In 1981, foreign-born visible minority men and women of prime working age had higher employment rates and lower unemployment rates than Canadian-born non-visible minority men and women. The situation changed in the 1980s and 1990s as employment rates dropped and unemployment rates increased for both visible and non-visible minority men. Foreign-born visible minority men, especially recent immigrants, saw their labour market outcomes deteriorate faster than Canadian-born non-visible minority men. This gap in labour market outcomes for men of prime working age was largest in 1996, and subsided somewhat by 2001. For women, employment rates increased for all except foreign-born visible minorities although foreign-born visible minority women were more highly educated than most other women.

The gap in labour market outcomes for foreign-born visible minorities may be related to incidents of discrimination

or unfair treatment. According to the Ethnic Diversity Survey, about 20% of visible minorities aged 15 and over said they had sometimes or often experienced discrimination or unfair treatment in the previous five years because of their ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion. These incidents most often occur at work or when applying for a job or promotion.<sup>12</sup> More research needs to be done to pinpoint the causes of the gaps in labour market outcomes between visible minorities and non-visible minorities.

10. In 2001, foreign-born Blacks were more likely to be university-educated than Canadian-born Blacks (24% versus 18%), yet had a higher unemployment rate (8.7% versus 7.9%).

11. Chui, T. and M.S. Devereaux. Spring 1995. "Canada's newest workers." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE) 7, 1: 17-23.

12. Statistics Canada. 2003. *Ethnic Diversity Survey: Portrait of a Multicultural Society* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-593-XIE).



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# Kids witnessing family violence

by Kathleen Moss

This article is adapted from "Witnessing violence — aggression and anxiety in young children," *How Healthy Are Canadians?*, December 2003 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-003-SIE). The article is available free online at [www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/82-003-SIE/82-003-SIE2003000.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/82-003-SIE/82-003-SIE2003000.htm).

Exposure to violence in the home is now recognized as a form of child maltreatment. Nonetheless, recent research on how witnessing violence may affect children is often unclear, contradictory and inconclusive.

Some studies have found that children exposed to family violence have more emotional and behavioural problems, such as anxiety and aggression, than do children who are not exposed. Other studies have not always found such relationships. As well, some children can experience effects over the short- and/or longer-term, while others seem unaffected by witnessing violence in the home. Furthermore, the immediate and longer-term associations between seeing violent behaviour and a child's aggression and anxiety appear to depend on a number of factors, such as the child's age and sex, the severity, intensity and frequency of the violence witnessed, the child's perception of his or her role in these episodes, and the parents' responses.<sup>1</sup>

To date, much of the research has been based on data collected at one point in time; for example, accounts

from adult survivors of family violence. In contrast, this article draws on both longitudinal and cross-sectional data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY) to provide a more complete picture. First, it uses the most recent estimates (1998/99) to profile those children aged 4 to 7 who have witnessed violence at home; then it examines data from three cycles of the NLSCY to assess concurrent and longer-term impacts on the levels of aggression and anxiety observed among children who witnessed family violence in 1994/95.

## What is violence at home?

In this study, violence at home comprises physical aggression between adults or teenagers. Whether a child had witnessed violence was determined by asking the person most knowledgeable (almost invariably the

biological mother) "How often does the child see adults or teenagers in the home physically fighting, hitting or otherwise trying to hurt others?" The four possible responses were "never," "seldom," "sometimes" or "often." Children who saw any violent episodes were classified as having witnessed violence in the home.

Although the longitudinal nature<sup>2</sup> of the NLSCY makes it a valuable tool to assess effects of family violence over time, there are some limitations on the data. Because the analysis is based on information provided by a parent, it refers only to violence that they were aware of and were willing to disclose. Furthermore, the severity of the violence is unknown, and it is not known if the children may themselves have been victims. As well, the questions pertain only to physical aggression and do not include emotional abuse such as verbal insults.

1. Dauvergne, M. and H. Johnson. 2001. "Children witnessing family violence." *Juristat* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 85-002) 21, 6: 1-13.
2. Longitudinal surveys follow the same respondents over time. This "follow-up" approach allows analysts to learn if an event that occurs in one year is associated with characteristics or behaviours in subsequent years.



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The National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY) has been conducted by Statistics Canada and Human Resources Development Canada every two years since 1994/95. It has both longitudinal and cross-sectional components. It follows a representative sample of Canadian children aged newborn to 11 in all provinces and territories into adulthood.

In each household, the person considered most knowledgeable about the child answers a set of questions designed to provide socio-economic and general health information about himself or herself, his or her spouse or partner, and about the child, including the child's health and social environment.

### Three time-frames of the study

The principal goal of this study is to learn whether or not exposure to family violence has concurrent or longer-term associations with children's behaviour; specifically, whether these children exhibit higher rates of overt aggression, indirect aggression and anxiety.<sup>1</sup> To address this question, children who witnessed violence in 1994/95 were followed over the next two cycles of the NLSCY, and their behaviours were compared with that of children living in non-violent homes.

First, this study used the cross-sectional component of the 1998/99 NLSCY to determine the prevalence of witnessing violence, in relation to selected characteristics of the child, parent and family. These data provide the most up-to-date profile (at time of writing) of children at risk of living in these types of situations.

Second, the study used the 1994/95 cross-sectional component to examine associations between witnessing violence at home and three possible outcomes indicating overt aggression, indirect aggression and anxiety. The strength of relationships

between violence at home and these behaviours were tested in a series of multivariate analytical models that controlled for demographic, socio-economic, family and parenting characteristics believed to play a role in the relationship.

Third, the longitudinal file was used to measure the association between witnessing violence at home in 1994/95 and high levels of overt aggression, indirect aggression and anxiety two years later (1996/97) and four years later (1998/99). Again, the associations were examined in multivariate models. The behaviour of children who had witnessed violence was compared with that of children who did not have the experience.

### Limitations of the data and the results

The NLSCY is a general survey designed to monitor child development; therefore, questions about physical violence in the home are limited. It asks only about violence that children see; no information is provided about the more covert ways in which children may be exposed to violence (heard a confrontation or experienced the aftermath). As well, the questions pertain only to physical violence and do not include emotional abuse such as verbal insults. Nor was it possible to determine who was involved in the violence, although this might influence the relationship between witnessing violence and the outcomes. In addition, parents may falsely assume that their children are not aware of the violence. Furthermore, a parent's wish to provide socially desirable answers may influence descriptions of parenting style and of the child's behaviour.

1. For a full definition of these behaviours, and the method used to determine if a child exhibited them, see the original article at [www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/82-003-SIE/82-003-SIE2003000.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/82-003-SIE/82-003-SIE2003000.htm).

### One in 12 young children saw violence at home

According to the 1998/99 NLSCY, one in 12 children aged 4 to 7 years old — 8%, or about 120,000 — had witnessed violence at home. More than one-third

of these children (35%) had "sometimes" or "often" seen such behaviour. Boys and girls were equally likely to have been witnesses.

Children with a parent aged 35 or older, as well as those with siblings in

the household, were more likely to have witnessed violence than those whose parents were younger or had no siblings. Four- to 7-year-olds from families with lower socio-economic status — a parent with less than high





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	% of children aged 4 to 7 who witnessed violence in the home
<b>Both sexes</b>	<b>8.1</b>
Boy	8.2
Girl	8.0
<b>Child's age</b>	
4 or 5	8.3
6 or 7	7.9
<b>Parent's age</b>	
Under 35	6.8
35 or older	9.3
<b>Family type</b>	
Two biological/adoptive parents	7.5
Two parents (at least one stepparent)	6.9 <sup>E</sup>
Lone parent	11.4
<b>Siblings in household</b>	
None	4.7 <sup>E</sup>
One or more	8.7
<b>Parent's education</b>	
Less than secondary	11.9
Secondary	8.2
At least some postsecondary	7.4
<b>Parent employed</b>	
Yes	8.1
No	8.4 <sup>E</sup>
<b>Household income*</b>	
Lowest/lower-middle	13.1
Middle/upper-middle/high	7.3
<b>Parent has low emotional support</b>	
Yes	9.1
No	8.0
<b>Parenting style</b>	
<i>Low positive interaction</i>	
Yes	10.8
No	7.3
<i>Low consistency</i>	
Yes	11.8
No	7.1
<i>Hostile</i>	
Yes	12.1
No	7.0
<i>Punitive</i>	
Yes	12.3
No	7.3

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

\* "Lowest/lower-middle" households report total income under \$20,000 per year if the household numbers 1 to 4 person(s), and under \$30,000 per year if it numbers 5 or more. All other households are classified as "middle/upper-middle/high income."

Source: Statistics Canada and Human Resources Development Canada, National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth, 1998/99.

school graduation and a lower or lower-middle family income — were also more likely to witness violence in the home. A high proportion (11%) of children in lone-parent families had been witnesses to family violence, compared with about 7% of children in two-parent families.

Parenting style was also a factor associated with witnessing violence at home. Higher rates of witnessing violence were reported for children whose parents gave little positive feedback, or were quite hostile or punitive in their interactions with the child.<sup>3</sup>

For the majority of children who saw violence in their home, these outbursts were not a recurring event. Close to 60% of those reported to have witnessed violence in 1994/95 did not do so two or four years later. Nevertheless, having witnessed violence had both an immediate and a longer-term association with children's aggression and anxiety.

### Children witnessing violence show concurrent effects

Fighting, making threats, getting angry and bullying are all signs of overt aggression. For both boys and girls in 1994/95, witnessing violence at home was associated with aggressive behaviour: 43% of boys and 27% of girls who had witnessed family violence, compared with 25% and 17%, respectively, of those who had not.

Of course, factors other than witnessing physical aggression between adults and teenagers in the family may contribute to a child's behaviour problems. A multivariate statistical analysis was used to control for a number of socio-economic influences,

3. Four parenting styles were selected for this study: positive interaction, consistent, hostile/ineffective, and punitive. For a description of the methods used to determine each style, refer to the original article.



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	Adjusted odds ratio					
	Boys			Girls		
	Concurrent year (1994/95)	Short-term (1996/97)	Longer-term (1998/99)	Concurrent year (1994/95)	Short-term (1996/97)	Longer-term (1998/99)
Overt aggression	1.9*	1.7*	2.1*	1.8*	2.3*	2.1*
Indirect aggression	1.6*	1.1	1.5	1.4	2.0*	1.5
Anxiety	1.4	1.9*	1.0	2.6*	1.4	2.2*

\* Indicates statistically significant difference from the reference group.

Note: Adjusted odds ratio for those children aged 4 to 7 who witnessed violence in the home in 1994/95, compared with those who did not witness violence. Those who did not witness violence at home are the reference group and have an adjusted odds ratio of 1.0.

Source: Statistics Canada and Human Resources Development Canada, National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth.

thereby isolating the effect of a child's exposure to violence.<sup>4</sup> The magnitude of the association is expressed in terms of an odds ratio; that is, the estimated likelihood that children witnessing violence at home will exhibit emotional or behavioural problems compared to the likelihood for the reference group, which in this study is the children who did not witness violence. By definition, the odds for the reference group is 1.0, so a ratio over 1.0 for children who witnessed violence indicates a greater likelihood that their behaviour is associated with their experience in the home.

Even when other confounding factors were taken into account, the results of the statistical model show that witnessing violence continued to be associated with certain behaviours in the short-term. For both boys and girls, levels of overt aggression were significantly elevated in 1994/95. Girls who had witnessed violence recorded more than twice the odds of aggression compared to girls who had not.

Aggression is not necessarily physical or overt. It may involve more subtle behaviour, such as trying to get others to dislike or exclude a particular person, gossiping, and disclosing someone's secrets; in other words,

indirect aggression. In 1994/95, about one quarter of boys and girls who were reported to have witnessed violence at home displayed indirect aggression, compared with 13% of boys and 17% of girls who had not.

When other factors in the model were taken into consideration, the concurrent relationship between witnessing violence and indirect aggression differed between the sexes. Boys who witnessed violence at home in 1994/95 had higher odds of exhibiting indirectly aggressive behaviour that same year than boys who were not witnesses; meanwhile, for girls, it was not significantly associated with the likelihood that she would engage in such behaviour.

A child classified as having high anxiety was, in the parent's opinion, unhappy, fearful and tense. Such characteristics were relatively common among children who had witnessed violence in the home, compared with their contemporaries who

had not. In 1994/95, 12% of boys who had witnessed violence had a high level of anxiety, but only 6% of those who had not; the corresponding percentages for girls were 14% and 5%.

However, for boys, the relationship between anxiety and witnessing family violence did not persist when factors such as family type and parenting style were taken into account. By contrast, the odds of high anxiety in 1994/95 were over two times greater for girls who had witnessed violence, compared with those who had not, even allowing for the effects of other variables.

#### Seeing violence linked to longer-term behaviour problems

Previous research has found that although children's reactions may be more pronounced immediately after they have been exposed to violence, they can also display longer-term developmental or psychological problems, or both, such as conduct disorder and antisocial or self-injurious behaviour.<sup>5</sup>

4. The variables in the model were: the child's age; reporting parent's age; presence of siblings in the household; family type (lone-parent, two-parent with at least one stepparent, two biological/adoptive parents); reporting parent's education; reporting parent's employment status; household income; reporting parent's level of emotional support; and parenting style.

5. Conduct disorders such as aggression in childhood may be the single best predictor of future conduct disorders. Bennett, K. 2001. "Screening for conduct problems: does the predictive accuracy of conduct disorder symptoms improve with age?" *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* 40, 12: 1418-1425.



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Analysis of the NLSCY results supports these conclusions from earlier studies. The odds that children who had witnessed violence at home in 1994/95 would continue to exhibit overt aggression behaviour remained significantly higher over the short- and longer-term than those of other children who did not witness violence. The high odds of overt aggression among girls is somewhat unexpected; other studies have found that girls are more likely to internalize the effects of violence with anxiety, rather than externalize them with physical aggression.

In contrast, the association of indirect aggression with violence did not persist over the longer-term. Girls who had witnessed violence in 1994/95 had higher levels of indirect aggression in 1996/97, but by 1998/99, the difference was no longer statistically significant. For boys, the odds were not significantly greater, in either year, than those for boys who had been living in homes that were not violent.

However, witnessing violence in 1994/95 was significantly associated with anxiety in subsequent years: two years later for boys and four years later for girls. The high odds of anxiety among boys is somewhat surprising. Other studies have found that boys are more likely to react with externalizing behaviour such as physical aggression. Furthermore, these findings are particularly notable given that anxiety is less visible than aggression and, therefore, more difficult to identify in younger children.

### Summary

A small but significant proportion of young children aged 4 to 7 — one in 12 in 1998/99 — have witnessed aggression at home. Statistical analysis indicates that witnessing violence in 1994/95 was associated with high levels of overt aggression. For boys, the experience was also linked with indirect aggression and, for girls, with anxiety.

For most of these young children, violence at home is an infrequent occurrence. However, compared with children who had not witnessed violence in 1994/95, boys and girls who had seen violent episodes at home continued to be overtly aggressive two and four years later. In addition, girls were more likely to display indirect aggression in 1996/97 and anxiety in 1998/99, while elevated anxiety was observed for boys in 1996/97. These results add to the emerging evidence that witnessing violence is associated with aggression and anxiety in young children, and that these problems persist in both the short- and longer-term.



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# Rural-urban migration in the 1990s

by Rick Audas and Ted McDonald

People often migrate to improve personal and economic circumstances for themselves and their families. While the reasons for migration are many and varied, a key factor for many working-age adults is to obtain better jobs — higher pay, more employment stability and a closer match between employment and personal skills. Migration also helps to balance labour markets by matching available jobs with people willing and able to fill them.

Out-migration is an issue of particular concern for rural communities. Many rural areas have a tenuous hold on public services — particularly health care and education — which may become even weaker if they lose people. Rural out-migration tends to involve young and educated people, which may contribute to an aging workforce in some rural areas and reduced capacity for economic growth.<sup>1</sup>

This article first profiles out-migration of adults aged 20 to 65 during the 1990s, comparing rural and urban migrants and the distance of the move — whether they changed community, region, or province. Second,



the changes in economic circumstances are compared before and after a move. Finally, a broader look at the

economic outcomes of spouses is examined as migration decisions have ramifications for all family members.

1. According to the 1996 Census of Population, in-migration of 20- to 28-year-olds to rural areas in Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta and Quebec helps to offset population losses of younger people in those areas. Dupuy, R., F. Mayer and R. Morissette. 2000. "Rural youth: Stayers, leavers and return migrants." *Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series*, no. 152 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11F0019MIE2000152). However, rural areas of Atlantic Canada and the Prairies have experienced net population losses of younger people. See also Rothwell, N., R. Bollman, J. Tremblay and J. Marshall. 2002. "Migration to and from rural and small town Canada." *Rural and Small Town Canada - Analysis Bulletin* 3, 6 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 21-006-XIE) and Tremblay, J. 2001. "Rural youth migration between 1971 and 1996". *Agriculture and Rural Working Paper series*, no. 44 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 21-601-MIE2001044).



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Data in this article come from the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID). SLID is a large annual longitudinal survey that covers all individuals in private households in Canada excluding residents of the Yukon, Northwest Territories, Nunavut and persons living on Indian reserves. It was first conducted in 1993. Each SLID panel<sup>1</sup> consists of roughly 15,000 households and about 30,000 adults, and each panel is surveyed for a period of six consecutive years. This article is based on data from three overlapping panels: 1993-1998, 1996-2000, and 1999-2000.

Respondents aged 20 to 65 report their place of residence as of December 31 of a SLID reference year. The same respondents report their place of residence the following year and they are deemed to be migrants if they live in a different geographic area (i.e. province, economic region (ER) or census subdivision (CSD)). Out-migration rates are calculated based on data from all panels and years between 1993 and 2000 and represent a sample of over 232,000 person-years. The out-migration rates presented in this article represent the average annual percentage of the population who migrated during this period. People entering or leaving the country are not included in this analysis.

#### Measuring the influence of migration on labour market outcomes

To assess how labour market outcomes are influenced by migration, changes in employment status, average change in the number of weeks worked, median change in wages and salaries and the prevalence of receiving Employment Insurance (EI) benefits are compared between the first and the third year of a reference period. Between the first and second year of the reference period a respondent may have moved. By waiting until the year after a possible move to compare labour market outcomes, enough time has passed for migrants to adjust to a new labour market.<sup>2</sup> Labour market outcomes of non-migrants are compared to determine if migration contributed to different outcomes than those experienced by non-migrants. This comparison contributes to the understanding of the economic consequences of migration.

To examine the net effect of migration on being employed, four groups of people are identified from the SLID survey:

- **job continuers:** those people working during both the first and third year of a reference period;
- **job starters:** those people not working during the first year, but working in the third year of a reference period;
- **job leavers:** those people working during the first year of a reference period, but not in the third year;
- **non-workers:** those people who did not work during either the first or third year of a reference period.

#### Type of migrant

**Interprovincial migrants:** respondents who move from one province to another.<sup>3</sup>

**ER migrants:** respondents who move from one economic region (ER) to another within the same province. An economic region is a geographical unit generally composed of several census divisions within a province or, in the case of Prince Edward Island, the province constitutes one economic region. Economic regions are often thought of as local labour markets.

**CSD migrants:** respondents who move from one census subdivision (CSD) to another within the same economic region. CSDs generally correspond to municipalities.

In this article, respondents moving within a census subdivision are not considered to be migrants as the analysis concentrates on more substantial moves which are likely to involve a change in jobs or career paths.<sup>4</sup>

#### Community size

Communities of four different sizes are examined: rural,<sup>5</sup> small or medium-sized towns (1,000 to 24,999 people), small or medium-sized cities (25,000 to 249,999) and large cities (250,000 and over).

1. A panel is a group of respondents who enter a longitudinal survey at the same time and who are repeatedly interviewed over several years.
2. Only respondents who have three consecutive years of SLID data are included and hence the analysis of changes in labour market outcomes is based on a somewhat smaller sample.
3. Interprovincial migrants have seen the most attention in the literature. See Lin, Z. 1998. "Foreign-born vs. native-born Canadians: A comparison of their inter-provincial labour mobility." *Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series*, no. 114. (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11F0019MIE1998114); Finnie, R. 2000. "Who moves? A panel logit model analysis of inter-provincial migration in Canada." *Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series*, no. 142 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11F0019MIE2000142); and Day, K. and S. Winer. 2001. "Policy-induced migration in Canada: An empirical study." Carleton University working paper 2001-08.
4. Some CSD migrants may not change jobs. Even some inter-provincial migrants may not change jobs if they move between contiguous border towns.
5. "Rural" refers, in general, to the rural population (i.e. the population outside centres of 1,000 or more) within rural and small town (RST) Canada. RST refers to the population outside of census metropolitan areas (CMAs) and census agglomerations (CAs). CMAs have urban cores of 100,000 or more and CAs have urban cores of 10,000 to 99,999, and in both cases, neighbouring towns and municipalities are included in the CMA or CA if 50% or more of the workforce commutes to the CMA or CA for work.



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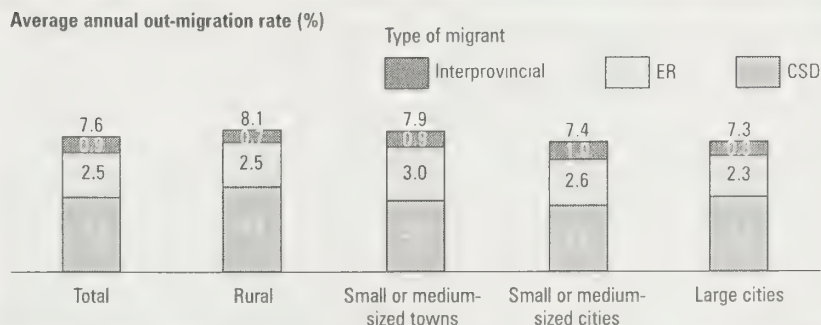
## Rural dwellers are just about as likely to move as large city dwellers

Over the reference period 1993-2000, an average of 7.6% of 20- to 65-year-olds migrated each year.<sup>2</sup> Out-migration rates fell with distance as moving costs (both financial and psychological) were higher and because people have less information about distant labour markets and are therefore less likely to risk a distant move. According to the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID), 4.2% are census subdivision (CSD) migrants, 2.5% are economic region (ER) migrants, and 0.9% are interprovincial migrants. For people from both rural and urban areas, migration is most likely to be a CSD change and least likely to be a move between provinces.

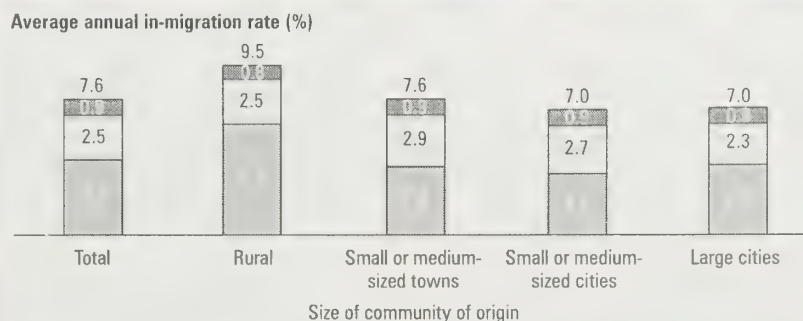
Conventional wisdom suggests that rural areas experience higher rates of out-migration than urban areas, particularly by the young and skilled, as opportunities for local employment diminish. However, differences in annual out-migration rates are not large, varying from 8.1% in rural areas to 7.3% in large cities with much of the difference accounted for by differences in CSD migration. SLID data also suggests that rural areas were the only communities to have higher in-migration rates than out-migration rates. In fact, people in their mid-20s to mid-40s and at pre-retirement age were the most likely to be drawn to rural areas.

The proportion of Canadians living in rural areas has changed little over time, due to a balancing of rural to urban and urban to rural migration. Of course, rural areas in different parts of the country may not experience a similar balance of in- and out-migration, and so some rural areas may gain while others lose population and the characteristics of migrants may differ from non-migrants.<sup>3</sup>

## CST Out-migration rates are similar for all community sizes...

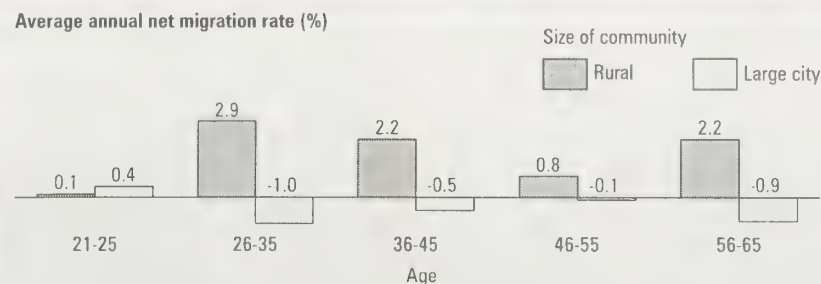


## ... while in-migration rates are highest for rural communities



Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, 1993-2000.

## CST Persons at family formation and pre-retirement phases are most likely to be drawn to rural areas



Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, 1993-2000.

- Preliminary research shows generally stable migration rates from 1993 to 2000.
- The richness of the SLID data allows for an in-depth view of the characteristics and outcomes associated with migration. However, due to SLID's small sample size, the Census and administrative tax data are much better at measuring migration flows. Nevertheless, analysis of SLID data (not reported here) shows that the rural adult populations of Atlantic Canada, Quebec and the Prairies have not declined, while Ontario and British Columbia have experienced substantial increases in rural population, mainly from urban areas of the same province. This is broadly consistent with findings reported elsewhere (see Dupuy et al. 2000; Rothwell et al. 2002; and Tremblay. 2001).





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Migrants are more likely to be young, single and have a university degree. According to SLID, persons in their early to mid-20s are about three times as likely as the middle-aged to be migrants. Young adults from rural areas were more likely to leave than their peers from large cities (21% versus 15%). There are many reasons why young people are more likely to move than older people. Recent research suggests that moving costs significantly deter migration.<sup>4</sup> On average, moving costs are lower for younger people than for older people, partly because older people may have more family and community ties, and are more likely to be homeowners. In addition, younger people are more likely to have recently completed schooling and to be engaged in job search, and as such are likely to be more amenable to a move. Older people, however, have fewer years to recover their investment in moving expenses and have more firm-specific human capital, which encourages them to remain where they are.<sup>5</sup>

Not surprisingly, single persons were more likely than married persons to be migrants, and this difference is more pronounced in rural areas than in large cities. Lower moving costs for singles than for families contributes to higher out-migration rates for singles. In addition, families may have multiple earners, which makes moving a more difficult decision, especially if a spouse has a high-wage job. The psychological costs of moving also increase with the number of members in the family.

University degree holders were also more likely to be migrants than those without a degree, regardless of the size of the community. For example, among rural residents, 10% of rural university degree-holders left rural areas per year while 7% without degrees left. In large cities, 9% of university degree holders left compared with 7% of those without a degree.

## CST Young, single, university-educated persons are more likely to be migrants

	Size of community of origin				
	Total	Rural	Small or medium-sized towns	Small or medium-sized cities	Large cities
<b>Age</b>	<b>Average annual out-migration rate (%)</b>				
21-25	16.6	20.9	19.0	16.7	14.8
26-35	10.3	10.0	9.6	9.7	10.9
36-45	5.8	5.2	6.4	5.9	5.8
46-55	4.0	4.8	4.5	3.5	3.6
56-65	3.7	4.1	3.7	3.2	3.7
<b>Marital status</b>					
Single	12.1	15.1	13.8	12.2	11.3
Married	5.8	5.8	6.1	5.5	5.8
Other	9.3	11.6	9.4	9.0	8.8
<b>Highest level of schooling</b>					
No university degree	7.0	7.2	7.4	6.9	7.0
University degree	9.2	10.2	8.9	8.7	9.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, 1993-2000.

Higher levels of education may facilitate migration because highly educated people have a broader range of employment opportunities and may have more awareness of opportunities in other places.

### Sales and service workers more likely to be migrants, especially those from rural areas

Occupation also influences out-migration rates. Regardless of the size of community, people in sales and service occupations are more likely to move than other occupational groups. This was especially so for rural sales and service workers. Sales and service workers from rural and small towns may gravitate to cities where higher-paying jobs are more plentiful, but those sales and service workers who live in large cities are less likely to gain from moving. Although blue-collar workers had among the highest unemployment rates in 2002, they were least likely to move, regardless of community size. With economic restructuring and the decline of the

primary and manufacturing industry base through the 1990s, there may be fewer employment opportunities available to blue-collar workers in other areas.

### Non-migrants more likely to work a full year

When people move, they often do so to improve their employment situation. Sometimes unemployment or non-standard work impels workers to migrate to a place where they believe employment opportunities are better. Those who have full-year employment (48 to 52 weeks) have less incentive to move, partly because the costs of moving may be higher than for those with a part-year job due to a loss

4. Day, K. and S. Winer. 2001. "Policy-induced migration in Canada: An empirical study." Carleton University working paper 2001-08.

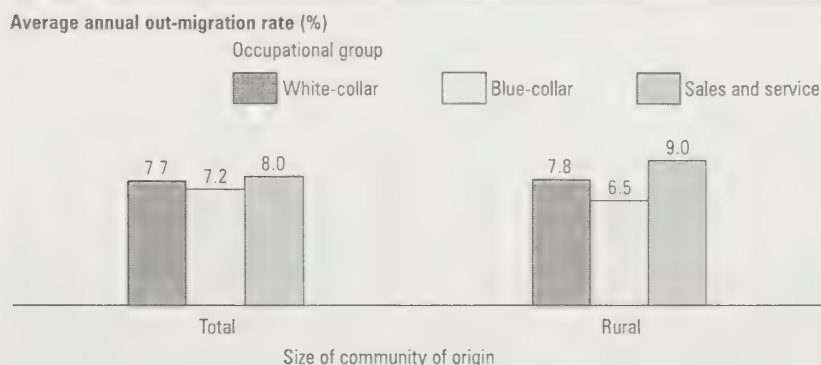
5. Human capital is a term referring to the practical knowledge, acquired skills and learned abilities that makes a person potentially productive and equipped to earn income in exchange for labour.



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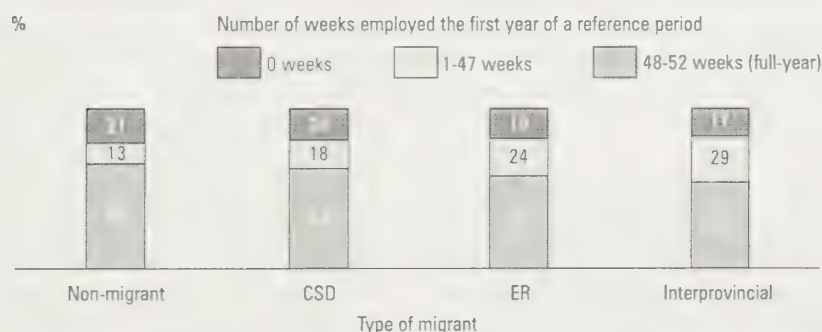


## Sales and service workers are more likely to leave rural areas than blue-collar workers

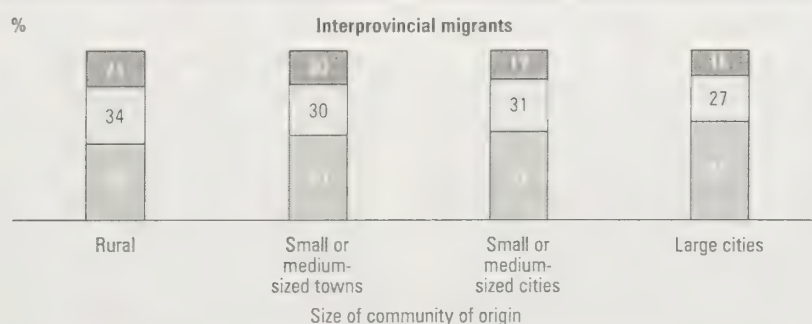


Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, 1993-2000.

## Interprovincial migrants are least likely to be employed for a full year prior to a move...



### ... especially interprovincial migrants from rural areas



Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, 1993-2000.

of seniority and employment benefits and forgone income during a move. According to SLID, non-migrants are significantly more likely to work full-year than migrants and less likely to

work for part of the previous year. Not surprisingly, migrants who make longer moves are less likely to have worked full-year and more likely to have worked part-year than migrants

who made shorter moves. About 65% of non-migrants report full-year employment compared with 62% of CSD migrants, 58% of ER migrants and 54% of interprovincial migrants. According to SLID, part-year workers are more likely to move than either full-year workers or non-workers.

The receipt of Employment Insurance (EI) benefits is an indicator of the mismatch between the supply and demand of labour and employment instability.<sup>6</sup> With high unemployment rates prevailing in many rural areas, more people in rural communities receive EI benefits.<sup>7</sup> As migrants are more likely to work part-year than non-migrants, they are also more likely to receive EI, and interprovincial migrants are most likely to receive EI prior to moving. On balance, higher out-migration rates are associated with higher likelihood of receiving EI, regardless of the size of the community.

This analysis reveals several important trends about migrants. The decision to migrate from rural to urban areas may be driven by a lack of economic opportunities, with those experiencing unemployment and relying on EI benefits being most likely to migrate.

### Only interprovincial migrants from cities have significantly larger employment rate gains than non-migrants

Because people often move to improve their employment prospects, migrants are expected to work more, be less

6. Employment Insurance provides temporary financial help to the unemployed while they look for work or upgrade their skills, while they are pregnant or caring for a newborn or adopted child, or while they are sick.

7. In high unemployment rate regions, fewer weeks of employment are required to qualify for EI benefits. It may be easier or more difficult than in other regions to accumulate the number of weeks of employment to qualify for EI.



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	Size of community of origin				
	Total	Rural	Small or medium-sized towns	Small or medium-sized cities	Large cities
% receiving Employment Insurance benefits in the first year of a reference period					
Non-migrant	14.7	19.8	17.1	14.9	11.9
CSD	18.4	24.0	21.9	21.6	14.2
ER	18.1	19.6	21.1	19.0	16.0
Interprovincial	22.4	26.7	25.5	23.5	19.8

Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, 1993-2000.

likely to receive EI benefits and have higher wages and salaries after a move than before. However, the expected gains may not materialize if conditions in the new labour market are unexpectedly tough. Thus, the absence of such gains may indicate that a migrant is having difficulty adjusting to the new labour market. Gains are measured by comparing labour market indicators such as employment rates, receipt of EI benefits and wages and salaries in the first year of a reference period with those of the third year, the year following a move of migrants.

Over the study period from 1993 to 2000, economic conditions improved. It is therefore not surprising that both migrants and non-migrants have higher employment rates in the third year of a reference period than in the first year. However, it is only interprovincial migrants from cities with a population of 25,000 or more that have significantly larger employment rate gains than non-migrants. Regardless of community size, the more distant the move, the more likely people are to be job starters after a move. After a move, migrants expect to improve their situation by starting a job, but unexpectedly, migrants are also more likely than non-migrants to leave employment during a reference period. In addition, the further people

move, the more likely they are to stop working. Although the decision to move is based on expected benefits derived from moving, these benefits sometimes do not materialize because of imperfect labour market information. Distant moves increase uncertainty and may contribute to job losses after a move.

Relocation may require a family member to give up a job, and so gains from migration may be unevenly distributed within families. It is therefore also important to consider the labour market outcomes of both spouses, before and after migration.

As expected, household heads (usually husbands)<sup>8</sup> are more likely to work in both periods than spouses (usually wives). As well, migrant heads and spouses are more likely than non-migrants to work in both periods and these differences are larger for more distant moves. However the flows into and out of employment are much larger for spouses than for household heads: for example, 17% of spousal interprovincial migrants are job starters, versus 8% of household heads. This suggests that migration is associated with more labour market turbulence for spouses than for household heads. The high prevalence of job starters for spouses suggests that many couples consider the potential

labour market outcomes for both partners in their migration decision.

### More weeks worked after moving

During the reference period, weeks worked increased for both migrants and non-migrants, but the biggest gains were for rural interprovincial migrants — 4.7 weeks. This suggests that rural underemployment may provide the impetus for some people to move to where more work is available. Overall, non-migrants worked 0.4 more weeks in year three of the reference period than in year one, while CSD migrants worked 1.2 additional weeks, ER migrants 2.6 additional weeks and interprovincial migrants 1.9 additional weeks.

As with employment rates, gains in weeks worked are quite different for household heads and spouses. Non-migrant household heads showed very little change in average weeks of work, but interprovincial migrant household heads worked an additional three weeks. In contrast, while non-migrant spouses worked about one more week in the third year of a reference period, interprovincial migrant spouses worked 0.6 additional weeks.

### Higher wages earned after moving

Migration also affects earnings. People may choose to move not just for more work, but also for higher paying jobs or the potential of receiving higher pay. Regardless of the size of community, those who moved between ERs or provinces showed significantly larger gains in annual wages and salaries than non-movers or short-distance movers. On average, non-migrants' median earnings grew by 4%, while CSD, ER and interprovincial migrants' earnings grew by 8%, 16% and 22%,

8. The household head refers to the person with the highest earnings in the family. In families including a married or common-in-law couple, 76% of the persons with the highest earnings were men.





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respectively.<sup>9</sup> Undoubtedly, part of the reason for the larger increases for migrants is related to migrants being younger and more highly-educated than non-migrants.

Spouses experience large percentage increases in wages and salaries compared to household heads over the two-year reference period, ranging from 6% among non-migrants to 16% for ER migrants.<sup>10</sup> Increases for household heads are smaller, varying from 1% for non-migrants to 8% for inter-provincial migrants.

### Migrants more likely to receive EI benefits than non-migrants after migration

Before migrants move they are more likely to receive EI benefits than non-migrants, which may have contributed to their decision to move. During a reference period, both migrants and non-migrants experience a similar decrease in the percentage receiving EI benefits. One notable exception is the large decline in the percentage of rural interprovincial migrants receiving EI benefits, which is consistent with the growth in weeks of work and earnings for this group. All migrants regardless of community size were more likely to receive EI benefits in the third year of a reference period than non-migrants.

During the third year of a reference period, migrants, especially interprovincial migrants, are significantly more likely to either stop or start receipt of EI benefits than non-migrants. According to SLID, 13% of interprovincial migrants stopped receiving EI and 11% started while the same percentages

9. However, if pre-migration wages are low, a large percentage increase in wages may still not translate into a large wage gain in dollar terms.

10. Percentage changes in median wages and salaries are calculated only for people who are employed in the first and third years of the reference period.



### Spouses of household heads are more likely to start or end jobs after a move than household heads

	Change in job status during reference period				Employment rate	
	Job continuers	Job starters <sup>1</sup>	Job leavers <sup>2</sup>	Non-workers <sup>3</sup>	First year of reference period	Third year of reference period
<b>Type of migrant</b>				%		
Non-migrant	74.1	5.5	4.0	16.4	78	80
CSD	76.7	5.9	5.1	12.4	82	82
ER	75.4	8.1	6.7	9.7	82	84
Interprovincial	76.9	9.3	6.7	7.1	84	86
<b>Head of household</b>						
Non-migrant	86.6	4.9	1.3	7.2	88	91
CSD	87.9	5.0	1.6	5.5	90	93
ER	84.7	8.1	3.1	4.1	88	93
Interprovincial	87.8	8.0	1.6	2.6	89	96
<b>Spouse of head of household</b>						
Non-migrant	65.4	5.9	5.5	23.3	71	71
CSD	62.8	8.4	7.5	21.3	70	71
ER	60.9	14.0	7.4	17.6	68	75
Interprovincial	57.7	16.7	12.8	12.9	70	74

<sup>1</sup> Did not work in the first year and did work in the third year of a reference period.

<sup>2</sup> Worked in year the first year, but not in the third year of a reference period.

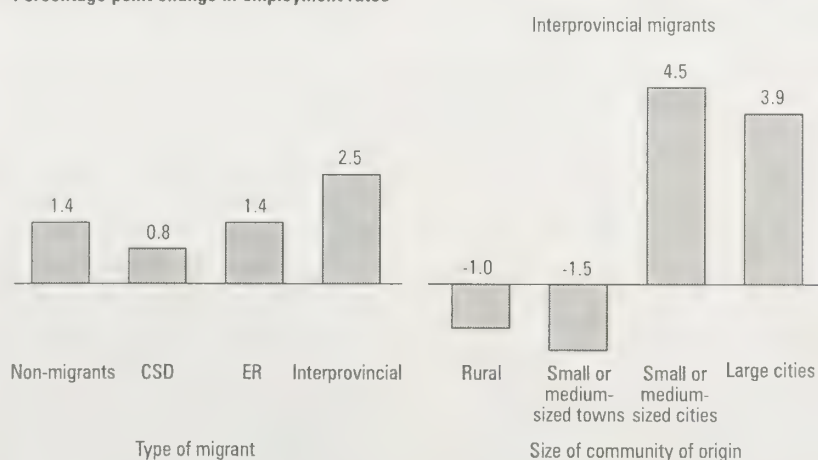
<sup>3</sup> Worked in neither the first or third year of a reference period.

Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, 1993-2000.



### Only interprovincial migrants from cities had significantly larger employment rate gains than non-migrants

Percentage point change in employment rates\*



\* Change in employment rates between the first and third year of a reference period.

Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, 1993-2000.





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Type of migrant	Size of community of origin					Head of household	Spouse of head of household
	Total	Rural	Small or medium-sized towns	Small or medium-sized cities	Large cities		
<b>Change in number of weeks worked</b>							
					<b>Weeks</b>		
Non-migrant	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.1	1.2
CSD	1.2	1.6	1.6	1.4	0.8	0.6	1.3
ER	2.7	1.7	3.4	2.4	2.8	0.9	-0.5
Interprovincial	1.9	4.7	1.6	2.1	1.3	3.2	0.6
<b>Change in median annual wages and salaries</b>							
					<b>%</b>		
Non-migrant	3.6	3.5	3.1	3.3	4.4	1.5	5.7
CSD	7.8	7.3	4.9	11.8	8.8	3.0	11.7
ER	16.0	9.0	10.1	25.6	18.8	4.2	15.7
Interprovincial	22.3	50.9	14.0	29.2	11.3	7.8	14.2
<b>Change in percentage receiving EI benefits</b>							
					<b>Percentage points</b>		
Non-migrant	-2.4	-2.7	-2.8	-2.1	-2.2	..	..
CSD	-3.4	-3.6	-3.7	-2.4	-3.5	..	..
ER	-1.7	1.5	-2.2	-1.3	-2.7	..	..
Interprovincial	-1.5	-9.0	2.8	-2.9	-0.6	..	..

.. Not available.

Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, 1993-2000.

for non-migrants were 8% and 6%, respectively. This suggests that migration, especially interprovincial migration, is associated with increased labour market uncertainty.

### Summary

While there is a significant out-migration from rural areas, there is also a countervailing flow of people from urban to rural areas that more than offsets it. Young, single and university-educated people are most likely to be migrants. People with these characteristics are also more likely to be employed and work less than a full year than non-migrants. Thus, migrants tend to have the highest potential gains from moving and the lowest economic and psychological costs associated with moving.

Interprovincial migrants are also the youngest and most educated.

On average, migration brings considerable economic gains to migrants, with larger gains observed for migrants who move greater distances, especially for those who leave rural areas. They tend to earn and work more. In addition, for rural migrants, moving may contribute to breaking the cycle of reliance on EI. However, migration generally is also associated with increased employment instability, as migrants are more likely to both stop and start working than non-migrants. This increased instability may contribute to higher EI benefit usage rates for migrants than non-migrants both at the beginning and the end of a reference period as migrants seek new employment opportunities in unfamiliar labour markets.

While the net economic gains for migrants are significant, migration often involves the relocation of entire families. Some family members may increase earnings, weeks of work during a year and employment stability while others lose from the relocation. Household heads and spouses experience different outcomes from migration. Interestingly, migrant spouses experience more rapid wage growth and are more likely to shift in and out of jobs than migrant household heads.

This article provides additional evidence that migration involves the relocation of young, educated people and that the economic gains from migration in terms of higher pay and more secure employment are sizeable for many people. Migration may be an important labour market adjustment necessary to break a long-term cycle of irregular work and reliance on Employment Insurance. Perhaps most importantly it also establishes that it is necessary to evaluate migration in the broader context of the family. The economic gains by spouses are significantly more variable, but also in many cases larger than those of household heads.

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# Against the odds: A profile of at-risk and problem gamblers

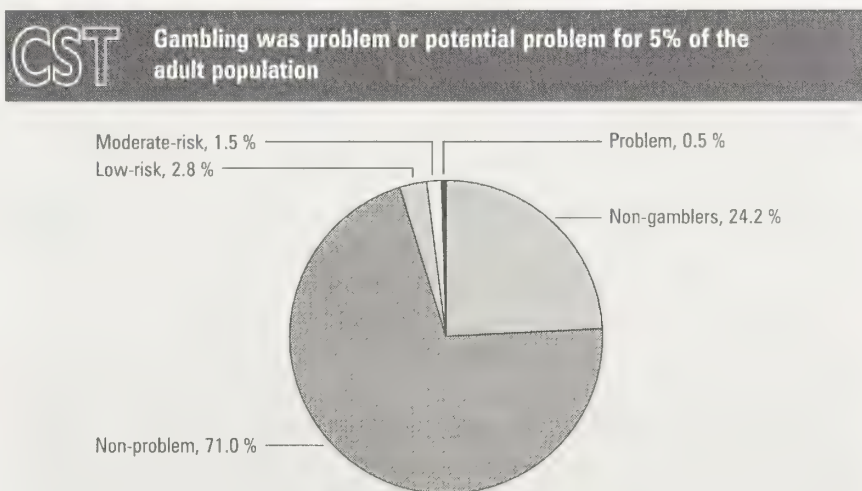
by Katherine Marshall and Harold Wynne

This article is adapted from "Fighting the odds," *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, December 2003, vol. 4, no. 12, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE, available for purchase at [www.statcan.ca/english/studies/75-001/comm/bis-ndp\\_a.html](http://www.statcan.ca/english/studies/75-001/comm/bis-ndp_a.html).

Over the past decade the gambling industry has flourished. Canadians have steadily increased their wagering — from an estimated \$2.7 billion in 1992 to about \$11.3 billion in 2002. While increased GDP, employment and government revenue may be the upside of gambling, rising social and health consequences of problem gambling are the downside.

An estimated 18.9 million Canadians aged 15 and over gambled in 2002, the great majority indulging for fun and entertainment (and the dream of a jackpot). However, 1.2 million — 5% of the adult population — exhibited behaviour that would classify them as being at-risk or problem gamblers. No trend data exist on problem gambling rates, but research has shown that the easier it is to gamble, the higher the prevalence of gambling-related problems.<sup>1</sup> Increased accessibility, poverty, low socio-economic status, and substance abuse have been linked with problem gambling.

This article uses data drawn from Cycle 1.2 of the Canadian Community Health Survey (Mental Health and Well-being) to examine gambling



Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Community Health Survey, Cycle 1.2, 2002.

behaviour and socio-economic characteristics of non-problem, at-risk, and problem gamblers. Issues associated with problem gambling, such as income, health, and social relations are also explored.

## Gambling in its various forms

Three-quarters of Canadians aged 15 and over spent money on some form of gambling in 2002 — with 38% doing so at least once a week.<sup>2</sup> Buying lottery

tickets was by far the most popular gambling activity (65% of gamblers), followed by instant win tickets (36%),

1. Volberg, R.A. February 1994. "The prevalence and demographics of pathological gamblers: Implications for public health." *American Journal of Public Health* 84, 2: 237-241.
2. Similar to alcohol consumption, frequency and expenditure rates for gambling are regularly under-reported.





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The Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) provides regular and timely cross-sectional estimates of health determinants, health status, and health system utilization. The initial year (2000) and every odd year thereafter (from 2001) collects generic health information from 130,000 respondents. During the even years, the survey sample is smaller (roughly 30,000) and addresses a specialized topic.

Cycle 1.2, on Mental Health and Well-Being, was held in 2002. Its main objective was to provide national and provincial estimates of major mental disorders and problems, and to illuminate the issues associated with disabilities and the need for and provision of health care. The survey contained questions on a wide range of disorders and problems, including a section on "pathological gambling."

The target population of the CCHS Cycle 1.2 excludes those living in the three territories, individuals living on reserves or crown land, residents of institutions, full-time members of the Armed Forces, and residents of some remote regions.

The Problem Gambling Severity Index (PGSI) is part of the Canadian Problem Gambling Index, an instrument

developed in the late 1990s. Based on numerous questions on gambling involvement, problem gambling behaviour, and adverse consequences (disruption of personal, family or professional life), the PGSI assesses gambling problems using a nine-item scale in which all nine items refer to the past 12 months. Scores can range from a minimum of 0 to a maximum of 27.

**Non-problem** gamblers gamble infrequently (less than five times per year), declare that they are not gamblers, or score zero on the PGSI. **Low- or moderate-risk** gamblers gamble more than five times a year and show some indication of problem gambling behaviour. Low-risk gamblers scored between 1 and 2 on the PGSI and have most likely not yet experienced any adverse consequences from gambling. Moderate-risk gamblers scored between 3 and 7 on the PGSI and may or may not have experienced adverse consequences. **Problem** gamblers gamble more than five times a year, and the gambling behaviour creates negative consequences for them, others in their social network, or the community. Problem gamblers scored between 8 and 27 on the PGSI.

For full definitions of terms and concepts, please see the original article.

and going to a casino (22%).<sup>3</sup> And although bingo was played by relatively few gamblers (8%), one in five participants played at least once a week.

About three-quarters of both men and women gambled in 2002, and the participation rate was 70% or higher among each age group over 24. Despite the legal age restriction of 18 in most provinces, a considerable number of adolescents aged 15 to 17 purchased provincially sanctioned lotteries and instant win games. Youth participation rates were highest in the "other gambling" category — predominantly betting on cards or board games outside casinos, or on games of skill such as pool or darts.

### Those most at risk

Men who gambled were significantly more likely than women to be at-risk

or problem gamblers — 8% versus 5%. Some claim this difference exists because men and women tend to gamble for different reasons and in different activities. Men were more likely to play video lottery terminals (VLTs) and bet on horse racing, while women preferred to play bingo. The cultural image of a gambler may also play a role: the archetypal gambler portrayed in movies, fiction and music has always been male.

At-risk and problem gamblers were also, on average, younger than non-problem gamblers (40 versus 45 years old). While gamblers with less than postsecondary schooling were significantly more likely than those with more education to be at-risk or problem gamblers, low-income gamblers (under \$20,000) were not significantly different from higher income

gamblers.<sup>4</sup> Off-reserve Aboriginal gamblers were significantly more likely to be at risk than non-Aboriginal gamblers, at 18% compared with 6%.

Almost one in three daily gamblers were either at risk or were already problem gamblers. Those who gambled two to six times a week were also significantly more likely to be at risk or to have a problem — 14% compared with 9% of those who gambled once a week.

3. Instant win tickets include Keno, Pick 3, Encore, Banco, and Extra. Lottery tickets include 6/49, Super 7, Sports Select, and Pro-Line.

4. Although at-risk and problem-gambling rates were quite similar for the various income groups, gambling participation rates differed. For example, 69% of individuals with less than \$20,000 gambled in 2002, compared with 82% of those with \$20,000 or more.



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	Population aged 15 and over	At least one activity	Lotteries	Instant win	Casinos	Bingos	VLTs not in casinos	Horse racing	Other*
<b>Total ('000)</b>	<b>24,997</b>	<b>18,911</b>	<b>16,225</b>	<b>9,039</b>	<b>5,420</b>	<b>2,099</b>	<b>1,514</b>	<b>1,040</b>	<b>5,276</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>21</b>
	<b>'000</b>				<b>%</b>				
<b>Men</b>	<b>12,286</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>27</b>
15 to 17	706	50	18	12	F	4 <sup>E</sup>	2 <sup>E</sup>	1 <sup>E</sup>	39
18 to 24	1,406	73	52	40	31	7	13	5	39
25 to 44	4,769	81	73	39	24	4	9	6	30
45 to 64	3,774	84	78	34	22	4	6	5	23
65 and over	1,632	74	65	28	19	5	3	4	15
<b>Women</b>	<b>12,710</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>15</b>
15 to 17	660	34	12	13	F	6 <sup>E</sup>	3 <sup>E</sup>	1 <sup>E</sup>	21
18 to 24	1,366	68	45	44	25	13	8	2 <sup>E</sup>	20
25 to 44	4,738	77	68	44	21	13	6	4	16
45 to 64	3,852	78	70	38	24	12	4	4	13
65 and over	2,095	70	59	29	20	12	3	3	11
<b>Gambling frequency**</b>	<b>18,911</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
At least once a week	7,271	38	37	23	3	21	11	5	15
1-3 times a month	4,374	23	23	26	8	17	18	6	18
1-11 times a year	7,266	38	40	51	88	62	71	89	68

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

<sup>F</sup> Too unreliable to be published.

\* Includes betting on cards outside casinos, Internet gambling, speculative investments or other forms of gambling.

\*\* Of those who gambled in the specified activity.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Community Health Survey, Cycle 1.2, 2002.

Finally, at-risk and problem gambling rates varied considerably by the type of game played, suggesting that some games are more alluring than others. For example, one quarter of those who played VLTs were at risk or already problem gamblers, confirming the much-reported notion that VLTs are the "crack cocaine" of gambling. By contrast, buyers of lottery tickets, the game of choice for 16 million people, had the smallest proportion of at-risk and problem players.

### Gambling takes money

Inevitably, frequent gambling lightens the wallet. Overall, 6% of gamblers spent over \$1,000, but the amount depended very much on whether their

gambling behaviour was problematic. Almost two-thirds of problem gamblers spent more than \$1,000 per year, as did 43% of moderate-risk and 21% of low-risk gamblers. In contrast, only 4% of non-problem gamblers committed that much money to their gambling activities.<sup>5</sup>

Constant gambling and excessive spending can take its toll in many facets of life — particularly personal and family finances. The majority of problem gamblers (62%) reported that they always or most of the time spent more money on gambling than they wanted to; furthermore, 85% also said they sometimes or most of the time bet more than they could afford to lose. Without doubt, constant out-of-

control and unaffordable spending can lead to debt and unpaid bills, thus adding further emotional and financial strain.

Indeed, among problem gamblers, just over half said their gambling habits sometimes caused financial problems, and almost one fifth reported that they always or almost always did. Finally, almost 4 in 10 claimed that they sometimes borrowed money or sold things in order to continue gambling, a desperate action that risks further financial hardship.

5. Although it is not possible to identify problem gamblers from the Survey of Household Spending, gambling expenditures are available.



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	Total gamblers	Non-problem gamblers	At-risk and problem gamblers
<b>Total ('000)</b>	<b>18,887</b>	<b>17,699</b>	<b>1,188</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>93.7</b>	<b>6.3</b>
	<b>'000</b>		<b>%</b>
Men	9,610	92.2	7.8
Women	9,277	95.2	4.8*
<b>Personal income</b>			
Less than \$20,000	6,392	93.3	6.7
\$20,000 or more	11,289	93.8	6.2
<b>Level of education</b>			
Less than postsecondary	9,689	92.4	7.6
Postsecondary	9,047	95.2	4.8*
<b>Racial background</b>			
Non-Aboriginal	18,593	93.8	6.2
Aboriginal	217	81.5	18.5*
<b>Gambling frequency</b>			
Daily	278	69.7	30.3*
2 to 6 times a week	2,784	85.7	14.3*
Once a week	4,198	91.3	8.7
Once a month	4,370	94.1	5.9*
Once a year	7,257	98.9	1.1*
<b>Gambling activity</b>			
Lotteries	16,202	93.5	6.5
Instant win	9,027	90.6	9.4*
Casinos	5,413	86.7	13.3*
Bingo	2,098	84.5	15.5*
VLTs outside casinos	1,512	74.4	25.6*
Horse racing	1,038	84.2	15.8*

\* Indicates statistically significant difference from the reference group.

Note: Reference group in italics.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Community Health Survey, Cycle 1.2, 2002.

### Problem gamblers burdened with stress and health issues<sup>6</sup>

Relentless preoccupation with gambling consumes both time and money, and can also have a negative effect on physical and mental health. Problem gamblers were twice as likely (22% versus 11%) to report poor or fair health compared with non-problem gamblers. The likelihood of alcohol dependence increased as the at-risk gambling level increased. Only 2% of non-problem gamblers were afflicted with alcohol dependence, compared with 7% of low-risk and 15% of problem gamblers.<sup>7</sup>

Gambling can also lead to social problems. Half of all problem gamblers and one sixth of moderate-risk gamblers reported that their gambling caused relationship problems with their family or friends. Such problems were virtually unknown among non-problem gamblers. Furthermore, more than half of employed moderate-risk and problem gamblers reported that their gambling had previously interfered with their ability to do their job.

Stress is an inevitable outcome of the financial and social pressures created by problem gambling. Although gambling may not be the sole cause,

42% of problem gamblers reported a high or extreme level of stress in their life, compared with 23% of non-problem gamblers. Also, based on a number of psychological distress questions, 29% of problem gamblers were considered highly distressed, a rate three times higher than that of non-problem gamblers.

Persistent stress can be related to depression. The likelihood of ever having had a major clinical depression was significantly higher among problem gamblers. Only 11% of non-problem gamblers had ever had clinical depression during their life, compared with 24% of problem gamblers. Since major depression is a key risk factor for suicide, it is not unexpected that a significantly higher proportion of problem than non-problem gamblers had contemplated suicide in the past year (18% versus 3%).<sup>8</sup>

### Problem gamblers know they're in trouble

In 2002, more than one third of a million Canadians (2% of all gamblers) at least occasionally thought that they might have a gambling problem. Four in 10 problem gamblers almost always

6. Please see original article for full definitions of alcohol dependence, distress and depression.

7. Although methodology and definitions vary, other studies have also found a correlation (co-morbidity) between alcohol dependence and pathological gambling. Kidman, R. 2002. "The perfect match? Co-occurring problem drinking and gambling." *The Wager* 7, 20. [www.the.wager.org](http://www.the.wager.org) (accessed May 15, 2002).

8. Due to community pressure, as of June 2003, coroners across the country began coding suicides due to gambling. Although most provinces now keep track of gambling-related suicides, their methodologies and measurements differ, thus making comparability difficult. Bailey, S. October 2, 2003. "Gambling-related suicides soar five-fold in Quebec since VLTs legalized." *The Canadian Press*. <http://cnews.canoe.ca/CNEWS/Canada/2003/10/02/215489-cp.html> (accessed February 9, 2004).





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	Type of gambler		
	Low-risk	Moderate-risk	Problem
		%	
<b>Spent more than \$1,000</b>	21	43	62
<b>Spent more than wanted to</b>			
Sometimes	52	64	30
Always/most of time	5 <sup>E</sup>	24	62
<b>Bet more than could afford to lose</b>			
Sometimes	14	44	47
Always/most of time	0	3 <sup>E</sup>	38
<b>Gambling caused financial problems</b>			
Sometimes	F	22	53
Always/most of time	0	F	17 <sup>E</sup>
<b>Borrowed money or sold things to gamble</b>			
Sometimes	5 <sup>E</sup>	18	39
Always/most of time	F	F	F

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

F Too unreliable to be published.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Community Health Survey, Cycle 1.2, 2002.

(26%) and problem gamblers (56%) had tried to quit, but could not. It is not known what means they tried nor why they failed.

### Summary

The surge in the gambling industry began in the 1990s when provincial governments began legalizing permanent casinos and VLTs. In 2002, 76% of Canadians reported gambling in the previous year — 4 in 10 on a weekly basis. The continuous expansion of the industry has led to much debate. In 2000, the Canadian Public Health Association adopted the position that the expansion of gambling is a public health issue; however, estimating the health and socio-economic costs and benefits of gambling is difficult, and no study has yet done it.

New information from the Canadian Community Health Survey identified 5% of the population as at-risk or problem gamblers. Those significantly more likely to be in this population were men, Aboriginal persons, people with less education, VLT and very frequent players.

The consequences of being an at-risk or problem gambler included higher rates of financial and relationship problems. Problem gamblers in particular suffered elevated levels of alcohol dependence, stress, emotional distress, and past episodes of depression. However, the vast majority of problem gamblers recognized they had a problem, and most had tried — unsuccessfully — to quit in the previous year.

Within past 12 months (unless otherwise stated)	Type of gambler				
	All gamblers	Non-problem	Low-risk	Moderate-risk	Problem
<b>Total</b>	<b>18,887</b>	<b>17,699</b>	<b>697</b>	<b>373</b>	<b>118</b>
			%		
Fair or poor health	11	11	10	14	22* <sup>E</sup>
Alcohol dependence	3	2	7*	12*	15* <sup>E</sup>
Family problems from gambling	1	F	4* <sup>E</sup>	16*	49*
Gambling interfered with ability to do job**	...	...	...	57	55
High or extreme stress	24	23	27	21	42*
High distress level in past month	10	9	16*	17*	29*
Had ever had clinical depression	11	11	12	15	24* <sup>E</sup>

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

\* Statistically significant difference from the non-problem group (.05 level).

\*\* Of those employed, which included roughly 90% of all gamblers aged 25 to 55.

... Not applicable.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Community Health Survey, Cycle 1.2, 2002.

felt they had a problem. In some ways it is surprising that 15% of problem gamblers did *not* think they had a problem.

The insidiousness of excessive gambling is revealed by the 27% of

moderate-risk and 64% of problem gamblers who had wanted to stop gambling in the previous year, but believed they could not. Furthermore, a strikingly high proportion of moderate-risk

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## Impaired driving rates declining

The national rate of impaired driving incidents declined 4% in 2002 following a small increase in 2001. The rate is now 65% lower than the peak observed in 1981 and, with the decline in 2002, the rate has resumed its two-decade downward trend.

While most indicators point to a real decline in impaired driving incidents, some of the decrease in charges may be due to the increased use of discretionary procedures used by police, such as road-side suspensions. Police-reported impaired driving statistics may have been influenced downward by a variety of other factors, including changing attitudes and behaviours with respect to impaired driving, the aging population and the level of police enforcement activity.

Young drivers aged 19 to 24 continue to have the highest rates for impaired driving, according to data available from 94 police departments in nine provinces. These data indicate that the rates of impaired driving peak at age 21. Rates level off and remain relatively constant for 25- to 44-year-olds, followed by a drop in rates with persons aged 45 and over. Seniors aged 65 years and older had the lowest rates.

**Juristat,**  
vol. 23, no. 9  
Catalogue no. 85-002-XIE2003009



## Obese parents more likely to have obese or overweight teenagers

Having an obese parent greatly increased the odds of obesity among adolescent boys and girls based on data from the 2001 Canadian Community Health Survey. Close to 5% of the adolescents in this study were considered obese, based on their body mass index. In 2000/01, the proportion of boys who were obese was about twice that for girls: 6% versus 3%. Another 17% of 12- to 19-year-old boys were considered overweight, as were about 10% of the girls.

Excess weight among parents was a major factor in excess weight for adolescent boys and girls. Among girls aged 12 to 19 who lived with an obese parent, 18% were overweight and 10% were obese. The situation was similar for boys: 22% of boys with an obese parent were overweight, and 12% were obese.

Aside from weight, other parental habits were associated with those of their children. These include physical activity, smoking and eating habits. To better understand the risk factors for youth obesity, adolescent and parental characteristics were examined together.

Girls who lived in the same household as an obese parent had much higher odds of being obese themselves — nearly six times as high compared with girls whose reporting parent was not obese. For boys, those with an obese parent were almost three times as likely to be obese.

**How Healthy Are Canadians?**  
Annual Report 2003  
Catalogue no. 82-003-SIE2003000



## High stress sufferers have higher odds of developing chronic conditions

Stress may be a precursor of poor health, at least in some cases. In 1995, Canadians aged 18 or older reported experiencing an average of five stressors (that is, sources of stress), and about 10% reported 10 or more. The most commonly reported source of stress in 1995 was chronic strains — troublesome situations that persist over time, such as trying to do too much at once, not having enough money, problems in marital relationships, and concerns about children.

Time pressure was particularly common, with 44% of Canadians reporting they were trying to do too many things at once. Financial problems were reported by 38%, and 31% felt that others expected too much of them. One in five, or 21%, wanted to move but felt it was not possible.

Adults who suffered high stress in 1995 had higher odds of developing a number of chronic conditions by 2001. For both sexes, these conditions included arthritis and rheumatism, back problems, chronic bronchitis or emphysema, and stomach or intestinal ulcers. For men, they also included heart disease, and for women, asthma and migraine.

These relationships suggest that, at least in some cases, stress is a precursor of poor health. Of the various sources of stress (34 were considered in the analysis), chronic strains — continuing problems with crowded schedules, finances and relationships — appeared to be the most potent.

Each additional stressor reported in 1995 led to a 6% increase in the odds of reporting a chronic condition six years later for men, and an 8% increase for women.

**Health Reports**  
vol. 15, no. 1  
Catalogue no. 82-003



## Girls have a lower self-concept than boys

According to a new study based on data from the National Population Health Survey, adolescent girls tend to have a lower self-concept than boys and are particularly susceptible to the effects of that perception. A positive self-concept (a sense of self-worth and a feeling of control) appears key to developing good mental and physical health.

The study found that girls with a weak self-concept in 2000/01 were at a greater risk of depression, poor self-perceived health and obesity six years later. Adolescent boys with a weak self-concept were more likely to become obese or physically inactive. In contrast, a strong self-concept in adolescence had a positive long-term effect on girls' self-perceived health, though not for boys.

Among boys who were at least moderately active in 1994/95, a stronger self-concept lowered their odds of becoming inactive by 2000/01. In contrast, girls' self-concept in adolescence had no long-term effect on their activity levels.

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# SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
<b>LABOUR FORCE<sup>1</sup></b>								
Labour force ('000)	14,900	15,153	15,418	15,721	15,999	16,246	16,689	17,047
Total employed ('000)	13,463	13,774	14,140	14,531	14,910	15,077	15,412	15,746
Men	7,346	7,508	7,661	7,866	8,049	8,110	8,262	8,407
Women	6,117	6,266	6,479	6,665	6,860	6,967	7,150	7,339
Workers employed part-time (%)	19.2	19.1	18.9	18.5	18.1	18.1	18.7	18.8
Men	10.8	10.5	10.6	10.3	10.3	10.4	10.9	11.0
Women	29.2	29.4	28.8	28.0	27.3	27.1	27.7	27.8
Involuntary part-time <sup>1</sup>	35.0	31.1	29.2	26.7	25.3	25.8	27.0	27.6
Looked for full-time work	--	10.6	10.0	9.0	7.4	7.5	8.2	8.9
% of women employed whose youngest child is under 6	15.9	15.6	15.0	14.7	14.3	13.7	13.4	12.9
% of workers who were self-employed	16.1	17.1	17.2	16.9	16.2	15.3	15.2	15.3
% of employed working over 40 hours per week <sup>2</sup>	21.2	18.9	18.9	18.4	18.0	17.5	16.9	16.6
% of workers employed in temporary/contract positions	--	9.4	9.8	10.0	10.5	10.9	11.0	10.5
% of full-time students employed in summer	47.9	45.7	47.2	48.8	50.9	51.3	52.3	53.1
Unemployment rate (%)	9.6	9.1	8.3	7.6	6.8	7.2	7.7	7.6
Men aged 15-24	16.9	17.1	16.6	15.3	13.9	14.5	15.3	15.6
25-54	8.9	8.0	7.2	6.5	5.7	6.3	6.9	6.6
Women aged 15-24	13.7	15.2	13.6	12.6	11.3	11.0	11.8	11.9
25-54	8.5	7.6	6.9	6.3	5.8	6.0	6.3	6.4
Population with high school or less	12.4	12.1	11.2	10.3	9.3	9.6	10.2	10.2
Population with postsecondary completion	8.1	7.4	6.5	5.9	5.2	5.8	6.0	5.9
Population with university degree	5.2	4.8	4.4	4.3	3.9	4.6	5.0	5.5
<b>EDUCATION</b>								
Total enrolment in elementary/secondary schools ('000)	5,415	5,386	5,370	5,442	--	--	--	--
Secondary school graduation rate (%)	76.4	76.3	76.0	76.3	77.1	76.9	--	--
Postsecondary enrolment ('000)								
Community college, full-time	397.3	398.6	403.5	408.8	--	--	--	--
Community college, part-time	87.1	91.6	91.4	85.4	--	--	--	--
University, full-time <sup>3</sup>	573.6	573.1	580.4	588.4	605.2	--	--	--
University, part-time <sup>3</sup>	256.1	249.7	246.0	255.4	256.4	--	--	--
% of population 18-24 enrolled full-time in postsecondary	34.6	34.3	34.4	34.4	--	--	--	--
% of population 18-21 in college	24.7	24.6	24.7	24.6	--	--	--	--
% of population 18-24 in university <sup>3</sup>	20.4	20.2	20.3	20.4	--	--	--	--
Community college diplomas granted ('000)	85.9	91.4	88.4	--	--	--	--	--
Bachelor's and first professional degrees granted <sup>4</sup> ('000)	128.0	125.8	124.8	126.4	128.0	--	--	--
Agriculture, biological sciences	9,288	9,664	10,079	10,307	10,283	--	--	--
Education	21,421	20,638	19,374	20,352	20,779	--	--	--
Engineering and applied sciences	9,415	9,138	9,255	9,393	9,831	--	--	--
Fine and applied arts	4,142	4,105	4,276	4,198	4,367	--	--	--
Health professions	8,633	8,837	8,620	8,679	8,527	--	--	--
Humanities and related	15,889	15,014	14,721	14,373	14,221	--	--	--
Mathematics and physical sciences	7,005	7,091	7,239	7,537	8,527	--	--	--
Social sciences	48,422	47,751	47,760	47,912	47,471	--	--	--

-- Data not available.

1. 1996 is an eight-month average (January to August).

2. Hours usually worked in their main job by workers aged 25 and over.

3. Includes undergraduate and graduate studies.

4. Includes those whose field of study was not reported.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, *Education in Canada, 2000* (Catalogue no. 81-229) and Centre for Education Statistics.





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# LESSON PLAN

Suggestions for Using Canadian Social Trends in the Classroom

## Lesson plan for "Rural-urban migration in the 1990s"

### Objectives

- ☐ To understand migration trends and why moves
- ☐ To examine why people move

### Classroom instructions

1. Survey the press to find out how many have moved in the last five years. How many have moved from one province to another, have moved between cities, have moved from a rural area to a town or city or vice versa? Discuss why distant moves (such as interprovincial moves) are less common than short-distance moves.
2. Discuss why people might move from a rural area to a big city. Why might people move from a city to a rural area? What factors contribute to people not moving?
3. Young, single, highly educated people are more likely to move than older married people with less education. Explore the reasons for this difference in migration rates. Do young people move for different reasons than older people?
4. What impact does moving have on families?

### Using other resources

"Migration to and from rural and small town Canada." *Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin*

(Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 21-006-XIE, vol. 3, no. 6)

([www.statcan.ca/english/iree/doc/21-006-XIE.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/iree/doc/21-006-XIE.htm))

*Profile of the Canadian Population by Mobility Status: Canada, a Nation on the Move*

([www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/Index.cfm](http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/Index.cfm), then select Profile of the Canadian population by mobility status: Canada, a nation on the move)

- ☐ To find lesson plans, articles and data for elementary and secondary schools, check out the Statistics Canada Web site at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach.htm). There are more than 30 lesson plans for high school students, many articles and access to E-STAT and other data.
- ☐ See the Family studies kit at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/FamilyIntro.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/FamilyIntro.htm) for detailed graphs that you can use to make overheads for your class.

### Educators

You may photocopy "Lesson plan" or any item or article in *Canadian Social Trends* for use in your classroom.



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# Looking after seniors: Who does what for whom?

by Susan Stobert and Kelly Cranswick

**S**urveys show the continuing willingness of Canadians to assist their older family and friends who need help because of illness or frailty. However, the growing size of the senior population, and particularly the rapidly increasing number of those in their eighties and nineties, raises the question of families' and volunteers' ability to provide the care needed to maintain a senior population independent in their own homes.

Recognizing the challenge of caring for seniors with long-term health problems, governments are searching for ways to support those Canadians who juggle many demands in order to provide care to their loved ones. It is necessary to establish who provides

care to our aging population in order to better understand the consequences of caregiving and how best to assist caregivers. And the findings are important: for example, we often think of seniors as the receivers of care, but in fact older Canadians are also actively involved in caregiving.

This article will examine middle-aged (aged 45 to 64) and older (aged 65 and over) caregivers separately because the issues involved are quite different for each group. Generally speaking, the younger caregivers are working, in good health, have children of their own, and are providing care to someone who is older than themselves. As such, the psychological as well as practical dimensions of the relationship are quite different than those of a caregiving relationship between contemporaries.

## **Most middle-aged caregivers are looking after their parents**

Over 1.7 million Canadian adults aged 45 to 64 — 16% of this age group — are providing informal care to almost 2.3 million seniors with a long-term

disability or physical limitation. Most are looking after their own parents (67%) and their spouse's parents (24%). Many (24%) are providing help to close friends and neighbours.<sup>1</sup>

Although these middle-aged caregivers are just as likely to be men as women, the women dedicate almost twice as much time to their tasks — 29.6 hours per month, compared with 16.1 hours for men. Working outside the home does not significantly reduce the amount of time middle-aged people spend providing care; employed women still spend 26.4 hours a month and employed men 14.5 hours.<sup>2</sup>

One of the main reasons for the male-female disparity in care-hours is due to the nature of the tasks women

1. Each caregiver is providing help to an average of 1.3 seniors.
2. Three-quarters (77%) of male caregivers aged 45 to 64 reported that their main activity was working at a job or business; almost all (93%) worked 30 or more hours per week. The majority of female caregivers aged 45 to 64 years were also working (63%), most full-time (72%).



## CST What you should know about this study

This article is based on Cycle 16 of the General Social Survey (GSS), "Aging and Social Support". The GSS is an annual telephone sample covering the population living in private homes in the 10 provinces. Approximately 25,000 respondents were randomly selected from a list of individuals aged 45 years and over, based on the sample frame of the Canadian Community Health Survey. Data were collected over an 11-month period from February to December 2002.

The 2002 GSS is the first time Statistics Canada has devoted an entire survey to the collection of detailed information on care provided to people aged 65 years and over. While the main objective of the 2002 GSS was to provide data on the aging population, the survey will also allow detailed analysis of characteristics of family and friends who provide care to seniors, characteristics of seniors receiving informal and formal care; links to broader determinants of health (such as income, education and social networks); and people's retirement plans and experiences.

**Senior, older:** aged 65 and over.

**Middle-aged:** aged 45 to 64.

**Care receiver:** Canadians 65 years and over who reported receiving assistance, in the past 12 months, with at least one task because of a long-term health problem.

**Care provider:** Canadians 45 years and over who reported providing assistance, in the past 12 months, with at least one task because of a long-term health problem of the care receiver.

**Caregiving tasks:** include duties inside the house (meal preparation and clean-up, house cleaning or laundry and sewing); duties outside the house (house maintenance and outside work); transportation (shopping for groceries or other necessities, providing transportation for banking and bill paying); or personal care (bathing, toileting, care of toe/finger-nails, brushing teeth, shampooing and hair care or dressing).

are performing. They have more often adopted responsibility for keeping the household running smoothly; that is, they are doing housekeeping and helping with personal care. While men also help with these kinds of activities, they devote the majority of their time to tasks like household maintenance and transportation. In other words, the caregiving labour is divided along traditional gender lines, which may reflect the providers' level of comfort performing tasks that mirror their areas of competence in their own homes.

Less than one in five of these care providers (17%, or 305,000 of more than 1.7 million) reported that they received help themselves if they needed a break from their responsibilities. Since most were taking care of their parents or parents-in-law, the lion's share of the extra assistance (82%) came from inside the family — a sibling, spouse or child. However, 16% of respondents relied on paid help (either

CST

### Middle-aged women spend almost twice as much time as men providing care to a senior

#### Average time spent on providing informal care (hours per month)

	Caregivers aged 45 to 64			Caregivers aged 65 and over		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
<b>Average age</b>	53	53	53	72	72	72
<b>Average time by persons</b>						
<i>Total hours</i>	22.9	16.1	29.6	27.9	20.9	32.9
Inside activities (housekeeping, etc.)	13.2	6.4	19.9	16.1	9.4	20.8
Outside activities (house maintenance, etc.)	3.8	5.3	2.3	1.1	2.3	0.3
Transportation, etc.	2.8	3.1	2.6	5.6	6.1	5.2
Personal care	3.1	1.3	4.8	5.1	3.1	6.6

#### Average time by persons whose main activity is working

<i>Total hours</i>	19.9	14.5	26.4	--	--	--
Inside activities (housekeeping, meal preparation, etc.)	11.4	5.2	18.8	--	--	--
Outside activities (house maintenance, yard work, etc.)	3.7	5.1	2.0	--	--	--
Transportation	2.4	2.8	2.0	--	--	--
Personal care	2.4	1.4	3.6	--	--	--

-- Small sample size; estimates not calculated.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.

	Caregivers aged 45 to 64		Caregivers aged 65 and over	
	'000	%	'000	%
<b>Informal care provided to seniors because of long-term disability</b>				
<b>People providing informal care to seniors</b>	1,748	16	321	8
Male	861	49	133	41
Female	886	51	188	59
<b>Marital status of caregivers</b>				
Living common law	108	6	F	F
Married	1,255	72	218	68
Widowed	45	3	67	21
Divorced	158	9	17 <sup>E</sup>	5 <sup>E</sup>
Separated	45	3	F	F
Single (never married)	132	8	11 <sup>E</sup>	3 <sup>E</sup>
<i>Total</i>	1,744	100	320	100
<b>Main activity of respondent in the past 12 months</b>				
Working at a paid job or business	1,221	70	20 <sup>E</sup>	6 <sup>E</sup>
Looking for paid work	35 <sup>E</sup>	2 <sup>E</sup>	0	0
Going to school	F	F	F	F
Caring for children	23 <sup>E</sup>	1 <sup>E</sup>	F	F
Household work	116	7	34	11
Retired	247	14	245	77
Long-term illness	57	3	F	F
Other	38 <sup>E</sup>	2 <sup>E</sup>	16 <sup>E</sup>	5 <sup>E</sup>
<i>Total</i>	1,745	100	319	100
<b>Person gets assistance if he/she needs a break</b>	305	17	58	18
<b>From whom does he/she receive assistance?</b>				
Sister	83	27	F	F
Brother	63	21	F	F
Spouse	56	18	F	F
Daughter	26 <sup>E</sup>	9	18 <sup>E</sup>	31 <sup>E</sup>
Son	22 <sup>E</sup>	7	8 <sup>E</sup>	14 <sup>E</sup>
Friend or neighbour	36 <sup>E</sup>	12	6 <sup>E</sup>	11 <sup>E</sup>
Formal help (paid or government)	50	16	12 <sup>E</sup>	20 <sup>E</sup>
Other family (includes in-laws)	41	13	7 <sup>E</sup>	13 <sup>E</sup>

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

F Too unreliable to be published.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey Cycle 16, 2002.

private or government) for back-up when they needed a respite.

Only a small minority of care providers describe their lives as very stressful — 13%, the same as their counterparts with no responsibilities to a senior. The proportion who believed that life was somewhat stressful was just about the same as well — 49% versus 46% of other 45- to 64-year-olds.

Over one third (34%) were also very satisfied with their lives in general, a slightly higher rate than that recorded by middle-aged Canadians who provided no informal care to seniors with long-term health problems. This may be linked to feeling that they control all of the decisions affecting their day-to-day lives (25%). Social science researchers have shown that "mastery" is an important factor in contributing to a person's positive outlook on life.

Although they seem to be coping quite well with their responsibilities, caregivers really want some help themselves. When they were asked to identify the most useful thing to allow them to continue providing help, the most common answer (51% of care providers aged 45 to 64) was "occasional relief or sharing of responsibilities." Given that less than one fifth of them are getting this kind of help now, this response seems quite heartfelt. Other types of help — such as information to improve their skills or about the nature of long-term illnesses, more flexible work arrangements and financial compensation — were also suggested by a substantial proportion of caregivers.

### Most senior caregivers are looking after their spouses, friends and neighbours

Over one in 12 Canadian seniors — 321,000 — is looking after at least one of their contemporaries whose day-to-day activities are restricted by long-term disabilities or physical limitations. They are most often providing care to a spouse (25%), close friend (33%) or



neighbour (19%). The majority of them are women (59%), as one would expect of a population in which women outnumber men.

Senior women devote more time to caregiving activities than their male counterparts — 32.9 versus 20.9 hours per month — a gap greater than that between middle-aged caregivers. Being retired, men in this age group are now able to dedicate more time to these efforts than when they were working. They also spend a larger proportion of their caregiving hours on indoor tasks, perhaps because they are less vigorous than before, but women still dedicate most of their time to household tasks and personal care.

Few of these senior caregivers can rely on getting help if they need a break. Only 18% said someone else could take over their responsibilities to the care receiver should they themselves need, or want, some time off. For those who could call on someone else to relieve them, the help most often came from their own children, formal sources of help, or other family.



## Care providers report the same stress levels as people who provide no care

	Persons aged 45 to 64 providing...		Persons aged 65 and over providing...	
	Informal care only	No care	Informal care only	No care
%				
<b>Would you describe your life as...</b>				
Very stressful?	13	13	5 <sup>E</sup>	6
Somewhat stressful?	49	46	29	25
Not very stressful?	27	28	37	37
Not at all stressful?	11	12	27	29
<b>How satisfied are you with your life in general?</b>				
Very satisfied	34	30	32	30
Satisfied	61	63	62	64
Dissatisfied, very dissatisfied	5	6	5 <sup>E</sup>	4
<b>Do you feel you have control in making decisions that affect your everyday activities?</b>				
Control no or only a few decisions	10	12	6 <sup>E</sup>	8
Control most decisions	65	58	48	45
Control all decisions	25	30	46	47

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.



## Compassionate care benefits

The federal government expanded the Employment Insurance (EI) program to extend compassionate care benefits to a person who must be absent from work to provide care or support to a gravely ill family member. Benefits may be paid up to a maximum of six weeks to an employee looking after a loved one who is at risk of dying within 26 weeks. Unemployed persons on EI can also ask for this type of benefit. Benefits can be shared with other members of the applicant's family, but they also must be eligible and must apply for them.

Under the new program, a family member is defined as: your child or the child of your spouse or common-law partner; your wife/husband or common-law partner; your father/mother; your father's wife/mother's husband; the common-law partner of your father/mother.

Providing care or support to a family member means providing psychological or emotional support; arranging for care by a third party; or directly providing or participating in the care.

More information is available on the Social Development Canada Web site, at [www.sdc.gc.ca](http://www.sdc.gc.ca).

### Caregiver tax credit

Canada Revenue Agency (CRA) allows Canadians to claim deductions and credits for individuals supporting people with disabilities. For example, care could have been provided to parents, parents-in-law and grandparents. The caregiver amount is a non-refundable tax credit which reduces the amount of federal income tax paid.

For more information, consult the CRA Web site at [www.ccra-adrc.gc.ca](http://www.ccra-adrc.gc.ca).



Their lifestyle seems no more stressful than that of seniors who are not providing informal care. Only one third (34%) described their lives as very or somewhat stressful, and one third (32%) said they were very satisfied with their life in general, rates that are effectively no different than those of seniors with no care-providing responsibilities. Almost half (46%) reported that they felt they controlled all the decisions that affect their daily activities. This rate is much higher than that for middle-aged caregivers, and may indicate that seniors were more often living in circumstances that obliged them to take decisions on their own.

### The rewards and demands of caregiving

It is well-documented that caregiving can provide benefits not only for the receiver but also for those providing care. Asked about the intrinsic rewards associated with their duties, the vast majority of care providers responded positively. Between 80% and 90% feel that helping others strengthens their relationships with the care receiver, and repays some of what they themselves have received from others and from life. It is encouraging to learn that Canadians look upon these duties in a positive light, especially since looking after a frail senior can affect the caregiver in more negative ways.

For example, many middle-aged caregivers have had to change arrangements for social activities and for holidays in order to discharge their caregiving responsibilities. More than one third incurred extra expenses. In addition, a substantial number of middle-aged caregivers reported changing their work patterns, including working split shifts and reducing hours of work.

A caregiver's duties can also have physical consequences, which were twice as likely to be felt by women, regardless of their age. One in 10 middle-aged men reported that their sleep patterns had been disrupted

because of their caregiving activities, compared to two in 10 women; similar proportions of men and women indicated that their health had been affected. The same gender differences were recorded among caregivers 65 years and over, as 13% of women and 7%<sup>E3</sup> of men reported disrupted sleep, and 16% of women and 7%<sup>E</sup> of men felt that caregiving had affected their health.

### Summary

The results of GSS 2002 show that there are two main sources of unpaid, informal care for seniors with long-term disabilities or physical limitations: the first is middle-aged children helping to care for their parents, and the second is seniors who are looking after each other.

The average middle-aged caregiver is 54 years old and is looking after a parent or parent-in-law with a long-term disability or physical limitation. In contrast, the average older caregiver is 73 years old and is looking after a spouse, close friend or neighbour.

The impact of caregiving on those looking after seniors with long-term health problems is not inconsequential. The challenge is to offer support for the growing numbers of seniors who require both informal and formal services to remain autonomous.

3. <sup>E</sup> Use with caution.



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# Does French immersion improve reading achievement?

by Mary Allen

This article has been adapted from "Reading achievement of students in French immersion programs," *Education Quarterly Review*, vol. 9, no. 4 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 81-003-XIE). It is available for purchase from the Statistics Canada Web site: [www.statcan.ca/english/IPS/Data/81-003-XIE.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/IPS/Data/81-003-XIE.htm)

French immersion programs were introduced into Canadian schools during the 1970s in order to encourage bilingualism across the country. Thirty years later, immersion programs exist to various degrees in every province, providing an alternative education stream for many students.

This article uses data from the 2000 Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) to compare the reading achievement of Canadian 15-year-olds enrolled in immersion and non-immersion programs in English-language school systems in the 10 provinces. It compares reading scores in immersion programs to those in non-immersion programs by gender, and looks at the influence of family socio-economic status and parental education on reading scores. However, it does not measure the relative influence of these factors on reading performance.

## Enrolment in French immersion differs widely by province

In 2000, while French immersion programs existed in English-language school systems in all 10 provinces, the percentage of 15-year-olds enrolled in

## CST What you should know about this study

The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is a collaborative effort among member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) to regularly assess the achievement of 15-year-olds in three domains — reading literacy, mathematical literacy and scientific literacy — through a common international test.

Thirty-two countries participated in PISA 2000. In Canada, approximately 30,000 15-year-old students from more than 1,000 schools took part, a large sample to enable reliable national and provincial estimates.

The PISA 2000 survey included a direct assessment of students' skills through reading, mathematics and science tests as well as questionnaires collecting background information from students and school principals and from parents in the Youth in Transition Survey, administered simultaneously in Canada.

Reading literacy is defined in PISA as the ability to understand, use and reflect on written texts in order to achieve one's goals, to develop one's knowledge and potential, and to participate effectively in society. This definition goes beyond the notion that reading literacy means decoding written material and literal comprehension. Literacy involves the ability of individuals to use written information to fulfill their goals and function effectively. PISA 2000 employed about 140 items representing the kinds of reading literacy that 15-year-olds would require in the future.

In this article, 15-year-old French immersion students include those whose parents reported that the student was currently enrolled in an immersion program (i.e. where 25% or more of instruction is in French).



these programs ranged widely, from 2% in British Columbia to 32% in New Brunswick.

Students may enter French immersion programs at different times. Many children begin immersion programs when they enter school in kindergarten or grade 1 while others

start midway through elementary school and still others start at later grades. According to PISA, in most provinces, the majority of 15-year-old students had entered a French immersion program before grade 4; the exceptions were those in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with minorities

of 21% and 39%, respectively, entering French immersion before grade 4.

One of the most noticeable characteristics of French immersion programs is the over-representation of girls. While the proportion of girls and of boys in non-immersion programs is roughly equal in all provinces, girls

## CST Percentage of students in English-language school systems who are currently enrolled in French immersion programs

	% currently enrolled in French immersion	% currently enrolled in immersion who started before grade 4	% of students who are girls	
			Immersion	Non-immersion
Newfoundland and Labrador	7	57	64	50
Prince Edward Island	20	59	58	51
Nova Scotia	12	21	58	49
New Brunswick	32	39	61	46
Quebec	22	74	52	48
Ontario	6	57	64	51
Manitoba	6	90	60	48
Saskatchewan	3	87	65	48
Alberta	4	80	59	47
British Columbia	2	55	61	49

Source: Statistics Canada, Programme for International Student Assessment, 2000.

## CST Effect size

Effect sizes are one method for standardizing and comparing differences between groups. An effect size compares the difference between groups to how different the people *within each group* are from each other. The effect size used in this paper, Cohen's *d*, is calculated by dividing the difference between the group means (e.g. average reading scores of immersion and non-immersion students) by the pooled standard deviation of the groups.<sup>1</sup>

Previous research using data from PISA 2000 has found significant effect sizes in the small to medium range (0.2 to 0.5).<sup>2</sup> Effect sizes less than 0.2 are considered trivial, as they suggest that less than 1% of the variation in the variable being studied can be explained by group membership. Although still

small, an effect size of 0.2 represents the minimum difference that is interpretable. An effect size greater than 0.5 in the context of student characteristics or performance in PISA is large.

1. Cohen, J. 1988. *Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioural Sciences* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
2. Bussière, P., F. Cartwright, R. Crocker, X. Ma, J. Oderkirk, Y. Zhang. 2001. *Measuring up: The Performance of Canada's Youth in Reading, Mathematics and Sciences, OECD PISA Study — First Results for Canadians Aged 15* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 81-590-XIE); Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 2001. *Knowledge and Skills for Life — First Results from the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2000*. OECD: Paris, France. [www.pisa.oecd.org/knowledge/download.htm](http://www.pisa.oecd.org/knowledge/download.htm).



substantially outnumber boys in immersion programs, comprising about 60% of the immersion students in all provinces except Quebec.

### French immersion students outperform non-immersion students in the PISA reading assessment

In every province except Manitoba, students in French immersion programs performed significantly better in reading than students in non-immersion programs. While nearly all immersion students other than Manitobans wrote the PISA assessment in English, about one quarter of immersion students in Manitoba were tested in French. However, language of the test assessment alone did not account for the Manitoba results. Among those Manitoba students who took the test in English, there was still no significant difference in the reading achievement of non-immersion and immersion students.

The over-representation of girls in French immersion programs may contribute to the higher reading performance of students in immersion programs as girls outperform boys in reading. However, this explains only a small part of the high performance of French immersion students. According to PISA, on average, both boys and girls in immersion outperform their counterparts in non-immersion programs (except in Manitoba).

### French immersion students are more likely to be from high socio-economic backgrounds

In general, students in French immersion programs come from higher socio-economic backgrounds than non-immersion students. One way to determine the socio-economic status of students is in terms of the socio-economic status of parental occupations and by looking at what proportion of students are from families in the top quartile of the parental occupation scale.<sup>1</sup> In fact, French immersion

## CST Fifteen-year-olds in immersion programs have higher reading scores in most provinces

	Reading achievement		Effect size <sup>1</sup>
	Immersion	Non-immersion	
	Score		
Newfoundland and Labrador	<b>608</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>1.21</b>
Prince Edward Island	<b>558</b>	<b>509</b>	<b>0.57</b>
Nova Scotia	<b>567</b>	<b>517</b>	<b>0.60</b>
New Brunswick	<b>550</b>	<b>495</b>	<b>0.63</b>
Quebec	<b>566</b>	<b>537</b>	<b>0.32</b>
Ontario	<b>570</b>	<b>533</b>	<b>0.42</b>
Manitoba	533	533	0.00
Saskatchewan	<b>570</b>	<b>529</b>	<b>0.54</b>
Alberta	<b>601</b>	<b>548</b>	<b>0.64</b>
British Columbia	<b>610</b>	<b>537</b>	<b>0.88</b>

1. Cohen's *d*, which compares the difference between groups to the difference between people within each group.

Note: Items in bold indicate significant differences between immersion and non-immersion students with  $p < 0.05$  and effect size  $> 0.20$ .

Source: Statistics Canada, Programme for International Student Assessment, 2000.

students are more likely to be from families in the top socio-economic quartile in all provinces, but this advantage is not statistically significant in Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia.<sup>2</sup>

Other studies have shown a strong relationship between socio-economic status and student achievement. Therefore, one might expect that differences in family socio-economic status contribute to the high reading achievement of students in French immersion programs. However, the advantage held by French immersion students is not so straightforward.

Looking only at students from families in the top quartile of socio-economic status, there is still a substantial difference in the achievement of students in immersion and non-immersion programs in many provinces. These differences are statistically significant in Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Alberta and British Columbia.<sup>2</sup>

1. The PISA International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status (ISEI) was derived from student responses on parental occupation. The index captures the attributes of occupations that convert parents' education into income. For more information on the methodology, see Ganzeboom, H.B.G., P. de Graaf and D.J. Treiman with J. De Leeuw. 1992. "A standard international socio-economic index of occupational status," *Social Science Research* 2, 1: 1-56. The PISA ISEI is based on either the father's or the mother's occupation, whichever is the higher.
2. The test for statistical significance for French immersion students is very sensitive to the small sample sizes of French immersion students in this study. The effect of small sample sizes is further amplified when only the top socio-economic quartile of students is considered. Although there are large apparent differences in reading scores between French immersion and non-immersion students among the top quartile, these differences are not statistically significant in several provinces because of the small sample of French immersion students in the top socio-economic quartile.

	Students in top quartile of family socio-economic status		Effect size <sup>1</sup>
	Immersion	Non-immersion	
	% of all 15-year-old students		
Newfoundland and Labrador	<b>41</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>0.67</b>
Prince Edward Island	<b>26</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>0.23</b>
Nova Scotia	<b>34</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>0.37</b>
New Brunswick	<b>31</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>0.36</b>
Quebec	36	27	0.18
Ontario	35	27	0.19
Manitoba	21	18	0.07
Saskatchewan	26	19	0.18
Alberta	<b>43</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>0.39</b>
British Columbia	27	24	0.07

1. Cohen's *d*, which compares the difference between groups to the difference between people within each group.

Note: Items in bold indicate significant differences between immersion and non-immersion students with  $p < 0.05$  and effect size  $> 0.20$ .

Source: Statistics Canada, Programme for International Student Assessment, 2000.

	Students in top quartile of family socio-economic status		Effect size <sup>1</sup>
	Reading achievement		
	Immersion	Non-immersion	
	Score		
Newfoundland and Labrador	629	559	0.87
Prince Edward Island	584	546	0.44
Nova Scotia	583	561	0.29
New Brunswick	566	543	0.28
Quebec	594	574	0.22
Ontario	591	570	0.27
Manitoba	542	565	0.33
Saskatchewan	578	554	0.37
Alberta	617	583	0.45
British Columbia	635	567	0.91

1. Cohen's *d*, which compares the difference between groups to the difference between people within each group.

Note: Items in bold indicate significant differences between immersion and non-immersion students with  $p < 0.05$  and effect size  $> 0.20$ .

Source: Statistics Canada, Programme for International Student Assessment, 2000.

## French immersion students are more likely to have parents with a postsecondary education

French immersion students were significantly more likely to have a parent with a postsecondary education in all provinces except Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia. As with family socio-economic background, these differences do not entirely explain the high reading achievement of students in French immersion programs. Among students who have a parent with a postsecondary education, French immersion students had significantly higher reading scores than non-immersion students did in all provinces except Quebec and Manitoba.

## Many factors influence differences in reading scores between French immersion and non-immersion students

In every province, except Manitoba, French immersion students programs performed significantly better in the PISA reading assessment than their counterparts in non-immersion programs. In fact, in all 10 provinces, students in French immersion programs performed at levels equal to or better than the Canadian national reading score average (534).

A number of factors may contribute to the high achievement of 15-year-olds in French immersion. Parents of immersion students are generally from higher socio-economic backgrounds and are more likely to have a postsecondary education (factors related to high student performance). There is also a higher proportion of girls in immersion programs.

However, when gender, socio-economic background and parents' education are each taken into account (individually), French immersion students still outperform their counterparts in non-immersion programs. No one of these factors alone explains the high performance of these students.



Students with at least one parent with a postsecondary education

	As a percent of all 15-year-old students			Reading achievement		
	Immersion	Non-immersion	Effect size <sup>1</sup>	Immersion	Non-immersion	Effect size <sup>1</sup>
	%	%		Score	Score	
Newfoundland and Labrador	<b>83</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>0.60</b>	<b>607</b>	<b>529</b>	<b>0.97</b>
Prince Edward Island	<b>74</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>0.29</b>	<b>567</b>	<b>524</b>	<b>0.51</b>
Nova Scotia	<b>77</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>0.39</b>	<b>575</b>	<b>532</b>	<b>0.52</b>
New Brunswick	<b>70</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>0.35</b>	<b>560</b>	<b>512</b>	<b>0.56</b>
Quebec	73	65	0.17	571	555	0.18
Ontario	77	68	0.20	<b>577</b>	<b>546</b>	<b>0.36</b>
Manitoba	61	56	0.11	541	545	0.05
Saskatchewan	<b>71</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>0.27</b>	<b>571</b>	<b>540</b>	<b>0.42</b>
Alberta	<b>86</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>0.54</b>	<b>606</b>	<b>561</b>	<b>0.54</b>
British Columbia	63	64	0.02	<b>610</b>	<b>550</b>	<b>0.74</b>

1. Cohen's *d*, which compares the difference between groups to the difference between people within each group.

Note: Items in bold indicate significant differences between immersion and non-immersion students with  $p < 0.05$  and effect size  $> 0.20$ .

Source: Statistics Canada, Programme for International Student Assessment, 2000.

Instead, other factors may contribute to the high reading performance of French immersion students. Firstly, more information is needed to understand how student environment contributes to how students live and learn. French immersion programs may be more readily available in communities that are more affluent.

Moreover, selection and attrition in French immersion programs may influence reading scores. Schools and parents may screen students to ensure their readiness for immersion programs. This may mean that students who have less developed language skills are not encouraged to enter immersion programs, especially early immersion. This may be one reason for the unequal gender distribution in these programs, as girls tend to develop language skills earlier than boys do and may therefore demonstrate

a greater aptitude for language learning when they are considered for entry into early immersion programs.

In addition, there may also be a tendency for less-skilled and less well-adjusted students to transfer out of immersion programs if there is a concern about their ability to learn in the second language. By the time students are assessed by PISA, at age 15, this academic attrition may be significant.

It is also possible that French immersion programs assist student learning in other ways by providing an enriched learning environment. There may be a positive peer effect when students with high potential for achievement are grouped together. Other research has investigated the possibility that bilingualism itself contributes to the learning of students.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, a better understanding of the reading achievement of French

immersion students can be found by further exploration of the home and school environments, and community, family and student characteristics.



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3. Cummins, J. 1998. "Immersion education for the millennium: What have we learned from 30 years of research on second language immersion?" in M.R. Childs and R.M. Bostwick (eds.), *Learning Through Two Languages: Research and Practice*. Second Katoh Gakuen International Symposium on Immersion and Bilingual Education. p. 34-47. Katoh Gakuen, Japan.



# Immigrants in demand: Staying or leaving?

by Heather Dryburgh and Jason Hamel

Since the 1990s, one objective of Canada's immigration program for landed immigrants<sup>1</sup> has targeted economic immigrants with skills and credentials that are in demand in Canada. The gain in skilled immigrants to Canada is clear: the number of skilled immigrants gaining permanent residency in Canada has increased significantly during this period.<sup>2</sup> In addition, many immigrants in the family reunification and refugee protection programs come to Canada highly skilled.

Although immigrants came to Canada with a wide range of occupations and skills, this article focuses on three in-demand occupation groups:<sup>3</sup> workers in information technology (IT), physicians and health care managers, and trades workers. These in-demand groups were selected for this study because of their significant contribution to the Canadian economy, and the health and well-being of Canadians, and because they all depend to some extent on migrants from other parts of the world to augment the pool of workers.<sup>4</sup>

The high demand for workers in information technology, physicians and health care managers and trades occupations through the 1990s suggests that new immigrants intending to work in these occupations should have fared well in Canada.<sup>5</sup> However, growing evidence indicates that even some highly skilled workers are facing

employment barriers, which may increase their likelihood of emigrating.<sup>6</sup> Despite positive Canadian experiences, those with strong marketable skills and who meet the criteria of immigrant selection of other countries may be enticed to return to their country of origin or to go to other countries.

This article uses longitudinal data on landed immigrants to Canada from the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB). It looks at what happens to landed immigrants who arrived between 1990 and 1998 and who were intending to work in in-demand occupations as IT workers, physicians and health care managers or trades workers. Their labour market experiences are examined between the time they started filing taxes and 2000. The number of in-demand immigrants who eventually leave is

estimated using taxfiler information. Possible reasons why they emigrate are explored by looking at the demographic characteristics of immigrants, the resources they bring to Canada, and their Canadian experiences.

## Only a small percentage of immigrants emigrate

It is a life-changing decision to immigrate to another country, and in some cases, the move may not work out well. For many different reasons, some immigrants may decide to return to their home country, while others may decide to move to a different country. When in-demand immigrants emigrate, there is a real loss of needed skills to Canada.

According to the IMDB, 4.3% of all immigrants who landed during the study period and who filed taxes during the 1990s had emigrated by 2000.

1. The term "landed immigrant" refers to immigrants who have been granted permanent residency in Canada. These terms are used interchangeably in this article.
2. Citizenship and Immigration Canada. 2003. *Facts & Figures 2002: Immigration Overview* (Catalogue no. MP43-333/2003E).
3. There are certainly other occupation groups in high demand, but this article focuses on these three. Other in-demand occupations are grouped with the "all others" group for comparison.
4. In-demand occupations not among the three groups above as well as those not in demand are included in the "all others" group.
5. Statistics Canada. 2003. "The changing profile of Canada's labour force." *2001 Census: Analysis Series* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 96F0030XIE2001009).
6. Najm, N.A. 2001. *The Devaluation of Foreign Credentials in Canada*. Strategic Research and Analysis, Canadian Heritage. Reference: SRA-625; Boyd, M. and D. Thomas. 2001. "Match or mismatch? The employment of immigrant engineers in Canada's labour force." *Population Research and Policy Review*, 20, 1/2: 107-133.

The Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB) is a database combining immigration and taxation records. This study looks at immigration landing years 1990 to 1998 and tax-filing behaviour from 1990 to 2000. Statistics Canada manages the IMDB on behalf of a federal-provincial consortium led by Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Only landed immigrants over age 17 who filed at least one tax return between 1990 and 1998 and who stated an intended occupation are included in this article, except where otherwise noted.

The IMDB only includes information on intended occupations at landing in Canada and not upon the actual occupation immigrants are employed in. Intended occupation is usually the occupation the immigrant practised before coming to Canada. Although a mismatch between the intended and the actual occupation may be one of the reasons why some immigrants emigrate, this cannot be determined from the IMDB. While the majority of immigrants have declared an intended occupation (74%), 84% of the rest (homemakers, retirees, students) were admitted through the family and other economic classes.

## Measuring emigration

In this article, the emigration of immigrant taxfilers is measured. Another study estimated that about 10% of immigrants who entered Canada between 1991 and 1996 emigrated from Canada during those years.<sup>1</sup> Emigration reported in this article is lower because only emigrant taxfilers are included, and those who may have emigrated before filing a tax return (non-taxfilers) are excluded, so total emigration of all immigrants would be higher. Higher numbers are found in a study of the emigration of immigrants from the United States.<sup>2</sup> From the IMDB, it is not possible to determine whether emigration is return migration to the immigrant's country of origin or to a third country.

Many immigrants who emigrate report doing so on their tax return. However, others who emigrate simply stop filing tax returns in Canada and don't indicate that they have emigrated. Emigrants may stop filing taxes because of death or because of low income. These cases are not included in the counts of emigrants. For the remainder of those who have stopped filing taxes for at least two years by 2000, they are identified as emigrants if all of their landing

group (family or extended family) have stopped filing taxes at the same time. Emigration is expressed as the percentage of all immigrant taxfilers in the period of interest who emigrated.

**Found employment quickly:** indicates how many immigrants filed a tax return with employment earnings or self-employment income by a year after they landed in Canada.

**Stability of earnings:** indicates those who filed taxes with employment earnings or self-employment income for each consecutive year from the year they first filed until 1998.

**Employment insurance benefits and social assistance benefits:** indicates whether, at any time since landing, the immigrant has claimed these benefits or not.

## Immigrant classes

*Family:* applicants landing to reunify their family.

### Economic

- ☐ *Business:* principal applicants who are entrepreneurs, self-employed or investors.
- ☐ *Skilled worker:* principal applicants who landed in Canada based on their education, work experience, knowledge of official languages and other criteria.
- ☐ *Other economic:* spouses or dependents of skilled workers or business class applicants and assisted relatives not entering in the family class.

*Refugees:* sponsored refugees, or refugee claimants from abroad or in Canada.

*Other:* primarily retired immigrants and those in the live-in caregiver program.

1. Michalowski, M. and C. Grenier. 2002. *Who Is Staying and for How Long: Re-migration of Canada's Immigrants in the 1990s*. Paper presented at the Canadian Population Society Annual Meeting, May 30-June 1, 2002, Toronto.
2. Warren, R. and E. Percy Kraly. 1985. "The elusive exodus: Emigration from the United States." *Population Trends and Public Policy Occasional Paper*, no. 8. Population Reference Bureau: Washington, D.C.

## Emigration was highest for immigrant physicians and health care managers and IT workers

Immigrant physicians and health managers were the most likely of the in-demand immigrants to emigrate (11.7%), followed by immigrant IT workers (6.9%). Those immigrants

who were not in one of the three in-demand occupation groups were less likely to emigrate (4.1%). Immigrant trades workers were even less likely to emigrate, with only 3.0% doing so. These differences between in-demand occupation groups suggests that other characteristics of in-demand

immigrants may also play a role in emigration decisions.

Trades workers have quite different education and official language proficiency than IT workers or physicians and health care managers. IT workers and physicians and health care managers were highly educated



## Information technology (IT) occupations<sup>1</sup>

IT workers are crucial in the shift towards the new economy.<sup>2</sup> Some argue that these highly skilled workers are the artisans of the emerging technology-based information society.<sup>3</sup> In 2000, the contribution to the Gross Domestic Product of the Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) sector in Canada was 6%, a significant increase from 4% in 1997.<sup>4</sup> The 2001 Census showed that almost 3% of total employment in Canada was in IT-related occupations and, of those 387,500 IT workers, about 15%, or over 60,000, arrived in Canada in the 1990s.<sup>5</sup>

During the 1990s, there was strong international competition for IT workers. Many Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) member countries had active recruitment programs for IT workers. The Canadian government developed an Innovation Strategy that identifies the need to strengthen the IT labour force in Canada in part through attracting immigrants with IT qualifications and intentions to work in IT occupations. Between 1990 and 1998, 60,900 immigrants, primarily from Asia and Europe, landed in Canada with the intention of working in IT occupations. More came in the latter half of this period than in the first half.

## Physicians and health care managers<sup>6,7</sup>

Health is a top concern for Canadians, as recent polls have indicated. Shortages of physicians and other health professionals have prompted negotiations with professional associations to expedite the accrediting of immigrant physicians. To take one example, Quebec recently has made efforts to facilitate accreditation of new immigrants with degrees and experience in health-related domains from abroad into health occupations in the province. In the period 1990 to 1998, 3,965 family physicians, physician specialists and health managers became permanent residents in Canada. Unlike IT workers, a larger percentage of these immigrants landed in Canada in the early nineties than the mid- to late nineties.

## Trades occupations<sup>8</sup>

Construction activity in Canada has increased over the last few years, and, in certain trades, shortages of workers are commonplace. Historically, the construction trades relied on immigrants for workers, notably immigrants from Portugal and Italy. More recently, the majority of trade workers came from Europe, primarily from Poland and Portugal. Between 1990 and 1998, 17,995 immigrants landed in Canada intending to work in the trades. Over one quarter of these immigrants landed in 1990, with declining proportions over recent years. Relatively few trades workers landed in 1997 and 1998.

## Regulated occupations

In Canada, provincial and territorial legislation regulate some occupations to protect public health and safety. Regulated occupations make up 20% of the workforce. Before a person can work in one of those regulated occupations, a provincial or territorial body must recognize that person's qualification. The regulatory bodies determine the conditions for admittance to those occupations, evaluate applicants' qualifications and issue licences to practice. The process varies among provinces and territories and among occupations. Typically, persons must wait until they arrive in Canada to have their qualifications recognized and receive a licence. Many of the in-demand occupations are regulated.

1. Information technology (IT) workers include: computer engineers, computer programmers, computer systems analysts, electrical and electronics engineering technologists and technicians, electrical and electronics engineers, electronic service technicians and graphic designers and illustrators.
2. Downie, R., H. Dryburgh, J. McMullin and G. Ranson. 2004. "A profile of information technology employment in Canada." *Workforce Aging in the New Economy (WANE) International Report*, no. 1. [www.wane.ca/PDF/IR1.pdf](http://www.wane.ca/PDF/IR1.pdf) (accessed June 16, 2004).
3. Castells, M. 2000. *The Rise of the Network Society*. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford.
4. Statistics Canada. 2003. *Innovation Analysis Bulletin* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 88-003-XIE, vol. 4, no. 3).
5. Habtu, R. 2003. "Information technology workers." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE, vol. 4, no. 7).
6. Physicians and health care managers include general practitioners and family physicians, specialists and health care managers.
7. Health care managers include occupations primarily concerned with planning, organizing, directing and controlling the delivery of health care services, such as chief of anaesthesia, chief of medical staff, home care program co-ordinator, medical clinic director, nursing director, radiotherapy services manager and speech language pathology director. Excluded are senior administrators in medicine and health, which are included in other occupations.
8. Trades occupations include: blacksmiths and die setters, boilermakers, bricklayers, cabinetmakers, carpenters, electricians, floor covering installers, gas fitters, glaziers, insulators, ironworkers, painters and decorators, plasterers, drywall installers and finishers and lathers, plumbers, roofers and shinglers, sheet metal workers, steam fitters, pipefitters and sprinkler system installers, structural metal and platework fabricators and fitters, tilers, welders and related machine operators.



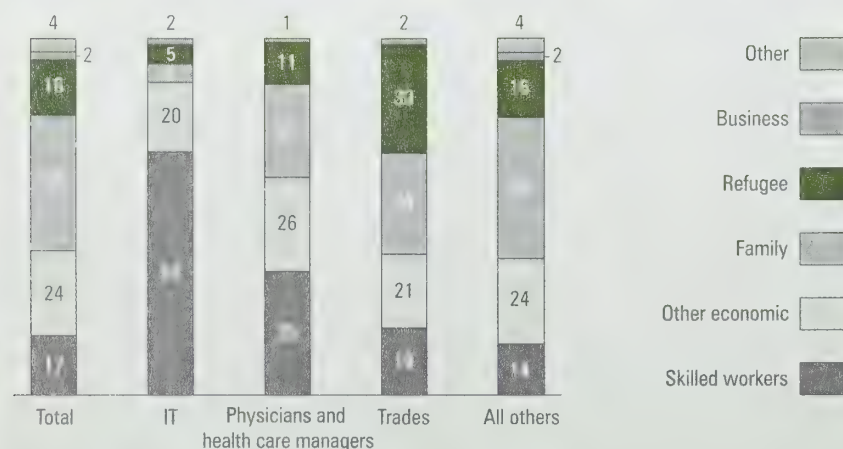
	Intended occupation group									
	Total		IT		Physicians and health care managers		Trades		All others	
	Number of immigrant taxfilers	% of taxfilers who emigrated	Number of immigrant taxfilers	% of taxfilers who emigrated	Number of immigrant taxfilers	% of taxfilers who emigrated	Number of immigrant taxfilers	% of taxfilers who emigrated	Number of immigrant taxfilers	% of taxfilers who emigrated
<b>Total</b>	1,100,160	4.3	47,645	6.9	3,160	11.7	15,640	3.0	1,000,725	4.1
<b>Landing year</b>										
1990	113,790	7.0	2,540	10.4	405	18.0	4,160	4.2	104,380	6.8
1991	132,865	5.6	2,380	12.5	445	10.2	3,285	3.2	124,650	5.4
1992	142,740	5.2	2,750	12.7	400	16.5	2,110	3.1	134,640	4.9
1993	143,020	5.1	4,150	12.3	465	15.9	1,605	2.7	133,560	4.7
1994	119,425	5.7	5,000	12.7	310	13.8	1,090	2.8	110,305	5.2
1995	113,910	4.1	6,020	9.3	310	10.5	1,015	1.8	104,275	3.7
1996	117,190	2.8	7,380	5.1	310	5.1	855	1.2	106,315	2.6
1997	118,345	1.7	8,865	2.2	285	5.2	830	1.3	102,580	1.6
1998	98,880	0.8	8,555	1.1	225	2.7	695	1.3	80,005	0.8
<b>Age</b>										
18-24	190,980	3.2	1,890	5.5	--	--	1,730	1.5	186,645	3.2
25-34	440,005	4.6	27,560	7.7	1,310	13.2	7,710	3.2	396,830	4.3
35-44	278,995	4.8	14,965	6.0	1,365	11.6	4,540	3.0	244,615	4.6
45-54	111,840	4.4	3,010	4.5	370	7.9	1,260	3.7	97,565	4.1
55-64	72,755	4.3	220	--	95	--	385	--	69,580	4.2
65+	5,585	4.3	--	--	--	--	--	--	5,490	4.3
<b>Sex</b>										
Men	558,530	4.5	39,050	6.9	2,060	12.2	15,385	3.0	483,000	4.2
Women	541,630	4.1	8,595	6.8	1,100	10.9	255	--	517,725	4.1
<b>Education</b>										
0-9 years	197,325	2.5	225	--	--	--	4,675	3.8	185,870	2.4
10-12 years	304,630	3.0	1,470	3.5	--	--	3,715	2.1	290,085	2.9
13 or more years	114,830	4.7	2,830	6.3	85	--	955	2.8	108,535	4.7
Trade certificate	119,640	3.8	3,045	5.1	--	--	4,180	3.0	109,405	3.7
Non-university diploma	90,050	4.5	4,640	5.3	60	--	1,400	2.6	81,385	4.4
Bachelor's degree	211,980	6.0	26,355	5.7	1,550	11.9	650	2.9	175,625	6.0
Master's degree	47,515	10.4	7,400	11.9	855	12.4	60	--	38,035	10.2
Doctorate	14,185	13.3	1,685	14.7	525	12.2	--	--	11,780	13.2
<b>Last permanent residence</b>										
North America	27,435	14.1	830	17.4	135	25.2	230	7.3	25,885	13.9
Europe	220,430	4.6	16,575	6.2	1,125	13.1	8,690	3.8	190,750	4.5
Asia	564,785	4.3	19,600	7.4	705	9.0	1,905	1.0	519,710	4.1
Middle East	73,060	5.7	4,450	5.7	250	11.2	1,550	2.6	63,260	5.6
Africa	82,585	2.7	3,730	5.7	765	10.2	580	2.7	75,945	2.4
Caribbean and Guyana	70,480	0.9	675	3.1	60	--	1,760	0.8	67,650	0.9
South and Central America	48,930	2.6	1,185	7.4	85	--	700	2.4	46,155	2.4
Oceania, Australia and other	12,455	6.5	590	11.7	40	--	220	--	11,365	6.1
<b>Official language ability</b>										
English only	615,145	5.0	33,805	7.4	2,415	12.7	6,705	3.0	557,545	4.8
French only	50,030	4.1	2,870	5.4	155	--	745	5.9	45,480	3.9
English and French	52,235	7.9	5,960	7.9	280	11.8	435	5.6	44,600	7.8
Neither	381,915	2.8	5,010	2.9	310	9.0	7,755	2.5	353,025	2.7
<b>Immigrant class<sup>1</sup></b>										
Family	399,495	2.2	2,390	5.2	685	8.4	4,385	1.5	389,495	2.2
Business	40,995	9.7	640	10.9	--	--	240	7.9	20,365	9.5
Skilled workers	188,985	6.6	32,735	7.2	1,235	13.8	2,900	5.1	151,910	6.4
Other economic	243,600	7.6	9,360	6.6	815	11.3	3,155	5.8	221,645	7.8
Refugee	187,710	1.0	2,475	3.6	380	12.4	4,905	1.0	178,455	0.9
Other	38,515	5.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	38,060	5.2

1. There are 860 taxfilers whose immigrant class is "unknown." These cases are not included in the counts for immigrant class.

-- Too few cases to report.

Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database.

% of immigrants



Note: Includes all immigrants over age 17 who landed in Canada between 1990 and 1998 except for the 925 who had an unknown immigrant class.

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Field Operations Support System.

and predominantly English-speaking. Trades workers, on the other hand, tended to have trade certificates or high school or less education, and almost half were not able to speak either of Canada's official languages. Although all three in-demand occupational groups were male-dominated, immigrants intending to work in trades occupations far exceeded the others, being 98% men.

In all occupation groups, immigrants who had arrived in 1990 were more likely to have emigrated by 2000 than immigrants who had arrived in 1995. This pattern may reflect the fact that earlier immigrants have a longer period in which to assess their situation and choose to leave Canada than immigrants who have landed more recently.

### Economic immigrants were most likely to emigrate

Immigrants to Canada in the 1990s had to meet certain criteria to be admitted in the skilled worker class. The points-based system used for skilled workers awarded points for education levels, official language ability and occupational skills, as well

as requiring funds for immigrants to establish themselves in Canada. Likewise, business class immigrants — entrepreneurs, investors and self-employed persons — were required to bring extensive business skills and capital to gain landed immigrant status in the country.

Many immigrants intending to work in IT or trades or in health care arrived in the skilled worker class of immigrants. But many also entered as family, other economic or refugee class intending to work in these in-demand occupations. Notably, about 30% of trades workers who landed in Canada between 1990 and 1998 did so as refugees, and a further 28% landed as family class immigrants. Only one fifth of trades workers landed in Canada under the skilled worker class, compared with two-thirds of IT workers and one third of physicians and health care managers.<sup>7,8</sup>

Skilled workers and business class immigrants were the most likely to emigrate. This was true for each of the in-demand occupational groups. The relationship between high skill levels and emigration can be seen when

looking at emigrants' education and language competencies. Those with higher education and official language ability were more likely to emigrate than those without. For example, since trades workers were less likely to have a university education, they were also less likely to emigrate than IT workers, physicians and health care managers.

### Immigrants from the United States were most likely to emigrate

Immigrants who had last resided in the United States were the most likely to emigrate compared with immigrants from other parts of the world. This tendency was equally true across both in-demand and other occupation groups. Immigrants who last resided in Oceania, Australia and Other were the second most likely to emigrate, regardless of occupation group.

### In-demand immigrants who found work quickly were more likely to emigrate

In-demand immigrants who found employment quickly<sup>9</sup> were more likely to emigrate than the average for their occupation group. In contrast, among immigrants in the other occupational group, those who found work quickly were less likely to emigrate than those who did not. This suggests that finding work early was a good reason for staying in Canada for immigrants, but may not have been enough for in-demand immigrants.

7. This paragraph refers to all immigrants over age 17 that landed in Canada between 1990 and 1998 and is not restricted to taxfilers.

8. Physicians were barred from entering under the skilled worker program until 2002. They could have applied using another intended occupation such as medical technologist or another science occupation.

9. Filing a tax return with employment earnings or self-employed income by the first year after landing is used as an indicator of finding employment quickly.



	Intended occupation group				
	Total	IT	Physicians and health care managers	Trades	All others
Total number of taxfilers	1,100,160	47,645	3,160	15,640	1,000,725
	% immigrant taxfilers who emigrated				
Total	4.3	6.9	11.7	3.0	4.1
Found employment quickly <sup>1</sup>	4.1	7.1	13.4	3.2	3.9
Received social assistance	1.3	4.2	8.0	1.7	1.2
Received employment insurance	2.4	6.2	8.8	2.4	2.2
Stable employment earnings <sup>2</sup>	1.8	5.1	4.5	0.9	1.6

1. Filed taxes with employment earnings or self-employed income by the first year after landing.

2. Filed taxes with employment or self-employment earnings each year after first filing taxes up to 1998.

Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database.

Regardless of occupation group, immigrants who received social assistance or employment insurance were less likely to emigrate. In general, trades workers were more likely to have received social assistance or EI benefits than IT workers, physicians and health care managers and workers in other occupation groups. Over half of immigrant trades workers had received EI and about one third had received social assistance at some time. This may partly explain why they were less likely to emigrate than immigrants who intended to work in other in-demand occupations. As moving to another country is often an expensive proposition, those immigrants who have received social assistance or employment insurance may be less likely to have the financial resources for another international move.

#### Emigration of IT workers and physicians and health care managers were lower for those with stable earnings

IT workers were much more likely than all other occupational groups to have had stable employment. On the other hand, trades workers were much less likely to have experienced stable

employment, a fact which is also reflected by higher percentages of those who had received EI or social assistance benefits.

For all occupational groups, stable employment is clearly a factor in whether or not to emigrate. A smaller percentage of those with stable employment emigrated in all groups. Although trades workers were less likely to have stable employment, and were less likely to emigrate than the other in-demand occupations, those who did have stable employment were even less likely to emigrate than those who did not.

#### Summary

Canada has attracted high demand immigrants between 1990 and 1998, and only a small percentage of these immigrants decided to emigrate. Immigrants intending to work in trades tended to remain in Canada, whereas others intending to work as physicians, health care managers and IT workers were more likely to emigrate. For the small number who did emigrate, the decision appears to be related to the relative lack of stable employment, and having the resources to facilitate moving again. There was also a relationship between higher resources —

skills and education — and emigration: those who were skilled and highly educated were more likely to emigrate. Those intending to work as physicians and health care managers and IT workers predominantly landed in Canada as skilled workers or other economic class immigrants, both immigrant classes requiring high resource levels and with a high likelihood of emigration. In comparison, a large proportion of trades workers landed as refugees, the immigrant class least likely to emigrate.



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# Class of 2000 — Student loans

by Mary Allen and Chantal Vaillancourt

This article has been adapted from a section of "Class of 2000: Profile of postsecondary graduates and student debt," *Education, Skills and Learning – Research Papers*, no. 16, 2004 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 81-595-MIE2004016). It is available free of charge from the Statistics Canada Web site: [www.statcan.ca/english/IPS/Data/81-595-MIE2004016.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/IPS/Data/81-595-MIE2004016.htm).

**S**tudents finance their education in a variety of ways including employment income, savings, family support, scholarships, and loans from government and private sources. Although student loans are not the most frequently cited source of financial support for postsecondary students, they are an important source of funding for those who do borrow.<sup>1</sup>

## About half of college and bachelor's graduates left school owing money for their education

At the time of graduation in 2000, about half of college and bachelor's graduates had some kind of debt for their education, and most of these graduates had government student loans. Government student loan programs were the major source of student borrowing: 45% of bachelor's graduates and 41% of college graduates left school with government student debt.

Almost one in five college and bachelor's graduates, however, borrowed from other sources to finance their

education. Among college graduates, 33% had only government student loans, 8% owed money only to non-government sources and 8% owed money to both. Bachelor's graduates were more likely to turn to both sources for funding. While 34% had only government student loans and 8% had only non-government student loans, 11% had both.

On average, the amounts owed to non-government sources were generally smaller than government loans. However, for graduates who owed money to both sources, the combined debt was considerably larger than for those with debt from only one source.

## On average, the Class of 2000 owed more than the Class of 1995

The rest of this article focuses on government-sponsored student loans. For both the Class of 1995 and the Class of 2000, just over 40% of college and bachelor's students owed money to government student loans programs at the time of graduation. However, the 2000 graduates owed significantly more than their 1995 counterparts, who in turn owed more than the 1990 graduates did.<sup>2</sup>

On average, the Class of 2000 bachelor's student loan borrowers owed 30% more than the Class of 1995. Average debts for college

1. According to the 2002 Postsecondary Education Participation Survey, 26% of young postsecondary students (aged 18 to 24) used government student loans to finance their current academic year. However, the median amount borrowed was \$5,000, a substantial amount when compared to the typical cost of schooling (\$11,200 for university students, and \$9,330 for college). Barr-Telford, L., F. Cartwright, S. Prasil and K. Shimmmons. 2003. "Access, persistence and financing: First results from the Postsecondary Education Participation Survey (PEPS)." *Education, Skills and Learning – Research Papers*, no. 7 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 81-595-MIE2003007).

2. To enable comparisons with the Class of 1990 and the Class of 1995, average student loans are calculated for graduates who have not completed any further studies. This differs from the population covered in the rest of the article as graduates who pursued further studies without completing them are included for the comparison of the class cohorts, but are excluded for the presentation of the rest of the Class of 2000 results. All comparisons are made in 2000 constant dollars. Information on amounts owing to other sources at graduation is not available for 1995 graduates.

This article uses data from the 2002 National Graduates Survey (Class of 2000) to examine the management of student loans. It includes students who completed the requirements for or graduated with a degree, diploma or certificate in 2000 from college or a bachelor's program (including first professional programs such as law or medicine). Data for master's and doctoral graduates are available but are not discussed in this article. This analysis primarily focuses on graduates who had government-sponsored student loans and examines how much money they owed at graduation and two years later in 2002. Data referring to the Class of 2000 graduates is restricted to graduates who did not pursue further education during the two years after graduating from their program in 2000. Comparisons of graduates between the Classes of 1990, 1995 and 2000 used a slightly different group of graduates including only those who did not **complete** further studies in the two years after graduation. This would include graduates who pursued but did not complete studies.

## Average government student debt at graduation is increasing

Average debt at graduation (2000 constant \$)



Note: Includes graduates who have not completed any further education in the two years after graduation.  
Source: Statistics Canada, National Graduates Surveys (Classes of 1990, 1995 and 2000).

graduates were 21% higher than for the Class of 1995.

### One in five borrowers had paid off their government student loans by 2002

Usually students are required to begin repaying government student loans within six months of completing their studies. With rising student

debt, there has been much discussion about the level of debt and how repayment is managed.

The ability to pay off debt is influenced by a number of factors: size of debt, employment, earnings, interest rates, and personal circumstances. It is not surprising, therefore, that the graduates who were able to eliminate their student debt in the first two

years following graduation were advantaged in many of these respects. In fact, about one in five graduates who had left school with government student loans had paid them off completely two years after graduation. For the graduates who still owed money two years after graduation, about three-quarters of their debt remained to be repaid.

Not surprisingly, graduates with smaller loans were more likely to have paid off their loans two years later than those who had large loans. In addition to starting out with lower debt, Class of 2000 graduates who were able to pay their loans off by 2002 had significantly higher incomes than those who still had student debt two years after graduation. On average, personal income for graduates who had paid off their debt was 13% higher for bachelor's graduates (\$4,000) and 24% higher for college graduates (\$6,000) than those graduates who had not paid off their loans.

College graduates who had repaid all of their student debt were more likely to have a job than those who had not, but bachelor's graduates had no difference in employment rates between those who had completely repaid their loans and those who still owed. Family circumstances and responsibilities may also have an impact on the ability of graduates to pay off their debt quickly. College graduates who had paid off their debt by 2002 were less likely to be married than those who still owed money, and graduates at both levels were less likely to have dependent children if they had paid off their loan than those who still owed.

### Two years after graduation, graduates had paid off about a quarter of their government student loan debt

Two years after graduating, about one third of all college and bachelor's graduates who had not continued their studies still owed money on



government student loans. On average, graduates who still owed had repaid about one quarter of their government student debt and bachelor's graduates still owed \$16,300 while college graduates owed \$10,300.

Graduates who were still repaying student loans had higher debt loads and were more likely to have large debts than those who had repaid all of their student debt by 2002. In fact, bachelor's graduates who still owed started out with \$8,000 more debt, on average, than those who had repaid all of their student loans. College graduates who still owed started out with twice the debt of those who had repaid their loans (\$6,000 more).

The higher levels of debt may have led to graduates with remaining debt in 2002 being more likely to report repayment difficulties. Of those who were still repaying, 28% of bachelor's and 34% of college graduates reported difficulties repaying their debt, compared to only 9% of bachelor's and 9% of college graduates who had paid off their debt by 2002.

#### **One in seven bachelor's graduates owed \$25,000 or more in government student loans upon graduating**

The size of government student debt owed upon graduation varied widely. Some students accumulated large

debts, while others only had small debts that readily could be paid off after graduation.

Bachelor's graduates were the most likely to leave school with large student debts of \$25,000 or more. Fourteen percent of bachelor's graduates who had not continued their studies owed \$25,000 or more when they graduated. Although these graduates were more likely to be employed and had higher earnings than those with smaller debts, they had higher debt-servicing ratios (median 11%) and 38% of them reported having difficulties repaying their loans.

Almost half of college borrowers owed under \$10,000. A small number

## **CST Debt-servicing ratio as a measure of debt burden**

While debt size is a key factor in the ability to manage debt, the relationship between income and debt payments is equally important as a measure of the ability to pay. The debt-servicing ratio is the ratio of debt payments in 2001 expressed as a percentage of personal income in 2001. This measures the level of debt burden on an individual and is a rough indicator of ability to pay. In some cases, the ratio may be high because payments are high or it may be high because income is low.

To put these values in context, there is a variety of similar measures used by creditors (including student loan programs) to identify possible debt burden. For example, American studies on student loan debt burden often use a debt-servicing ratio benchmark of 8% as the threshold beyond which student debt becomes difficult to manage.<sup>1</sup>

In Canada, the debt-servicing ratios in the Canadian Student Loan Program (CSLP) interest relief program vary depending on the size of the monthly loan repayment, household income and family size. To be eligible for interest relief, the borrower may revise the terms of payment to reflect a 15-year amortization period.

For those graduates with debt remaining two years after graduation, median debt-servicing ratios were 6% for college and 8% for bachelor's graduates.

While these values do not exceed the 8% threshold used in a number of American studies, there are still a considerable number of graduates with high debt-servicing ratios. In fact, at the college level, one quarter of these graduates had debt-servicing ratios of 10% or higher while one quarter of bachelor's graduates had ratios exceeding 13%.

The debt-servicing ratios calculated here, however, may not indicate by themselves debt burden. In some cases, the minimum payment that is required to service the debt might constitute a relatively high proportion of the debtor's income. In other cases, debtors may choose to make lump sum payments or payments exceeding the minimum to repay their debt more quickly. Further analysis is required to understand fully how graduates are managing their student debt.

1. National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators (NASFAA). March 7, 2003. *Federal Student Loan Debt Burdens for Most Borrowers Remain Stable*. Press release available at [www.NASFAA.org/publications/2003/rnnedrc030703.html](http://www.NASFAA.org/publications/2003/rnnedrc030703.html); Scherschel, P.M. June 2000. "Student debt levels continue to rise: Stafford indebtedness: 1999 update." *USA Group Foundation New Agenda Series*, vol. 2, no. 3. [www.luminafoundation.org/publications/debtburden.pdf](http://www.luminafoundation.org/publications/debtburden.pdf) (accessed May 6, 2004); Choy, S. 2000. *Debt Burden Four Years after College*. Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics.

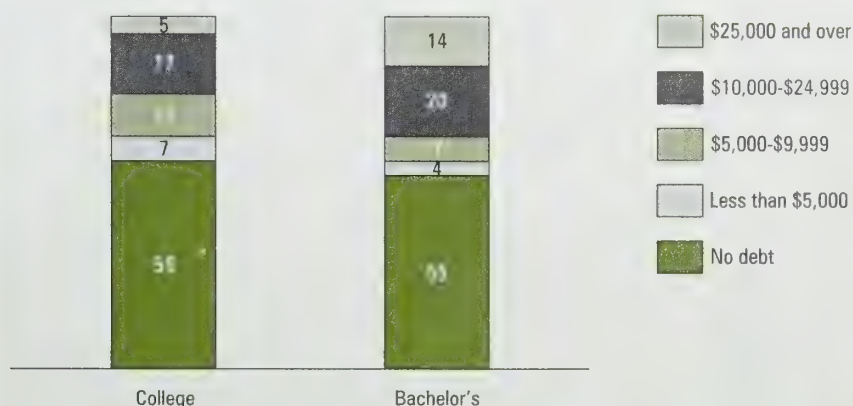


of college graduates, about 5%, left school with large debts of \$25,000 or more. Nearly 60% of these graduates reported having difficulties repaying and half of them had debt-servicing

ratios of 10% or more. College graduates with large debts tended to be older, and were more likely to be married and have children than graduates with smaller debts.

## CST One in seven bachelor's graduates owed \$25,000 or more in government student loans at graduation

Amount of government-sponsored student debt at graduation (%)



Note: Graduates who pursued further studies after graduation are excluded.  
Source: Statistics Canada, National Graduates Survey, 2002.

## Summary

About half of the college and bachelor's graduates from the Class of 2000 carried student debt when they graduated. Just over 40% of graduates owed money to government student loan programs, about the same proportion as for the Class of 1995. Average debt sizes were notably higher, however, than for the 1995 college and bachelor's graduates.

Two years after graduation, about one in five borrowers from the Class of 2000 had paid off their government student loans completely. Not surprisingly, graduates who managed to do so had started out with smaller than average debts, and they had higher incomes than the graduates who still owed money in 2002.

A small, but notable, proportion of graduates left school with large student debts. Despite having higher than average incomes, they were more likely to report difficulties repaying their loans.

## CST Doctors in debt

Medicine stands out as having the highest proportion of graduates with student loans and also the highest average student debt at any level of education. At graduation, 80% of medicine graduates (M.D.s)<sup>1</sup> who did not pursue further studies had student debt: on average, they owed \$38,200. Three-quarters of medicine graduates owed more than \$25,000. In part, these large debts are related to higher tuition fees for medicine programs and longer studies at university to obtain a degree in medicine than the average bachelor's graduate.

However, medicine graduates who did not pursue further studies paid off their debts faster than the average bachelor's graduate. Despite the size of medicine graduates' debts, over one quarter (26%) of them had paid off their debt two years after graduation compared to 22% of all bachelor's graduates. On average, medicine graduates paid down 40% of their debt in the two years after graduation compared with 35% of all bachelor's borrowers.

1. M.D.s are first professional degree graduates and are included with bachelor's degrees in this article.



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## New low in crude birth rate

Canada's crude birth rate (the number of live births for every 1,000 people in the population) fell to its all-time low in 2002 in the wake of another decline in the number of live births. The crude birth rate dropped to 10.5 live births for every 1,000 population, the lowest since vital statistics began to be produced nationally in 1921. The rate has dropped 25.4% in the last 10 years alone. In total, 328,802 babies were born in 2002, down 1.5% from the previous year.

Twenty years ago, 66% of live births in Canada were to mothers aged 20 to 29 years. Only 48% of births were to mothers in this age group in 2002.

### Births

Catalogue no. 84F0210XIE



## Induced abortions

Canadian women obtained 106,418 abortions in 2001, a slight increase of almost 1% from 105,427 in the previous year. The rate of abortion has also marginally increased from 15.4 in 2000 to 15.6 abortions per 1,000 women in 2001.

### Induced Abortion Statistics

Catalogue no. 82-223-XIE



## Drug crime

The police-reported drug crime rate has risen an estimated 42% since the early 1990s and now stands at a 20-year high. Three in four drug-related incidents in 2002 involved cannabis offences, about 72% of which were possession offences.

The overall drug-related crime rate has been on an upward trend since 1993, driven by increases in cannabis possession, as well as production and importation offences. The cannabis offence rate has risen approximately 80% from 1992 to 2002, largely the result of increased numbers of possession offences. All trafficking offences declined over the same period.

*"Trends in drug offences and the role of alcohol and drugs in crime."*

### Juristat

vol. 24, no. 1

Catalogue no. 85-002-XIE



## Teenaged health

Teenagers in Canada's northern regions, especially girls, are more likely to report lower self-rated health than their counterparts in major metropolitan regions. Only 17% of girls in rural regions and 15% of girls in northern regions rated their health as "excellent," compared with 33% of girls in major metropolitan regions. Only 23% of boys in northern regions rated their health as excellent, as opposed to 36% of boys in metropolitan regions.

Boys in small town areas were most likely to be overweight or obese. About 30% of boys in

small towns were overweight, compared with 25% nationally and about 9% were obese, compared with 6% nationally. Girls in northern regions were the most likely to smoke, at 21% compared with 15% of girls nationally, while there were no significant differences found for boys.

Boys in small metro regions had the highest rate of heavy drinking, at 30% compared with 20% nationally while only 13% of boys in major metro areas reported heavy drinking.

*"Health status and behaviours of Canada's youth: A rural-urban comparison."*

### Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin

vol. 5, no. 3

Catalogue no. 21-006-XIE



## High school dropouts

In May 2000, more than 345,000 students aged 15 were in school, the majority of whom were in grade 10. By December 2001, an estimated 9,000 of this group (3%) had left high school without a diploma.

While the dropout rates for these boys (3%) and girls (2%) were similar, their reasons for leaving high school differed. Although both cited school-related reasons most frequently, girls were much more likely to cite personal or family reasons, including health reasons, pregnancy, caring for own child, and problems at home. Conversely, boys more often reported work-related factors such as they wanted to or had to work.

Overall, dropouts viewed school less favourably than other students did. They were less engaged in school, both socially and academically, at age 15 than those students who continued their studies or

graduated. They were also more likely to feel that discipline was not handled fairly, that students were not respected, and that their school was not a friendly place.

However, there were positive signs that, at an early age, youth who left high school without graduating understood the importance of education. At age 15, four out of every five future dropouts believed that getting a good job later in life depended on their success in school, and three-quarters wanted to obtain some form of postsecondary education.

### In and Out of High School: First Results from the Second Cycle of the Youth in Transition Survey, 2002

Catalogue no. 81-595-MIE2004014



## Low income in census metropolitan areas

Median family incomes increased by 1% during the 1990s to \$62,300, but the gap between lower and higher income neighbourhoods increased. In Toronto, for example, median family income in the poorest 10% of neighbourhoods was up 2.6% since 1980. In the highest 10% of neighbourhoods it was up by 17.4%.

The report also shows that recent immigrants, Aboriginal people, and lone-parent families were much more likely to be in lower income neighbourhoods.

*"Low-income in census metropolitan areas, 1980-2000."*

### Trends and Conditions in Census Metropolitan Areas

vol. 24, no. 2

Catalogue no. 89-613-MIE200400



# SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
<b>ECONOMY<sup>1</sup></b>								
<i>Annual % change</i>								
Real gross domestic product <sup>1</sup>	1.6	4.2	4.1	5.5	5.3	1.9	3.3	1.7
Wages, salaries and SLI	2.4	5.7	4.9	5.8	8.4	4.6	4.8	3.4
Personal expenditures on goods and services <sup>1</sup>	2.6	4.6	2.8	3.8	4.0	2.6	3.4	3.3
Consumer Price Index	1.6	1.6	0.9	1.7	2.7	2.6	2.2	2.8
Savings rate (%)	7.0	4.8	4.8	4.0	4.6	4.5	4.2	2.0
Prime lending rate	6.06	4.96	6.60	6.44	7.27	5.81	4.21	4.69
5-year mortgage rate	7.93	7.07	6.93	7.56	8.35	7.40	7.02	6.39
Exchange rate (with U.S. dollar)	1.364	1.385	1.484	1.486	1.485	1.549	1.570	1.401
<b>EDUCATION</b>								
Consolidated <sup>2</sup> government expenditures on the environment <sup>3</sup> (\$ millions)	8,666	8,381	8,703	8,566	8,672	9,232	9,866	9,795
Consolidated <sup>2</sup> government expenditures <sup>4</sup> (\$ millions)	381,158	371,693	372,695	387,438	401,520	422,656	435,885	440,006
Consolidated <sup>2</sup> government expenditures on the environment <sup>3,4</sup> (% of total expenditures)	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.2
Greenhouse gas emissions (kilotonnes of carbon dioxide equivalents)	673,000	682,000	690,000	706,000	730,000	720,000	..	..
Billions of public transit passengers	..	..	..	..	..	1.53	1.63	..
Total consumption of refined petroleum products <sup>5</sup> used for transportation (thousand m <sup>3</sup> )	51,063	52,574	54,182	55,711	55,894	55,344	55,497	..
<b>JUSTICE</b>								
<i>Rate per 100,000 population<sup>6</sup></i>								
Total <i>Criminal Code</i> offences	8,914	8,453	8,136	7,725	7,641	7,633	7,590	..
Property offences	5,264	4,867	4,555	4,261	4,067	3,992	3,960	..
Violent offences	1,000	990	979	955	981	981	965	..
Other <i>Criminal Code</i> offences	2,650	2,596	2,602	2,509	2,593	2,660	2,664	..
<i>Average days to process Criminal Code case through courts</i>								
Adults <sup>7</sup>	151	160	152	156	160	190	191	..
Youths <sup>8</sup>	114	104	107	109	114	110	124	..
<i>Average length of sentence per Criminal Code case</i>								
Adults (days in prison)	131	132	134	140	134	130	126	..
Youths (days of open and secure custody)	92	91	83	80	77	76	77	..
<b>CIVIC SOCIETY</b>								
Government expenditures on culture <sup>9</sup> (\$ millions)	5,564	5,401	5,485	5,535	5,701	6,073	..	..
Households reporting expenditure on newspapers (%)	71.0	70.7	69.1	66.9	65.0	63.5	61.4	..
Households reporting expenditure on live performing arts (%)	36.0	38.0	36.0	35.0	35.9	35.9	37.6	..
Households reporting expenditure on admission to heritage facilities and other activities and venues <sup>10</sup> (%)	..	35.5	35.0	34.8	33.9	31.9	33.0	..

.. Data not available.

1. Data in chained (1997) dollars.

2. Does not include CPP and QPP.

3. Includes expenditures on water purification and supply.

4. Expenditures for fiscal year ending March 31.

5. Refers to diesel oils, light heating oils, residual fuel oils, aviation gasoline, fuel for gas turbines and motor fuel.

6. Revised rates based on updated population estimates.

7. Excludes New Brunswick, Manitoba, British Columbia, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut.

8. Alberta is excluded.

9. Excludes intergovernmental transfers. Data in 1993 dollars. Municipal spending is on a calendar-year basis.

10. Includes museums, zoos, ice shows, craft shows, fairs and historic sites.

Sources: Statistics Canada, National Income and Expenditure Accounts, CANSIM II Tables 385-0001, 380-0002, 380-0001, 380-0004, 380-0024, 326-0002, 203-0011, 203-0010, 176-0043 and 176-0049, *Canadian Crime Statistics, 2002* (Catalogue no. 85-205), *Government Expenditure on Culture* (Catalogue no. 87F0001XPE), and Environment Canada, *Canada's Greenhouse Gas Inventory, 1990-2000* (Catalogue no. EN 49-5/5-2000E).



# LESSON PLAN

*Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends in the classroom*

## Lesson plan for “Class of 2000 — Student loans”

### Objectives

- ☐ To plan financially for postsecondary education.

**Curriculum areas:** Family studies, business studies and economics.

### Classroom instructions

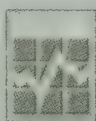
1. Survey the class to find out how many plan to go to university or college. Ask how they plan to finance their education.
2. In a spreadsheet, have the students identify categories of expenses for their first year of university or college. For each category, have the students estimate their expenses for an eight-month study period. Many universities and colleges have Web sites showing tuition fees, residence costs and meal plans. Newspapers or real estate listings may show the cost of apartments or houses for rent.
3. Have the students estimate the resources they have available to pay for their education such as part-time jobs, savings, support from their family. Itemize the sources of income and other resources in another part of the spreadsheet. Calculate the differences between educational expenses and the resources available to spend on education.
4. The Canada Student Loans program and provincial student loans programs may provide loans and grants for students in need. Check out the National Student Loans Service Centre Web site to find out the terms and conditions for eligibility for student loans.
5. Discuss the impact that education expenses may have on students and their families if students continue their studies at university or college.

### Using other resources

- ☐ To find lesson plans, articles and data for elementary and secondary schools, check out the Statistics Canada Web site at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach.htm). There are more than 150 lesson plans for high school classes, many articles, E-STAT access and other data.
- ☐ Check out over 30 lessons using *Canadian Social Trends* articles on the Teachers page under Teacher’s kits at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/social.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/social.htm).
- ☐ See the Family studies kit at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm) for detailed graphs that you can use to make overheads for your class.

### Educators

You may photocopy “Lesson plan” or any item or article in *Canadian Social Trends* for use in your classroom.



# Canada: A Portrait



*Canada: A Portrait* is a handsomely produced book capturing all the beauty and complexity of Canada—its social, economic and cultural life.

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*The story*

*behind the*

*numbers...*

*The numbers*

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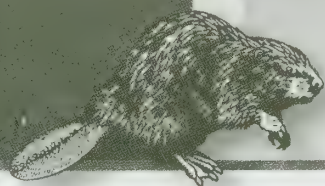
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# You can't always get what you want: Retirement preferences and experiences

by Grant Schellenberg and Cynthia Silver

**A**n important aspect of the retirement transition is the extent to which its timing and circumstances match the preferences of older workers. No doubt, people would prefer to leave the labour force under terms and conditions of their own choosing rather than being forced to leave. The underlying issue is that those who are forced to retire may not have had adequate opportunity to prepare for retirement, either financially or psychologically.

This article uses new information from the 2002 General Social Survey (GSS) to examine the match between the retirement preferences and experiences of recent retirees who first retired during the period from 1992 to 2002. It identifies people whose retirement transitions were characterized by a high, moderate or low degree of congruence with their preferences, and examines their characteristics and experiences.

## Why experiences may differ from retirement preferences

Often the match between retirement preferences and experiences is defined in terms of the voluntary or involuntary nature of retirement.<sup>1</sup> Voluntary retirees are thought of as older workers who left the labour force because they wanted to, while involuntary retirees are those who left despite wanting to continue working. According to the GSS, about one quarter of recent retirees left work involuntarily.

**GST**

## What you should know about this study

The congruence of retirement preferences and experiences is examined using data from the 2002 General Social Survey (GSS). The target population for the 2002 GSS was persons 45 years of age and older residing in private households in the 10 provinces. Nearly 25,000 people responded to the survey.

The 2002 GSS used a subjective definition of retirement that involved several questions. First, people who said their main activity during the previous 12 months was "retired" were identified as retirees. Others were subsequently asked, "Have you ever retired?" and those who said "yes" were also identified as retirees. Finally, individuals who said they had not ever retired were probed further; those who answered "yes" to any of these follow-up questions were also classified as retirees.

This analysis is limited to recent retirees, defined as people who first retired during the years 1992 to 2002 inclusively. This focuses the analysis on the characteristics and experiences of individuals who had made a recent transition to retirement. Only those who retired at age 50 or older are included. This results in almost 4,500 respondents covered by this article.

While the voluntary/involuntary distinction is useful, it fails to capture more subtle degrees of choice in the retirement transition. Voluntary retirees may leave the labour force willingly, but within the context of narrow options such as time-limited early retirement incentives. In this situation, individuals may want to continue working, but decide to retire because they may be concerned about future job termination under less advantageous conditions. Although they left their job voluntarily and exercised choice in making their decision, their first choice of remaining employed was not viewed

as a viable option. Similarly, people who chose to retire because of health problems may view their retirement as voluntary, even though they might have continued working had circumstances been different.

Using GSS data, the match between retirement preferences and experiences can be examined in more detail. In addition to the voluntary/involuntary retirement question, retirees were asked nine questions to establish whether they would have continued to work had working conditions or other circumstances been different.

Nearly 60% of recent retirees responded positively to at least one of these nine questions, indicating they would have continued working if the circumstances had been different. The fact that the majority of recent retirees said that they would have been willing to keep working under certain circumstances may be somewhat surprising, given the appetite that employed Canadians express for early retirement.<sup>2</sup> However, responses to hypothetical questions must be treated cautiously. Responses may overstate retirees' willingness to have continued working, particularly if they have found their retirement to be less satisfying than they expected. In such cases, the option of continued employment may look appealing in retrospect.

Over one-quarter of recent retirees said they would have continued to do paid work if they had been able to reduce their work schedule without affecting their pension, either by working fewer days (28%) or by working shorter days (26%). Just under one-fifth of recent retirees (19%) said they would have continued

working if they could have taken more vacation without affecting their pension. Altogether, 30% of recent retirees cited at least one of these three pension-related reasons.<sup>3</sup> The importance of work arrangements was also evident in the fact that 28% of recent retirees said they would have continued working had they been able to do so on a part-time basis.

Health problems were a consideration for many recent retirees, as 26% of them said they would have continued working had their health been better. Considering financial incentives, 21% of recent retirees said that they would have continued working had their salary been increased. Finally, smaller shares of recent retirees said they would have continued working if mandatory retirement policies had not existed in their workplace (12%) or if they could have found suitable caregiving arrangements (6%). Results were similar for men and women.

The apparent willingness of some recent retirees to have continued working also has implications for labour supply. With the imminent retirement of the baby boomers,

some analysts have stressed the importance of strategies to encourage or enable older workers to defer retirement and remain on the job.<sup>4</sup> According to the GSS, many recent retirees would have been amenable to such initiatives. However, almost one-half of retirees who would have continued working under different circumstances had experienced health problems. Excluding individuals whose prospects for continued employment were limited by health, 33% of recent retirees said they would have continued working under different circumstances.

### A typology of retirees – How closely retirement preferences match experiences

By combining the information on willingness to have continued working rather than retiring with that on the voluntary or involuntary nature of retirement, a better understanding of the match between the retirement preferences and experiences of recent retirees can be achieved. This results in four possible retirement categories.<sup>5</sup>

People who had retired voluntarily and would not have continued doing paid work had circumstances been different may be a best-case retirement scenario. They retired willingly and without second thoughts about leaving; this group represents 38% of recent retirees. They are labelled *high-congruence retirees* to emphasize the fit between their retirement preferences and experiences.

Recent retirees who left the labour force voluntarily, but who would have continued working had circumstances been different, essentially have left the labour force prematurely. Nonetheless, the circumstances were not so unsatisfactory or difficult that they viewed their retirement as involuntary. This group represents 36% of recent retirees, and are labelled *moderate-congruence retirees* to highlight the partial mismatch between their retirement preferences and experiences.

**GST**

### Many recent retirees would have continued to do paid work

	Total	Men	Women
% of recent retirees who said they would have continued to do paid work if circumstances had been different			
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>Would have continued to do paid work if...<sup>1</sup></b>			
Could work fewer days without affecting pension	28	29	27
Could work shorter days without affecting pension	26	26	25
Had more vacation leave without affecting pension	19	20	18
Any combination of above three reasons	30	31	30
Could have worked part-time	28	28	27
Personal health had been better	26	27	26
Salary was increased	21	22	20
Mandatory retirement policies had not existed	12	12	12
Could have found suitable caregiving arrangements	6	7	6
Other reasons	11	10	13

1. Respondents could report more than one reason.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.



Recent retirees who left the labour force involuntarily and who would have preferred to continue working exercised less choice and expressed more dissatisfaction in their retirement transition. This group accounted for 24% of recent retirees. A fourth group, making up 3% of recent retirees, retired involuntarily, but would not have kept working in any case. All involuntary retirees have been combined into a single group labelled *low-congruence retirees* to emphasize the mismatch between their retirement preferences and experiences. This group accounted for 27% of recent retirees.

Overall, these three groups represent first-, second- and third-best retirement transitions because of the varying degrees of consistency between retirement choices and preferences. The characteristics and experiences of individuals in these groups differ considerably.

### High-congruence retirees

Financial considerations, rather than unemployment, poor health or other factors, were the most frequent reasons why high-congruence retirees left the labour force. More specifically, 79% of them said that one of the reasons for retirement was because it was financially possible to do so and 47%, because they had completed the years of service needed to qualify for a pension. Furthermore, in 2002, over half were receiving income from an employer-sponsored pension and resided in households with incomes of \$40,000 or more. Most (78%) said that their financial situation was better than or the same as it had been in the year prior to retirement.

Health problems were not a central feature in the retirement transition of high-congruence retirees. Only 10% said their health was a factor in their retirement decision and most were in very good or excellent health when they left the labour force (70%). Furthermore, very few high-congruence retirees

<div> <div>GST</div> <div>More than one in four recent retirees retired involuntarily</div> </div>		
	%	Level of congruence
Retired voluntarily – Would not have continued doing paid work	38	High
Retired voluntarily – Would have continued doing paid work	36	Moderate
Retired involuntarily – Would have continued doing paid work	24	Low
Retired involuntarily – Would not have continued doing paid work	3	Low
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.		

experienced downsizing or unemployment on their way to retirement.

High-congruence retirees were satisfied with their choice as only 16% of them returned to the labour force after their initial retirement. Of returnees, few cited financial circumstances as a reason for returning (20%); most cited reasons related to the intrinsic satisfaction derived from work such as 'wanted something to do', 'asked to help out' and 'enjoyed the work'.

### Moderate-congruence retirees

Compared with high-congruence retirees, moderate-congruence retirees typically left the labour force at a younger age. More specifically, 52% of them first retired before the age of 60 compared with 44% of high-congruence retirees.

For many of these individuals, financial considerations and organizational change were factors in their retirement decision. Similar to high-congruence retirees, about three-quarters of moderate-congruence retirees said they retired because it was financially possible to do so and about one-half because they were eligible for a pension. Over one-quarter (27%) of them cited early retirement incentives as a reason, 13% downsizing and 3% unemployment, suggesting that they left work due to organizational restructuring.

Moderate-congruence retirees were similar financially to high-congruence retirees. According to the

GSS, 49% had household incomes of \$40,000 or more. About two-thirds reported that their financial well-being was the same or better than it was during the year before retirement.

Finally, health considerations were a motivating factor in the retirement decisions of 31% of moderate-congruence retirees. About 22% said that their health was fair or poor at the time they retired. Of those who retired for health reasons, 65% said that retirement was financially possible.

The mismatch between retirement preferences and experiences of moderate-congruence retirees was evident in that 32% of them returned to the labour force after their initial retirement, double that of high-congruence retirees. Of those who returned to the labour force, 41% cited financial circumstances as a motivating factor.

### Low-congruence retirees

The retirement experiences of low-congruence retirees were very different from other retirees. This was certainly evident because finance-related reasons for retirement were less common. While about three-quarters of high- and moderate-congruence retirees said they retired because it was financially possible to do so, only one-third of low-congruence retirees reported this reason. Furthermore, only 26% retired because they were eligible for a



pension and 13% because they received an early retirement incentive.

In 2002, 37% of low-congruence retirees were receiving income from an employer-sponsored pension. About two in five resided in households with incomes of \$40,000 or more compared with about half of high- and moderate-congruence retirees. In terms of financial well-being, half of low-congruence retirees felt financially worse off in retirement than they were in the year prior to retiring, compared with about one in five high-congruence retirees.

Employment disruption was another pathway into retirement for this group, as 25% said they had retired because their job was downsized and about 15% because of unemployment or mandatory retirement policies. The mismatch between retirement preferences and actual outcomes for the low-congruence retirees was evident in that 32% of them returned to the labour force after their initial retirement, primarily for financial reasons; however, only about two-thirds were successful in finding new employment (65%).

Health was the primary factor forcing low-congruence retirees out of the labour force, with 43% of them citing health as a reason for retirement and 37% saying they were in fair or poor health at the time they retired. Most of these retirees perceived themselves to be in a weak financial situation with only 34% saying retirement was financially possible.

Nearly half of low-congruence retirees said they would have stayed at work if their health had been better. Although tighter labour markets and policies designed to encourage older workers to remain on the job may reduce the number of involuntary retirees, those with health problems severe enough to cause them to retire are unlikely to respond to such changes as long as their health is problematic.



## High-congruence retirees have significantly different characteristics than low-congruence retirees

	Level of congruence		
	High	Moderate	Low
	% (distribution down columns)		
<b>Age at first retirement</b>			
50 to 59	44	52	55
60 to 64	33	29	26
65 and over	23	19	19
<b>Reasons for first retirement<sup>1</sup></b>			
Retirement financially possible	79	74	34
Eligible for pension	47	54	26
Early retirement incentives	19	27	13
Job was downsized	6	13	25
Unemployment	1	3	15
Own health	10	31	43
Mandatory retirement policies	11	12	16
Care for family members	7	9	8
<b>Receives pension benefits from a former employer</b>			
Yes	52	58	37
No	48	42	63
<b>Financial well-being relative to the year prior to retirement</b>			
Better	15	12	10
Same	63	55	40
Worse	22	33	50
<b>Household income</b>			
Less than \$20,000	11	14	28
\$20,000 to \$29,999	18	19	20
\$30,000 to \$39,999	16	18	13
\$40,000 to \$59,999	24	23	19
\$60,000 or more	31	26	20
<b>Health at retirement</b>			
Excellent	40	30	22
Very good	30	23	19
Good	25	25	22
Fair or poor	6	22	37
<b>Satisfaction with life in general</b>			
Very satisfied	38	31	22
Satisfied	40	39	35
Dissatisfied	18	24	30
Very dissatisfied	4	7	13
<b>Labour market involvement after retirement</b>			
Did not return to the labour force	84	68	68
Returned to the labour force	16	32	32
<b>Of those who returned to the labour force...</b>			
% who found paid employment	97	90	65
% who returned due to financial considerations	20	41	60

1. Respondents may report multiple reasons for first retirement and therefore percentages may add to more than 100%.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.

	Level of congruence		
	High	Moderate	Low
	% (distribution across rows)		
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>27</b>
Men	37	37	26
Women	38	34	28
<b>Age at first retirement</b>			
50 to 59	33	37	30
60 to 64	42	35	24
65 and over	42	33	25
<b>Marital status at retirement</b>			
Married	39	36	25
Other	31	35	34
<b>Immigration status</b>			
Canadian-born	38	37	25
Immigrant	35	32	33
<b>Educational attainment</b>			
Less than high school	37	32	31
High school/some postsecondary	37	37	26
Certificate or diploma	37	35	28
University degree	42	39	19
<b>Class of worker prior to retirement</b>			
Paid employee	37	37	26
Self-employed	45	31	24
<b>Occupation prior to retirement</b>			
Managerial	40	35	26
Professional/technical	46	38	16
Clerical	36	37	27
Sales/services	34	33	33
Trades/transportation	32	40	27
Primary, processing, manufacturing, utilities	37	33	30
<b>Industry prior to retirement</b>			
Agriculture, primary industries	38	38	24
Utilities, transportation, warehousing	31	44	25
Construction	37	40	24
Manufacturing	38	31	31
Trade	32	31	37
Finance, insurance, real estate and leasing or professional services	37	36	27
Health, education, social services	45	37	18
Food, accommodation, culture and other services	36	35	29
Public administration	39	40	21
<b>Receives pension benefits from a former employer</b>			
Yes	39	41	20
No	36	30	34

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.

Perhaps because of their health and financial insecurity, low-congruence retirees were also less satisfied with their lives in general. Fifty-seven percent were satisfied or very satisfied, compared with 70% of moderate- and 78% of high-congruence retirees.

### Who was likely to be a high-, moderate- or low-congruence retiree?

The level of congruence was associated with several demographic and labour market characteristics. Men and women had similar levels of retirement congruence. Unmarried people at the time of their retirement were more likely than married people to be low-congruence retirees. This may have been due to greater financial insecurity and more reservations about the retirement transition. Immigrants were more likely than the Canadian-born to be low-congruence retirees, perhaps reflecting less opportunity to prepare financially for retirement. Finally, individuals with a university degree were more likely to have high-congruence between their retirement preferences and experiences.

The pre-retirement type of job was also associated with the retirement congruence. Self-employed workers were more likely than paid employees to be high-congruence retirees. This may occur because they have more opportunity to adjust their work routines and to control the timing and process of their retirement. Furthermore, unlike paid employees, self-employed workers do not typically face premature retirement because of organizational downsizing, mandatory retirement policies or early retirement incentives.

Pre-retirement occupations and industries may also influence the level of congruence. Professional and technical workers were more likely than others to be high-congruence retirees. Those previously employed in health, education and social

services and in public administration industries were more likely than retirees from other industries to have high congruence between retirement preferences and experiences.

Pension coverage was also an important factor. First, pension plan members were less likely than non-members to be low-congruence retirees. This may reflect that pension plan members have longer job tenure and higher rates of unionization and may be less subject to involuntary retirement due to downsizing or unemployment. Plan members also have more financial security than non-members and hence are more willing and able to retire. Second, pension plan members were more likely than non-members to be moderate-congruence retirees. One explanation is that pension plan members became eligible for retirement at relatively young ages and were more likely to have been offered an early retirement incentive to leave their job.<sup>6</sup> However, while they received financial incentives to leave the work force, they may not have been psychologically or financially ready to retire.

Finally, the timing of retirement itself was associated with the match between retirement preferences and experiences. Those who first retired in their fifties were more likely to be moderate-congruence retirees than others who did so in their sixties or older because they may feel they had just reached their full earnings capacity or were not yet psychologically ready to withdraw from employment. The likelihood of low-congruence retirement was greatest among individuals who retired in their fifties. Within this group, retirement before age 60 was often a result of health problems or unemployment.

## Summary

People enter into retirement for many different reasons and through many different pathways. Overall, the characteristics and experiences of high-, moderate- and low-congruence retirees differ markedly in terms of reasons for retirement, health characteristics, financial well-being and life satisfaction.

A number of factors differentiated moderate- and high-congruence retirees. Moderate-congruence retirees typically retired at an earlier age and were more likely to have done so because of pension eligibility, early retirement incentives and downsizing. They were especially more likely to have retired because of health problems. Furthermore, moderate-congruence retirees were more likely than high-congruence retirees to have returned to the labour force, and to have done so because of financial considerations, although non-financial reasons were also important.

Low congruence retirees were less likely than other retirees to have retired because it was financially possible or because they were eligible for a pension, but were more likely to have retired for health reasons or job disruptions. They were more likely than either moderate- or high-congruence retirees to have fair or poor health, to be worse off financially after retirement than before and to be dissatisfied with their lives.



**Grant Schellenberg** is a senior analyst with Demography Division and **Cynthia Silver** is a senior analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

- 1 Rowe, G. and H. Nguyen. 2003. "Older workers and the labour market." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE) 15, 1: 55-58; Pyper, W. and P. Giles. 2002. "Approaching retirement." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada catalogue no. 75-001-XPE) 14, 4: 9-16.
- 2 Schellenberg, G. 2004. "The retirement plans and expectations of non-retired Canadians aged 45 to 59." *Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11F0019MIE2004223, no. 223).
- 3 Many retirees who did not receive income from employer pensions responded to these questions, perhaps because they answered them in relation to their inclusion in the Canada/Quebec Pension Plans. If the analysis is limited to individuals who received income from employer pensions, the share who said they would have continued working had they been able to reduce their work time without affecting their pension increases to 37%.
- 4 Hicks, P. 2002. "Preparing for tomorrow's social policy agenda." *Social Research Demonstration Corporation Working Paper Series 2*, 4.
- 5 Responses to the nine questions regarding willingness to have continued working were used to create a dichotomous variable that identified recent retirees who either 1) would have continued to do paid work under different circumstances or 2) who would not have done so. The resulting yes/no variable was cross-tabulated with information regarding the voluntary/involuntary nature of retirement, resulting in four possible categories.
- 6 Among recent retirees who were paid employees before they retired, 38% of those receiving pension income indicated early retirement incentives were a factor in their retirement decision, while this was the case for only 7% of those not receiving pension income.



# Off-reserve Aboriginal Internet users

by Susan Crompton

For the majority of Canadians, the Internet is now a common means of keeping in touch, doing errands and other routine activities. They go online to exchange e-mail, browse for news or information, make travel plans, bank electronically, do job-related work and so on.<sup>1</sup>

People have adopted the Internet so rapidly that governments and businesses are increasingly using it to communicate with their citizens and their customers. With so much information now distributed via Web sites and e-mail, people who do not use the Internet risk being "out of the loop" in ways that may affect their ability to participate fully in their communities. In Canada, the biggest barriers to Internet adoption are cost, access to computers or the Internet, and lack of skills or training.<sup>2</sup> Researchers at the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development have also identified living in a rural location, being a member of a minority ethnic group and speaking a minority language as significant barriers to participation.<sup>3</sup>

These barriers are particularly pertinent to Aboriginal people. But according to the 2000 General Social Survey (GSS) on technology use, off-reserve Canadians with Aboriginal ancestry were just as likely to be Internet users as people without Aboriginal origin — 50% and 53%, respectively, had used the Internet at some time in the 12 months

preceding the survey (the difference is not statistically significant). So it appears that access to the Internet may not be the main barrier to its use.

In fact, almost since the birth of the "digital divide," researchers have spoken of the "second digital divide." This term acknowledges that there can be a divide between users themselves, based on whether they are frequent Internet users, are confident of their skills, use the technology effectively, or view the Internet as valuable, among other factors.<sup>4</sup> Although it is less noticeable, this second divide can inhibit effective Internet use just as much as the first.

This article uses the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) to draw a basic profile of Internet use among Aboriginal ancestry Canadians living off-reserve. Then, with the 2000 General Social Survey on technology use, it asks whether a second digital divide exists between these users.

## **The first digital divide: Differences between Aboriginal Internet users and non-users**

The general portrait of Internet users in Canada is well-known by now. People who use the Internet are younger and better-educated than those who do not; they are employed, have a higher income and generally live in urban centres. According to the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey the same is true of Aboriginal Internet users. Off-reserve

users with Aboriginal ancestry tend to be better-educated and more urban than those who do not use computer technologies. For example, more than half of non-users had less than secondary school education, compared with less than one-quarter of users. About three-quarters of Internet users lived in urban areas, which are generally well-served by Internet service providers, while almost half of non-users lived in rural areas or the North, where access can be more difficult.

Aboriginal people who used the Internet were also much more likely to be working: 68% versus 37% of non-users were employed, and they were frequently members of higher-income families: 44% lived in households reporting annual income of \$60,000 or more, compared to 19% of Aboriginal persons who were not Internet users.

## **The second digital divide: Differences between users**

Most Aboriginal Internet users were going online at home; with 73% of users identifying home as one of the places they went online, it was by far the most common place to surf the Net. The reasons for this are self-evident: home is much more convenient than other places where the time available may be limited and, in the case of public facilities such as libraries and community centres, opening hours are restricted. However, a home connection is not

This study draws on two surveys. The first part of the article, which compares Aboriginal Internet users and non-users and common Internet access points, relies on data from the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS); the second part, which discusses the digital divide between Aboriginal Internet users, is based on information from the 2000 General Social Survey (GSS). Basing this article on two surveys enriches the findings, but it does present some difficulties. First, each survey defines geographic regions somewhat differently. Second, although the study population is the Aboriginal ancestry population, the APS and the GSS populations are not necessarily identical. Please read the definitions below.

## Aboriginal Peoples Survey

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey was conducted by Statistics Canada, in partnership with several Aboriginal organizations, to collect information on the lifestyles and living conditions of Aboriginal people in Canada. The Aboriginal organizations included: the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Métis National Council, National Association Friendship Centres and Native Women's Association of Canada. The survey was conducted from autumn 2001 through spring 2002, from a sample of about 117,000 people.

**Aboriginal ancestry person:** Respondents to the APS were asked "To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestors belong? For example, Canadian, French, English, Chinese, Italian, Irish, Cree, Micmac, Métis, Inuit, East Indian, Ukrainian..." They could specify as many groups as applicable. If at least one of the groups listed was an Aboriginal group, respondents were considered to be members of the "Aboriginal ancestry" or "Aboriginal origin" population. Readers should be aware that the ancestry population is somewhat larger than the "Aboriginal identity" population, whose members report Aboriginal ancestry and additionally identify themselves as North American Indian, Inuit or Métis; having registered Indian status as defined by the *Indian Act*; and/or having Band or First Nation membership.

**Off-reserve population:** Aboriginal persons living outside most First Nation or Band-affiliated communities.

**North:** refers to all four of the Inuit regions as defined by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, where the majority of Inuit live.

**Urban:** refers to those areas outside the North, with a minimum population concentration of 1,000 persons and population density of at least 400 people per square kilometre.

**Rural:** all areas outside urban areas and the North.

## General Social Survey

The APS data about Internet use is limited, so it is supplemented with information collected by the 2000 General Social Survey. This survey measured the nature and extent of personal computer and Internet use in Canada. Data were collected from 25,000 respondents living in private households in the 10 provinces. This article uses information provided by almost 700 respondents, representing almost 620,000 Canadians with Aboriginal ancestry.

**Aboriginal ancestry person:** Persons interviewed for the GSS were asked "Canadians come from many ethnic and cultural backgrounds. For example, French, Scottish, Chinese, South Asian or Haitian. What is your background (ancestry)?" Respondents were permitted a maximum of three answers; if one of those given was "Aboriginal," they were considered a member of the "Aboriginal ancestry" population for purposes of this study.

**Non-Aboriginal person:** Persons who did not include "Aboriginal" as part of their ethnic or cultural background.

**Urban:** census metropolitan areas (CMAs) and census agglomerations (CAs).

**Rural:** areas outside CMAs and CAs.

**Regular Internet use:** using the Internet at least several times a week.

**Workplace access:** refers to full-year employees or self-employed workers who used a computer in their main job and had used the Internet in the preceding 12 months.

# **Aboriginal users of computers and the Internet were more likely than non-users to be well-educated, employed urban-dwellers with good incomes**

	Total off-reserve aged 15 and over	Used computer	Used Internet	Did not use either
	'000			
	767	579	506	185
	(% distribution down column)			
<b>Both sexes</b>				
Male	47*	45	45	51*
Female	53*	55	55	49*
<b>Age group</b>				
15 to 24	25*	29	31	9*
25 to 34	22*	24	25	15*
35 to 44	24	25	25	21*
45 to 54	16*	15	14	21*
55 and over	13*	6*	5	34*
<b>Highest level of education</b>				
Less than secondary	32*	24	22	58*
Secondary completion	14	15	14	13
Some postsecondary	19*	23	23	9*
Trade school completion	9	9	9	9
College or university completion	24*	29	30	9*
<b>Region</b>				
Urban	72*	75	77	60*
Rural	25*	22	22	33*
North	3*	2	2	7*
<b>Employment status</b>				
Employed	60*	67	68	37*
Unemployed	9	8	8	10*
Not in the labour force	32*	25	24	52*
<b>Household income</b>				
Under \$25,000	24*	19	18	40*
\$25,000 to \$34,999	11*	10	10	14*
\$35,000 to \$44,999	12	11	11	12
\$45,000 to \$59,999	15	16	16	12*
\$60,000 to \$79,999	17*	19	19	11*
\$80,000 to \$99,999	10*	11	12	5*
\$100,000 and over	11*	13	14	4*

Notes: Respondent used computer and used Internet in the 12 months preceding the survey. Totals may not add to 100 due to rounding.

\* Indicates statistically significant difference from reference group. Reference group (Internet users) is marked in italics.

Source: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 2001.

feasible or affordable for everyone, and APS data show that rates of Internet use from home are lower among users from lower income households.

People are much less likely to use the Internet at other locations. The second most common point of access, where 37% of off-reserve Aboriginal users go online, is at work. The rate of workplace access is higher among those users with a college or university education (58%) and a household income of \$60,000 or more (from 42% to 50%), probably because they are more likely to occupy jobs in which they use computers. On the other hand, for users with lower income or less than secondary education, school was a common point of access, with a friend's house also a frequent location for going online.

According to the APS, one of the biggest differences separating Aboriginal Internet users is place of residence. Off-reserve users in rural regions, and especially in the North, have lower rates of use from private locations, that is, from home, a friend's or relative's home, even a community centre or library. In contrast, the two key locations where Northerners get connected are school and work, suggesting that in more remote areas, Internet access is readily available only at an institutional or community level.

## **Differences between urban and rural Aboriginal Internet users**

There is no question that, although barriers such as cost, access and lack of training are significant, one of the most important barriers is place of residence. Living in a rural area is a significant factor limiting Internet use. Even after taking account of most of the socio-economic factors that are associated with Internet use — age, education and income — a recent Canadian study has shown that households located outside large urban centres still have to overcome problems in getting connected.<sup>5</sup>



	Place of Internet use						
	Home	Work	Friend's home	Relative's home	Community/ friendship centre	Library	School, college or university
% of off-reserve Aboriginal ancestry Internet users							
<b>Both sexes</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>22</b>
Male	76	35	27*	20	4	13	22
Female	72	38	22	18	3	12	23
<b>Age group</b>							
15 to 24	69*	19*	38*	25*	6*	19*	49*
25 to 34	72	43*	25	22*	3	10	14*
35 to 44	78*	48*	16*	14*	2*	10*	10*
45 to 54	77	46*	10*	11*	2 <sup>E</sup> *	8*	7*
55 and over	82	36	7 <sup>E</sup> *	9 <sup>E</sup> *	F	6 <sup>E</sup> *	2 <sup>E</sup> *
<b>Highest level of education</b>							
Less than secondary	67*	12*	31*	19	5*	15*	40*
Secondary completion	73	29*	23	20	2 <sup>E</sup>	10	10*
Some postsecondary	75	27	24	20	4	16*	33*
Trade school completion	74	40	19	16	4 <sup>E</sup>	8*	6 <sup>E</sup> *
College or university	79*	58*	20*	19	3	11	12*
<b>Region</b>							
Urban	75	38	25	19	3	13	22
Rural	73	33*	20*	18	4	12	24
North	36*	42*	14*	11*	2 <sup>E</sup> *	7*	42*
<b>Employment status</b>							
Employed	77*	48*	22	17	3	10*	15*
Unemployed	66	21*	30*	29*	6*	20*	31*
Not in the labour force	68	10*	27*	20	4	17*	42*
<b>Household income</b>							
Under \$25,000	58*	23*	29	24	6*	19*	31*
\$25,000 to \$34,999	65	31*	29	21	5 <sup>E</sup>	15	26
\$35,000 to \$44,999	71	34	26	19	4 <sup>E</sup>	13	22
\$45,000 to \$59,999	76	34	21	20	3 <sup>E</sup>	10*	18*
\$60,000 to \$79,999	78	42*	21	17	2 <sup>E</sup>	9*	19*
\$80,000 to \$99,999	81	43*	22	14*	2 <sup>E</sup>	11	19
\$100,000 and over	86*	50*	21	16	2 <sup>E</sup> *	10	21

\* Indicates statistically significant difference from reference group. Reference group (overall average for location) is marked in italics.

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

<sup>F</sup> Estimate too unreliable to be published.

Note: Respondents were able to list more than one location. Estimates for the following locations are excluded from this table due to their high sampling variability: Internet or cyber café or coffee shop; youth employment centre, employment centre or Employment Insurance office; Human Resources and Development Canada office; Band office; resource centre; and "another location."

Source: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 2001.

In examining the second digital divide between Aboriginal users themselves, the first thing that should be noted is that the off-reserve Aboriginal population in general is much more likely to live in rural areas, 38%, versus 21% of non-Aboriginal people. And according to the 2000 GSS, rural Aboriginal residents are much less likely to be Internet users — 37% compared with 58% of urban Aboriginal Canadians. And many rural users are recent learners, since half (48%) had only been online for one year or less, compared with one-third (34%) of their urban counterparts.

The reasons for poorer Internet access in rural areas are multiple. Competition among service providers in cities can keep costs to the consumer down, whereas high operating costs and a small potential subscriber base can keep service providers out of rural areas.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, while urban dwellers may be able to connect using telephone, cable or even wireless technologies, people in rural areas may not have cable access, and telephone service to an Internet service provider may be long distance, which limits the amount of time a user can affordably be connected. Satellite offers an option to rural dwellers who wish to get connected, but it tends to be more expensive than land-based telecommunications.

These reasons may explain the situation described by the GSS data. Over half of Aboriginal users have a home connection, regardless of their place of residence — 52% of rural and 58% of urban users (the difference is not statistically significant). However, they tended to use the Internet from home less frequently if they lived in a rural area, with only 53% compared with 72% of urban-dwellers being online at least several times a week.

As researchers have pointed out, the key issue in the second digital

<div> <div>GST</div> <div>Aboriginal people living in rural areas tended to lag behind their urban counterparts in their Internet use</div> </div>				
	Off-reserve Aboriginal ancestry users			Non-Aboriginal users
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Population aged 15 and over ('000s)	619	379	240	23,365
Number of Internet users ('000s)	307	219	88	12,430
Internet users as % of population	50	58	37†	53
			%	
Computer skills are excellent/very good <sup>1</sup>	29	34	21 <sup>E</sup> †	32
Household is connected to the Internet	56*	58	52	81
Uses computer in main job	55*	60	44*†	68
Using Internet for less than 12 months	38*	34	48†	22
<b>First learned the Internet due to ...</b>				
School or work	37	36	38 <sup>E</sup>	33
Personal interest	60	62	57	66
<b>Last month, used the Internet every day/several times a week ...</b>				
At home <sup>2</sup>	67	72	53 <sup>E</sup> †	72
At work <sup>3</sup>	38	41	F	45
<b>Used the Internet less than one hour or not at all last week at ...</b>				
Home <sup>2</sup>	17 <sup>E</sup>	17 <sup>E</sup>	F	16
Work <sup>3</sup>	26 <sup>E</sup>	F	F	23
<b>Average weekly hours spent on the Internet at ...</b>				
Home <sup>2</sup>	7.3	8.2	4.4 <sup>E</sup>	7.4
Work <sup>3</sup>	5.7 <sup>E</sup>	6.0 <sup>E</sup>	F	6.5

\* Statistically significantly difference from non-Aboriginal Internet users at 95% or more.

† Statistically significantly difference from urban Aboriginal Internet users at 90% or more.

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

<sup>F</sup> Too unreliable to be published.

1. Respondents who have used a computer.

2. Users with a home connection.

3. Employed persons with access to a computer at work.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2000.

divide is people's ability to use the Internet effectively and in a fashion that best meets their particular needs. One-third (34%) of urban Aboriginal Internet users rated their computer skills as "excellent," while barely one-fifth (21%) of rural users were confident enough to describe their skills that way.

The difference in self-rating is a concern because a 2002 U.S. study found that the more time people spend online, the more proficient they are at navigating the Internet. The author noted that "if users often

give up in frustration and confusion" then a digital divide still exists, regardless of their access to a connection.<sup>7</sup> However, it also showed that people who devoted at least one hour a week to navigating the Internet were able to do the tasks assigned in the study, though more experienced surfers needed less time to complete them. In light of this finding, it is important to note that the great majority (81%) of Aboriginal users with online access at home had been connected for a minimum of

one hour in the week preceding the survey, whether they lived in rural or urban areas. And although rural users still spent only about half as much time as their urban counterparts on the Internet at home (4.4 hours versus 8.2 hours), the result suggests that Aboriginal users were gaining solid Internet experience regardless of their place of residence.<sup>8</sup>

### **Is there a digital divide between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Internet users?**

The 2000 GSS on technology use shows that half of Canadians of Aboriginal ancestry had used the Internet in the preceding year, a rate just the same as that of the non-Aboriginal population. Furthermore, Aboriginal Internet users recorded these rates even though they generally had less access at home and at work, the two most common points of access for users. In 2000, only 56% of Aboriginal Internet users had a home connection, compared with 81% of non-Aboriginal users. And at the workplace, where working with a computer was key to having Internet access, only 55% of Aboriginal versus 68% of non-Aboriginal workers used a computer in their main job.

Nevertheless, Aboriginal Internet users who were connected at home recorded a rate of regular home use the same as that of non-Aboriginal users, (at 67% and 72% the difference is not statistically significant). Furthermore, these regular users averaged virtually identical amounts of time on the Internet at home, whether they were Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal users (7.3 and 7.4 hours a week, respectively). Similarly, among people with workplace access, Aboriginal users were just as likely to have been on the Internet regularly, although they spent somewhat less time online (5.7 hours versus 6.5 hours), which may reflect the types of industries and occupations in which they were employed.



## **Connecting rural communities to the Internet**

In its final report, the federal government's National Broadband Task Force identified broadband access as key to strengthening the economies, improving the health care and making available new learning opportunities to rural, remote and northern communities. It argued that being connected via the Internet would help to close the "systemic gap between the quality of life" of urban compared with rural Canadians, and of Aboriginal compared with non-Aboriginal Canadians.

The federal, provincial and territorial governments have all been active in launching initiatives to provide broadband networks and services to rural and isolated communities.

The March 2004 report of the National Selection Committee of the Broadband for Rural and Northern Development Pilot Program (established by Industry Canada in September 2002) estimates that by the target date of 2005, investments by government and the private sector will have brought broadband to approximately 1,550 rural and northern communities, leaving about 1,700 communities still waiting for access. Without these initiatives, the Committee estimates that over 3,250 communities, accounting for 3 million people, would have been without broadband.

For more information, see *Stronger Communities for a Stronger Canada: The Promise of Broadband: Report of the National Selection Committee, Broadband for Rural and Northern Development Pilot Program*. March 2004. [www.broadband.gc.ca/pub/media/nsc/report/index.html](http://www.broadband.gc.ca/pub/media/nsc/report/index.html) (accessed May10, 2004).

Despite the similarities between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Internet users in terms of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics and patterns of use, data from the GSS do suggest that Aboriginal people have historically had less access to the Internet. First, Aboriginal users were much more likely to be recent learners, with 38% (but only 22% of non-Aboriginal users) having used the Internet for one year or less at the time of the survey. This may in turn be linked to the fact that they were much more likely to be living in a rural area, at 29% compared with 17% of non-Aboriginal users, with the Internet-related disadvantages that that implies.

### **Summary**

About half of adults of Aboriginal ancestry used the Internet in 2000, about the same proportion as non-Aboriginal Canadians. Generally speaking, Internet users share the same type of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, whether they are of Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal origin: they have high levels of education, live in higher income households, are employed in the workforce and tend to live in urban areas. In contrast, non-users tend to be older, less well-educated, less well-off and residents of rural or northern regions of the country. As such, off-reserve users with Aboriginal ancestry have more in common socio-demographically with other Internet users than with Aboriginal non-users.



However, at the time the surveys were conducted, a gap existed among Aboriginal users themselves, separating more experienced urban users from their rural counterparts. Social researchers have long suggested that there is a second digital divide, and that access to a connection is not qualitatively the same as effective use of the Internet.

**GST**

**Susan Crompton** is Editor-in-Chief of *Canadian Social Trends*.

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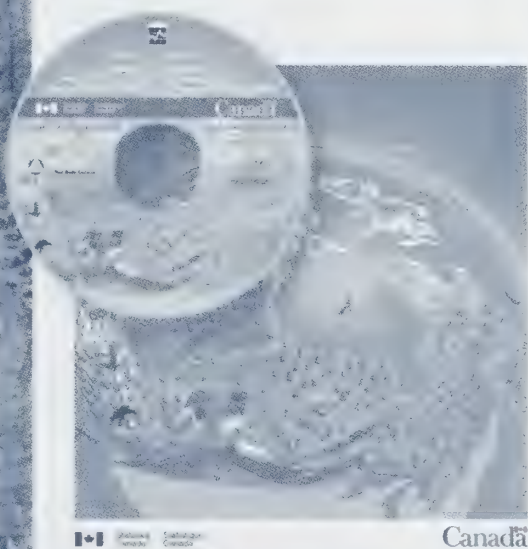
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# Perceptions of Canadians: A sense of belonging, confidence and trust



by Grant Schellenberg

This article is an adaptation of 2003 *General Social Survey on Social Engagement, Cycle 17: An Overview of Findings* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-598), which is available free of charge from the Statistics Canada Web site: [www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-598-XIE/free.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-598-XIE/free.htm).

Over a lifetime, Canadians engage in many types of civic and social activities. They donate their time and money to charity, become members of organizations, vote in elections and engage in other political activities; they attend religious services; and they establish social networks with friends, neighbours, co-workers and acquaintances.

These activities play an essential role in the health and vitality of Canada. For example, according to the 2000 National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating, Canadians gave more than \$5 billion in financial support to charitable and non-profit institutions in 2000, and over one-quarter of all adults had done some volunteer work over the previous year.<sup>1</sup>

Civic and social engagement has certainly been pushed to centre-stage by widespread interest in 'social capital.' Although there is ongoing debate about how to define and measure social capital, a common theme is that "...how we associate with each other, and on what terms, has enormous implications for our well-being".<sup>2</sup> Robert Putnam, a leading figure in this field,<sup>3</sup> draws on American data to argue that various forms of social engagement

**GST** What you should know about this study

The 2003 General Social Survey (GSS) on Social Engagement surveyed about 25,000 Canadians aged 15 and older living in private households in the 10 provinces. It was developed to explore the measurement of social capital and develop a better understanding of how social networks and norms of trust and reciprocity contribute positively to individual and social outcomes. It was designed to collect information on a wide range of activities, such as social contacts with family, friends and neighbours; involvement in organizations, political activities and volunteer work; and the informal care they provide or receive. It also explores the values and attitudes and the level of trust in people and in public institutions. Overall, the survey provides comprehensive information on the many ways that Canadians engage in civic and social life.

Three aspects of social capital are explored in this article: *sense of belonging, confidence in institutions and trust.*

have declined markedly since the 1970s. He further claims that this is not without consequence as there are strong correlations between social capital and various indicators of well-being, such as child welfare, educational performance, violent crime, health and tax evasion.

This article provides a broad snapshot of the outlooks and activities of Canadians in 2003 in three areas: a sense of belonging to Canada, to their province, and to

their community; confidence in public institutions such as the health care system and the federal parliament; and trust in others. Having a strong sense of belonging is an outcome of strong social networks, which in turn broadens feelings of solidarity.<sup>4</sup> Confidence in public institutions is thought to be essential for a healthy democracy. Trust in others is vital for effective co-operation, communication and positive relationships.



## Over 8 in 10 Canadians feel a strong sense of belonging to Canada

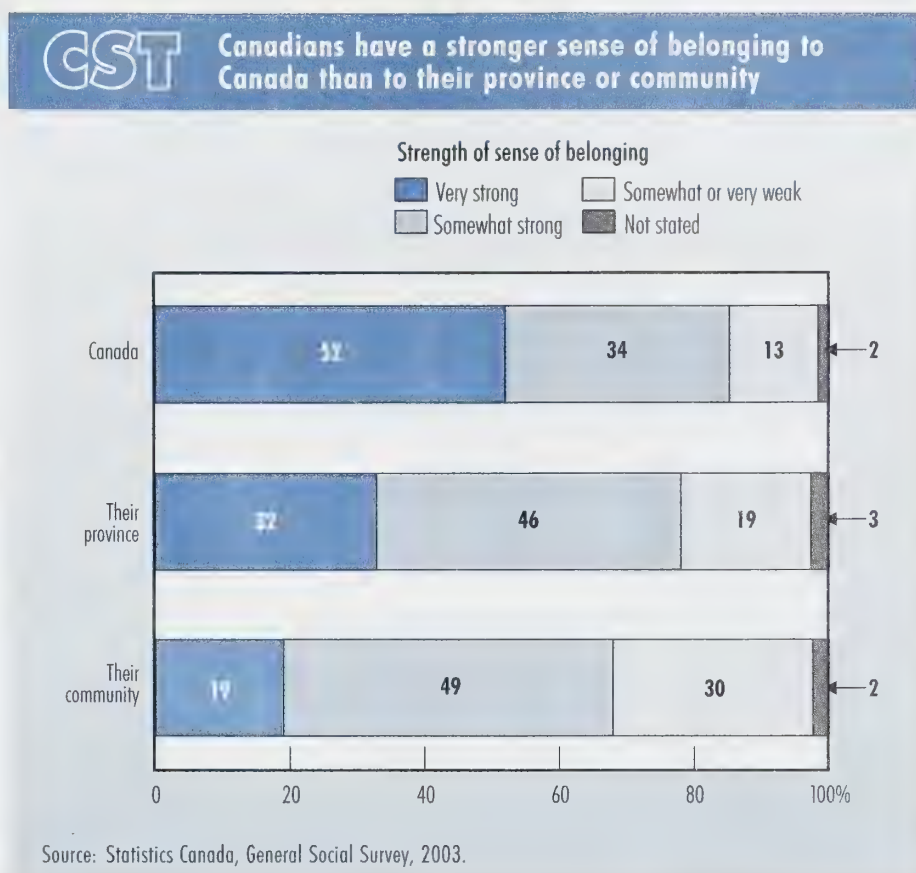
Social networks can create a sense of belonging as interaction between people builds community and a sense of connectedness. Interaction builds trust between strangers, which may lead to shared values and expectations, thereby broadening the individual's identity and feelings of solidarity with others.<sup>5</sup> Thus, feelings of belonging may be an indicator of our connectedness to each other.

Overall, 85% of Canadians described their sense of belonging to Canada as somewhat or very strong whereas 13% professed somewhat or very weak feelings of belonging. The majority of Canadians also felt a somewhat or very strong sense of belonging to their province and their local community, although such views were less prevalent than belonging to Canada.

The vast majority of individuals in all age groups felt a somewhat or very strong sense of belonging to Canada. However, 'very strong' feelings of belonging were more prevalent among seniors than among people under age 30. This difference may indicate that young people have always been less likely than older individuals to feel a strong sense of belonging to Canada. Alternatively, it may mean that today's young people are less likely than young people of previous generations to feel a sense of belonging and will continue to feel a weak sense of belonging as they get older. It is not possible to determine which of these interpretations is correct with data from a single point in time.

Outside Quebec, provincial differences in somewhat or very strong feelings of belonging to Canada were quite modest, ranging from 87% in British Columbia to 95% in Prince Edward Island. In Quebec, however, 74% described their sense of belonging to Canada as somewhat or very strong.

Within Quebec, feelings of belonging to Canada differed along



linguistic lines, with individuals who spoke French in the home less likely to describe their sense of belonging to Canada as very strong (29%) than those who spoke English in the home (66%). Nonetheless, the majority of Quebec residents who spoke French in the home described their sense of belonging to Canada in positive terms (70% somewhat or very strong). Outside Quebec, feelings of belonging to Canada did not vary much between individuals who spoke French or English in the home.

Immigration is a central feature of Canada's demographic landscape, and in 2001, immigrants represented 18% of the population of Canada — higher than it has been in 70 years. The vast majority described their sense of belonging to Canada as somewhat or very strong. This was the case for 84% of immigrants who arrived in Canada since 1990. However, these immigrants were somewhat less likely than earlier arrivals to feel this way, possibly

because their shorter tenure in Canada had provided them with less opportunity to cultivate a strong sense of attachment.<sup>6</sup> Strong feelings of national belonging were prevalent among immigrants who arrived in Canada before 1980 (91%), reflecting the fact that most were aged 50 or older in 2003.

### Newfoundlanders feel strongest sense of belonging to their province

The majority of Canadians (78%) described their sense of belonging to their province as somewhat or very strong. These feelings were most prevalent among older age groups.

Very strong feelings of provincial belonging were most prevalent in Newfoundland (53%) and Prince Edward Island (46%) and least prevalent in Ontario and British Columbia (29%). Nonetheless, the majority of people in all 10 provinces felt a somewhat or very strong sense of provincial belonging. Overall,

	% who have a somewhat or very strong sense of belonging to...				% who have a somewhat or very strong sense of belonging to...		
	Canada	Their province	Their community		Canada	Their province	Their community
<b>Total</b>	85	78	68	<b>Rest of Canada</b>			
Men	85	78	67	French	91	80	74
Women	86	78	69	English	89	77	68
<b>Age group</b>				Other	86	76	66
Under 30	80	72	64	<b>Educational attainment of persons aged 25 to 54</b>			
30-49	85	76	67	Less than high school completion	82	78	69
50-64	87	82	71	High school diploma or some postsecondary	86	77	66
65 and older	92	86	74	College diploma	86	78	67
<b>Immigration status</b>				University degree	86	73	64
Canadian-born	85	79	68	<b>Household income of persons aged 25 to 54</b>			
Immigrated before 1980	91	78	68	Less than \$20,000	85	71	59
Immigrated 1980-1989	88	72	64	\$20,000-\$39,999	84	77	65
Immigration 1990-2003	84	72	65	\$40,000-\$59,999	83	78	65
<b>Province of residence</b>				\$60,000-\$79,999	85	79	69
Newfoundland and Labrador	89	90	82	\$80,000 or more	88	76	67
Prince Edward Island	95	89	78	<b>Size of community</b>			
Nova Scotia	93	85	75	Rural and small town areas	85	82	76
New Brunswick	92	82	76	Census agglomerations with less than 50,000 people	87	82	74
Quebec	74	82	69	Census agglomerations with 50,000 or more people	87	79	71
Ontario	89	75	66	Census metropolitan areas with less than 1 million people	87	77	66
Manitoba	91	78	68	Census metropolitan areas with 1 million people or more	83	75	63
Saskatchewan	89	78	73	<b>Number of institutions respondents have confidence in</b>			
Alberta	88	78	63	3 or fewer	79	67	57
British Columbia	87	75	68	4 or 5	85	75	64
<b>Province of residence and language used at home</b>				6 or 7	87	81	71
Quebec				8 or 9	89	87	77
French	70	84	69				
English	95	70	67				
Other	91	75	66				

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2003.

French-speaking Quebec residents reported similar feelings to those of residents of other provinces; however, English-speaking Quebec residents were less likely than their French-speaking counterparts to have strong feelings of belonging to their province.

Feelings of belonging to a province were also associated with whether or not an individual had been born there. Specifically, 34% of Canadians

residing in their province of birth said they had a very strong sense of provincial belonging, while this was the case for 26% of those who were not born in their current province of residence.

### **Sense of belonging to one's community increases with years spent there**

The majority of Canadians assessed their sense of belonging to their local

community in positive terms, with 68% describing this as somewhat or very strong. Again, older people reported stronger feelings of belonging to their community than did young people.

Feelings of community belonging were more prevalent among individuals who had lived in their area for longer periods. For example, individuals who had lived in their community for five years or more



were about twice as likely to feel a 'very strong' sense of belonging as those who had been there for less than three years.

Finally, when individuals who had resided in their area for five years or more were considered, those in rural areas and smaller towns<sup>7</sup> were more likely than those in large cities to describe their sense of community belonging as somewhat or very strong.

### Confidence in institutions

Public institutions, such as the health care system, the education system and the federal parliament, play an important role in shaping the lives of Canadians. Institutions often are considered the basic pillars of society, so if people begin to lose confidence in them, there may be cause for concern. Observers argue that in a global and increasingly impersonal modern world, confidence in institutions has become even more important.<sup>8</sup>

General Social Survey (GSS) respondents were asked about the level of confidence they have in various institutions.<sup>9</sup> Canadians provided their most favourable assessments of the police, with 82% of respondents saying they have a great deal or quite a lot of confidence in the police. Local business people and merchants also ranked high, with 80% of Canadians feeling confident in this group.

About two-thirds of Canadians said they have a great deal or quite a lot of confidence in the health care system and the school system, while smaller proportions said they have confidence in the justice system (57%). The welfare system and the federal parliament were at the bottom of the list of public institutions in which Canadians said they have confidence, although significant proportions of respondents were unable to answer or declined to answer these questions.

There were considerable interprovincial variations in the extent to which individuals have confidence in

**GST**

**People are most likely to have confidence in the police and local business people**



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2003.

public institutions. People in Quebec were consistently more likely than those in other provinces to have high levels of confidence in public institutions. Confidence in the federal parliament and the justice system was less prevalent in the Western provinces than elsewhere.

Individuals residing in households with higher incomes were somewhat more likely than others to say they had a great deal or quite a lot of confidence in the police and the justice system and somewhat less likely to say they felt that way with the welfare system than people with lower household income.

There was a relationship between the number of types of institutions individuals felt confidence in and the likelihood of having a strong sense of belonging towards Canada, their province and their local community. For example, 87% of individuals who felt confidence in eight or nine institutions had a strong sense of belonging to their province, while

67% of those who had confidence in three or fewer institutions felt that way.<sup>10</sup>

### Just over one-half of Canadians trust others

In recent years, there has been considerable interest in the meaning and measurement of trust within countries. Economists, for example, have tried to determine if economic growth is associated with the level of trust that people have in one another. Trust is fundamental to the functioning of our interdependent society. People count on other drivers to share the roadways and obey traffic laws, they trust those who hold and invest their money, they rely on the teenager down the street to baby-sit their children and they depend on their Internet service provider to deliver e-mail to the correct people. These are just a few examples of how people trust others in their everyday lives. When trust dwindles, people are less likely to



**Selected public institutions**

	Police	Health care system	Education system	Welfare system	Federal Parliament	Justice system
% of 25- to 54-year-olds who have a great deal or quite a lot of confidence						
<b>Household income</b>						
Total	83	65	68	39	41	58
Less than \$20,000	79	65	66	46	45	54
\$20,000 to \$39,999	83	65	70	44	41	58
\$40,000 to \$59,999	87	67	72	42	44	61
\$60,000 to \$79,999	88	68	72	40	42	59
\$80,000 or more	89	70	70	39	43	64

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2003.

**Measures of trust in individuals**

Wallet or purse would be returned<sup>1</sup> with its contents if found

	People can be trusted	by someone living nearby	by a stranger
% of population aged 15 and older			
<b>Total</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>37</b>
Men	54	79	36
Women	51	78	37
<b>Age group</b>			
Under 30	50	75	31
30 to 49	54	81	40
50 to 64	57	82	40
65 and older	49	74	32
<b>Province of residence</b>			
Newfoundland and Labrador	62	91	49
Prince Edward Island	67	93	58
Nova Scotia	60	88	49
New Brunswick	54	89	46
Quebec	34	77	23
Ontario	56	78	39
Manitoba	60	80	38
Saskatchewan	65	83	45
Alberta	60	78	42
British Columbia	62	77	41
<b>Educational attainment</b>			
Less than high school	41	74	26
High school	53	79	36
College certificate or diploma	55	82	40
University degree	67	85	47

**Measures of trust in individuals**

Wallet or purse would be returned<sup>1</sup> with its contents if found

	People can be trusted	by someone living nearby	by a stranger
% of population aged 15 and older			
<b>Household income</b>			
Less than \$20,000	43	70	32
\$20,000 to \$39,999	48	79	35
\$40,000 to \$59,999	53	83	37
\$60,000 to \$79,999	59	85	40
\$80,000 or more	66	89	47
<b>Immigration status</b>			
Canadian-born	53	81	37
Immigrated before 1980	57	76	36
Immigrated 1980-89	46	68	32
Immigrated 1990-2003	52	69	33
<b>Size of community</b>			
Rural and small town areas	54	88	40
Census agglomerations with less than 50,000 people	50	81	38
Census agglomerations with 50,000 or more people	57	81	39
Census metropolitan areas with less than 1 million people	56	79	39
Census metropolitan areas with 1 million people or more	49	73	32

1. Very or somewhat likely.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2003.

take risks, they demand more protection against possible inappropriate deeds of others and they may make provisions for the possibility of something going wrong.<sup>11</sup>

One way the GSS tries to discern whether people trust others is by asking them if they would say that most people can be trusted or if they feel that they cannot be too careful in dealing with people. Overall, 53% of Canadians said that people could be trusted while 43% said that one could not be too careful in dealing with people.<sup>12</sup> Women and men had comparable views in this respect, as did individuals in different age groups.

People with higher levels of educational attainment and those residing in households with higher incomes were more likely than others to say that people could be trusted. There were no clear differences across immigration status groups.

Provincially, a relatively small share of Quebec residents (35%) said that people could be trusted, compared with over 60% of the people in Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and the western provinces. Compared with people in other provinces, those in Quebec were less likely to trust other people but were more likely to have confidence in institutions.

To further gauge the level of trust people had in others, the GSS asked two hypothetical questions on whether the respondent would expect to have a lost wallet or purse containing \$200 returned if it was found by a complete stranger or by someone living close by. Most people (55%) said that the return of their wallet or purse by a complete stranger would be not at all likely, while 37% said it would be somewhat or very likely.<sup>13</sup> People were more optimistic about having their wallet or purse returned by someone living near them. In this case, only 15% of respondents said that its return was not at all likely, while 79% said it was likely.<sup>14</sup>

Atlantic province residents were most trusting when measured in this way, with at least 46% saying it would be somewhat or very likely that their wallet or purse would be returned if found by a stranger, and 88% believing it would be returned if found by someone living nearby. People in Canada's largest urban centres were less likely than those in smaller centres to expect their wallet or purse to be returned.

### Summary

There is great interest in the social and civic activities in which Canadians are engaged. This is driven by the implications that social engagements and social networks may have for outcomes in areas such as public health, economic growth, innovation, educational achievement and community development.<sup>15</sup> Although the examination of these linkages is beyond the scope of this article, the GSS did find that there was a link between strong feelings of belonging, trust in others, confidence in public institutions and higher levels of happiness and life satisfaction.



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1. Hall, M., L. McKeown and K. Roberts. 2001. *Caring Canadians, Involved Canadians: Highlights from the 2000 National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 71-542-XPE).
2. Woolcock, M. Spring 2001. "The place of social capital in understanding social and economic outcomes." *Isuma* 2, 1: 11-17.
3. Putnam, R. Spring 2001. "Social capital: Measurement and consequences." *Isuma* 2, 1: 41-51.
4. Putnam, R. 1995. "Bowling alone: America's declining social capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6, 1: 65-78.

5. Ibid.; Beem, C. 1999. *The Necessity of Politics: Reclaiming American Public Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
6. The smaller share of recent immigrants who described their sense of belong to Canada as 'very strong' was not attributable to the younger age profile among this group compared with Canadian-born persons.
7. Rural and small town areas are areas outside the commuting zone of census metropolitan areas (CMAs) and census agglomerations (CAs). CMAs and CAs are large urban areas (known as urban cores) together with adjacent urban and rural areas that have a high degree of social and economic integration with the urban cores. A CMA has an urban core population of at least 100,000 and a CA has an urban core population of between 10,000 and 100,000, based on the previous census.
8. Newton, K. and P. Norris. 1999. *Confidence in public institutions: Faith, culture or performance?* Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3, Atlanta. <http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~pnorris.shorenstein.ksq/acrobat/newton.pdf> (accessed July 7, 2004).
9. Specifically, they were asked whether they have a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence, or no confidence at all. Respondents answered based on their own understanding of the term 'confidence'.
10. Respondents who had been unable or unwilling to answer five or more of the nine questions pertaining to confidence in institutions were excluded from these calculations.
11. Tschannen-Moran, M. and W.K. Hoy. Winter 2000. "A multidisciplinary analysis of the nature, meaning and measurement of trust." *Review of Education Research* 70, 4: 547-593.
12. Just under 5% of respondents were either unable or unwilling to answer the question.
13. The remaining 9% of respondents were either unable or unwilling to answer the question.
14. Seven percent of respondents were unable or unwilling to answer the question.
15. Woolcock. 2001.



# Well-being of off-reserve Aboriginal children

by Martin Turcotte and John Zhao

This article is adapted from *A Portrait of Aboriginal Children Living in Non-reserve Areas: Results from the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-597). It is available free of charge from the Statistics Canada Web site: [www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-597-XIE/free.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-597-XIE/free.htm). Please note: the term "non-reserve" used in the original report was changed to "off-reserve" in this article.

According to the 2001 Census, there were about 227,000 off-reserve Aboriginal children aged 14 and under. These children accounted for 70% of all Aboriginal children aged 14 and under living in Canada. Off-reserve Aboriginal children represented 32% of the off-reserve Aboriginal population, far higher than children's share of the non-Aboriginal population (18%).

This article describes the well-being of off-reserve Aboriginal children aged 14 and under at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Key factors involved in human well-being include the physical, mental, intellectual, spiritual and emotional aspects of life, as well as the land. Well-being stems from a balance and harmony between these interrelated factors. This article uses data from the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) to focus on off-reserve Aboriginal children in regards to three areas — health and well-being, education<sup>1</sup> and learning and use of Aboriginal languages.

## Parent-rated health of their children

Many Aboriginal peoples have a holistic concept of well-being in which mental, spiritual and emotional aspects of well-being are just as important as physical health. Health

and epidemiology researchers also acknowledge that it is inappropriate to assume someone is in good health merely because of the absence of illness or physical problems. A "positive" assessment of general health and overall well-being is of much greater value.

Parents rated the health of off-reserve Aboriginal children as slightly lower than that of all Canadian children. For children aged five and under, 90% of all Canadian children had very good or excellent health, compared with 83% of off-reserve Aboriginal children.<sup>2</sup> The difference

## CST What you should know about this study

Following the 2001 Census, Statistics Canada, in collaboration with national Aboriginal organizations, conducted the Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS). This report examines data from the component of the survey that covers children aged 14 and under who were identified as Aboriginal by a parent<sup>1</sup> and who lived off-reserve.

The Aboriginal population is defined based on "identity": 1) being North American Indian, Métis and/or Inuit, and/or 2) having registered Indian status as defined by the *Indian Act*, and/or 3) having Band or First Nations membership. This article focuses on off-reserve Aboriginal children across Canada. Unlike the 2001 Census, however, for the Northwest Territories, both on- and off-reserve children are included in this study. Aboriginal children living in a few other communities in Quebec, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and the Yukon Territory treated as reserve communities in the 2001 Census are also included in the group of off-reserve Aboriginal children in this article.

1. In the Aboriginal Peoples Survey on children, the respondent is the person most knowledgeable about the child. In the majority of cases, this person is a parent of the child (93%), but may also be a grandparent (4%) or other relative. In this article "parent" means the person most knowledgeable about the child unless otherwise specified.



in health status was smaller for older children aged 6 to 14, where 86% of all children and 82% of off-reserve Aboriginal children had very good or excellent health.

Numerous studies have found a link between parental socio-economic background and children's health.<sup>3</sup> According to the APS, parental education plays a crucial role in the health of off-reserve Aboriginal children. Barely three-quarters (73%) of Aboriginal children whose parent had completed elementary school or less had very good or excellent health, compared with 89% of those whose parent had completed university studies.

### Accidental injuries

One of the most frequent causes of health problems, hospitalization and even mortality among young children is injuries sustained in situations such as falls and car or bicycle accidents. According to the APS, about 13% of off-reserve Aboriginal children had been accidentally injured in the previous year, slightly higher than 11% for all children.<sup>4</sup>

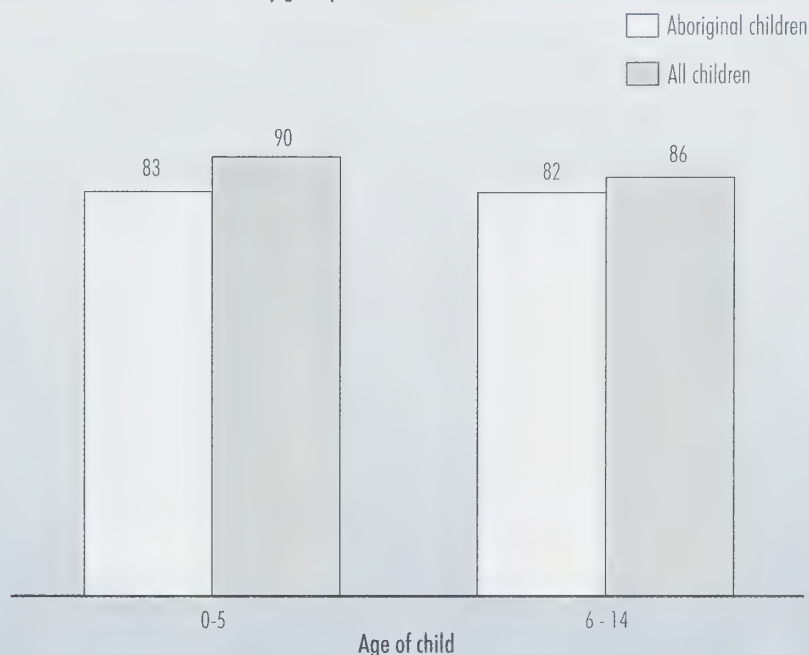
Like the general population, Aboriginal boys (15%) were more likely to be injured than girls (11%). Inuit children were least likely to be injured (9%) compared with 12% of off-reserve North American Indian and 15% of Métis children. This may reflect, in part, the definition of injuries used in the 2001 APS. Respondents were instructed to report only injuries serious enough to require medical attention.<sup>5</sup> However, residents of the North are less likely to have access to medical attention. Because Inuit live predominantly in the North, the injury rates of Inuit children may have been underestimated.

### Eating breakfast

Eating breakfast has many benefits for children, including providing energy for the morning's activities, helping them to get ready to learn, maintaining a healthy body weight

## GST The gap in parent-rated health between off-reserve Aboriginal children and all children is smaller for older children

% of children with excellent or very good parent-rated health



Source: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 2001.

and helping kids to feel good. About 80% of off-reserve Aboriginal children aged 6 to 14 ate breakfast every day whether at home, school or at a caregiver's.

As Aboriginal children grow older, they are less likely to eat breakfast every day. About 86% of 6-year-old Aboriginal boys and 91% of girls ate breakfast every day, compared with 64% of 14-year-old Aboriginal boys and 55% of girls. Generally speaking, though, the difference between Aboriginal boys and girls was not significant.

### Breast-feeding

Breast-feeding is considered by public health authorities to be the most nutritious choice for newborns. According to the 2001 APS, 67% of off-reserve Aboriginal children were breast-fed by their mothers when they were young. Breast-feeding has increased as 72% of Aboriginal children aged five and under were

breast-fed when they were young, compared with 63% of Aboriginal children aged 6 to 14. Off-reserve Aboriginal children aged three and under were less likely to have been breast-fed when young than Canadian children in general (73% versus 82%).

There is a strong relationship between a parent's education and incidence of breast-feeding of children. The incidence of breast-feeding among off-reserve Aboriginal children increases with parental education, except among Inuit children, where parental education was not related to the incidence of breast-feeding.

### Birth weight

Low birth weight has a crucial impact on a child's likelihood of survival at birth and during the first year of life. Birth weight may also be a factor in a child's future health and life. For example, children who are born at

term but with low birth weights are more likely to develop diabetes, high blood pressure and heart disease during adulthood.<sup>6</sup> Low birth weight may have a negative impact on the development of cognitive abilities in childhood and into adulthood.<sup>7</sup> According to the APS, 8% of off-reserve Aboriginal children had low birth weights, compared with 6% of all Canadian children.<sup>8</sup>

### **Learning is multi-dimensional for Aboriginal children**

In Aboriginal societies, the family, Elders and the community play key roles in children's learning and education. In this context, the socialization of children includes not only the development of cognitive capacities, but also the learning of ways to behave in society. Ultimately, the child needs to develop fully "intellectually, spiritually, emotionally and physically" to become an "Aboriginal citizen" capable of assuming community and societal responsibilities.<sup>9</sup>

The APS includes information on extra-curricular activities, including time spent with Elders, helping out in school and communities, participation in art or music, or group activities such as dance, drum and youth groups. It also includes information on Aboriginal language abilities and preschool programs, especially those designed specifically for Aboriginal children. However, there is still much about learning outside school that is not captured by the APS, as its measures of education outcomes are confined to school outcomes such as repeating a grade, rather than to a wider spectrum including spiritual and emotional development.

The importance of a sound formal education is increasing. The advent of the knowledge-based economy has made jobs requiring less than a high school diploma increasingly scarce. Educational attainment among the Aboriginal population in

Canada has increased. Between 1996 and 2001, the percentage of the off-reserve Aboriginal population aged 20 to 24 who had at least completed high school increased from 48% to 52%. Yet, in 2001, a large gap remained between that group and the general Canadian population aged 20 to 24, as 74% of the latter had at least completed high school.

### **Preschool programs specifically designed for Aboriginal children are on the rise but still uncommon**

Many authors have traced the path toward dropping out of school to a child's first years at school.<sup>10</sup> Attendance at a quality early childhood development or preschool program often facilitates a child's cognitive and social development, especially among children from economically disadvantaged families.

According to the 2001 APS, just over half (53%) of off-reserve Aboriginal children aged 6 to 14 had attended an early childhood development program when they were younger. Younger off-reserve Aboriginal children were more likely to have attended preschool programs that were specifically designed for them. For example, 16% of six-year-old off-reserve Aboriginal children had attended preschool programs specifically designed for Aboriginal children compared with only 4% of 14-year-olds. In contrast, younger off-reserve Aboriginal children were just as likely as older off-reserve Aboriginal children to have attended other preschool programs not specifically designed for the Aboriginal children.

### **Doing well at school is affected by many factors**

In general, researchers have found that reading, or being read to (apart from as required by school), can have a positive impact on a child's education outcomes and reading skills.<sup>11</sup> Off-reserve Aboriginal children who

read or were read to more often were less likely to repeat a grade. About 26% of those children who didn't read or were never read to repeated a grade, twice the proportion of those who read or were read to just a few times a week.

Girls read or were read to more frequently than boys. Among girls aged 6 to 14, about 56% of them read, or were read to, on a daily basis, compared with 43% of boys. Conversely, only 4% of girls never read or were never read to, compared with 9% of boys.

### **Off-reserve Aboriginal children who participate frequently in extra-curricular activities are more likely to do very well at school**

Previous research reveals a positive correlation between participation in extra-curricular activities and self-esteem, social interaction with friends and scholastic achievement.<sup>12</sup> However, although the APS shows a similar correlation for off-reserve Aboriginal children, it is not possible to establish a causal relationship between extra-curricular activities and academic performance.

Among off-reserve Aboriginal children aged 6 to 14, sports were most popular, with 71% of children participating at least once per week. Time spent with Elders (34%), on art and music (31%), in youth, drum and dance groups or clubs (30%) and helping out with community or school activities without pay (21%) were other popular extra-curricular activities.

The survey found significant differences in school performance<sup>13</sup> between those who frequently engaged in extra-curricular activities, and those who rarely or never did so. Children who helped in the community or school without pay four or more times a week were most likely to do very well at school (64%). In contrast, only 38% did very well among those who rarely or never helped.



## Most Aboriginal children get along with classmates and teachers

In general, children who have problems interacting with their classmates and their teachers are more likely than others to drop out of school and/or experience difficulties because they may be less motivated to attend school or may suffer a loss of self-confidence.<sup>14</sup>

The vast majority of Aboriginal children maintained harmonious relationships at school. Nearly all off-reserve Aboriginal children aged 6 to 14 (97%) got along fairly well, well or very well with other children. Frequent or constant problems with teachers were rare, although older children and boys were more likely to have such problems.

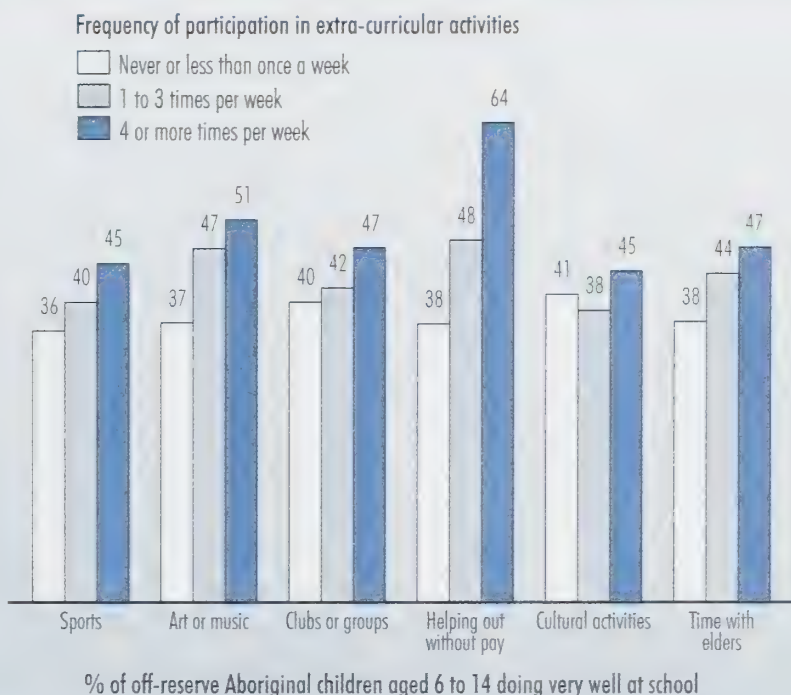
## Off-reserve Aboriginal children with a highly educated parent were less likely to repeat a grade

Researchers have found a link between high parental education and high eventual educational attainment of their children.<sup>15</sup> Many factors may explain this link. For example, parents with higher levels of education take a greater interest in their child's academic performance, encourage activities that facilitate academic success and have higher expectations of success at school for their children.

According to the APS, the higher a parent's education, the less likely their child is to ever repeat a grade. Just over one fifth of off-reserve Aboriginal children aged 6 to 14 whose parent had not completed elementary school had repeated a grade, compared with 6% of children whose parent had a bachelor's degree or more. Similarly, about 16% of children in families below the low income cut-off had repeated a grade, compared with 10% of children in families at or above the low income cut-off.

GST

Off-reserve Aboriginal children who frequently participate in extra-curricular activities are more likely to do very well at school



Source: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 2001.

## Most parents of off-reserve Aboriginal children believe it is important for their children to speak and understand an Aboriginal language

Language is often considered as both an instrument and an essential part of culture. In many Aboriginal societies, "the fundamental teachings are preserved in sacred stories, ceremonies and symbols," which are "the symbols of the ideas, concepts, and beliefs of a society which has an oral tradition."<sup>16</sup> In this context, mastery by children of the language of their ancestors greatly assists in the transmission of values, beliefs and communication skills from generation to generation.

Parents of 6 in every 10 off-reserve Aboriginal children (62%) believed it was somewhat or very important for their children to speak and understand an Aboriginal language. Parents of Inuit children (89%) were much more likely than parents of off-

reserve North American Indian (67%) and Métis (50%) children to believe so.

There are marked differences in Aboriginal language skills between Inuit children and off-reserve North American Indian and Métis children. Among Inuit children aged 14 and under, and excluding those too young to speak, 76% could speak or understand an Aboriginal language while 25% of North American Indian children and 12% of Métis children also could. These differences may be explained by the fact that the vast majority of Inuit children live in northern remote communities. Among North American Indian children, Aboriginal languages are more likely to be spoken among those living in First Nations communities. Those living off-reserve frequently live in highly urbanized areas where Aboriginal languages are less common.



Off-reserve Aboriginal children may learn an Aboriginal language from many sources but most often from their parents. About 86% of Inuit children got help from their parents, compared with 64% of North American Indian children and 62% of Métis children.

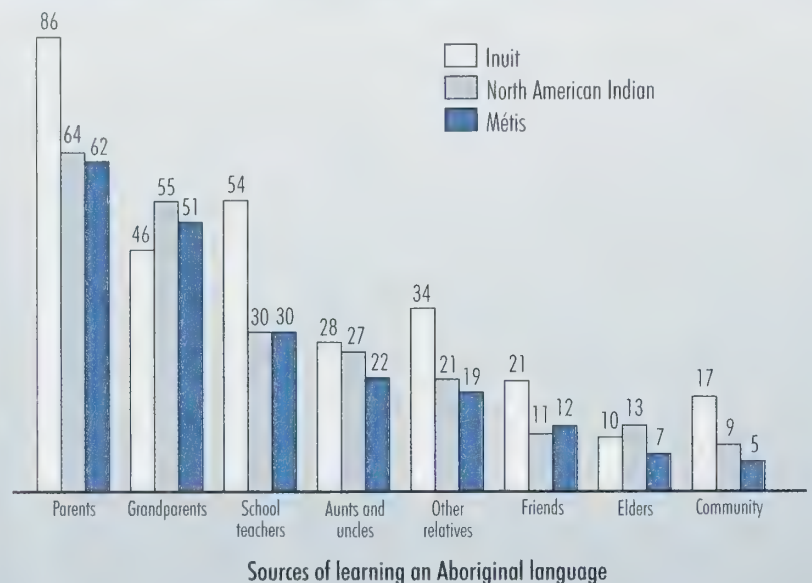
The more sources a child can rely on to learn an Aboriginal language, the more likely they are to speak and understand it well. For example, among off-reserve Aboriginal children who speak or understand an Aboriginal language, only 15% could speak and understand an Aboriginal language very well or relatively well if they had only a single source of assistance to learn. In contrast, among those children who relied on three sources of assistance, 38% were able to speak and understand an Aboriginal language well, while 80% of those who had seven sources of assistance could speak and understand an Aboriginal language well. It is likely that children who can rely on assistance from many sources live in communities where Aboriginal languages are very common.

Parents with higher levels of education are less likely to have children who can speak or understand an Aboriginal language. About 17% of children of a postsecondary-educated parent could speak or understand an Aboriginal language, compared with 44% whose parent had not gone beyond elementary school. This difference was common to all three major Aboriginal groups. To properly determine why such a relationship between parental education and their children's speaking or understanding an Aboriginal language exists, further studies are needed to examine other factors, such as location of postsecondary institutions, location of work, effect of residential schools, marriage between Aboriginal people and other Canadians, and home languages.

**CST**

## Parents are most likely to help their children learn an Aboriginal language

% of off-reserve Aboriginal children learning from...



Note: Includes off-reserve Aboriginal children who speak or understand an Aboriginal language.

Source: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 2001.

### Summary

The off-reserve Aboriginal population is young and growing with proportionally more children than the entire Canadian population. The health and well-being of off-reserve Aboriginal children, their education and learning and the transfer of Aboriginal languages to these children were all explored in this article.

The health and well-being of Aboriginal children will define the future of Aboriginal communities. It is hoped that this article will contribute to new ideas on how the situation of off-reserve Aboriginal children can be further improved.

**CST**

**Martin Turcotte** is an analyst with the Census and Demographic Analysis Branch and **John Zhao** is a senior analyst with the Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

1. The 2001 APS examines school outcomes such as school performance and grade repeating. It does not explore issues such as the development of life skills or spiritual and emotional development, nor does it examine other important learning activities, which may occur in the homes and communities of Aboriginal children.
2. The results for all Canadian children are estimated using the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY), Cycle 4 (2000/2001). Comparisons between Aboriginal and all Canadian children are based on the results from the 2001 APS and the 2000/2001 NLSCY respectively unless otherwise specified.
3. Statistics Canada. 1999. "Health status of children." *Health Reports* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-003-XIE) 11, 3: 27-38.
4. Includes children who experienced injuries requiring the attention of a doctor, nurse, dentist or traditional healer during the 12-month period prior to the survey. Self-inflicted injuries and injuries resulting from assaults and fatal injuries are excluded. Two percent of off-reserve Aboriginal children suffered injuries from self-inflicted wounds, while 2% were assault victims.

5. In the 12 months prior to the survey, parents of 71% of Aboriginal children living in the North had obtained medical attention (including over the phone) from doctors, nurses or traditional healers for their children, compared with parents of 84% of Aboriginal children living in the rest of Canada.
6. Wadsworth, M.E.J. 1997. "Health inequalities in the life course perspective." *Social Science and Medicine* 44, 6: 859-869.
7. Jefferis, B.J.M.H., C. Power and C. Hertzman. August 10, 2002. "Birth weight, childhood socioeconomic environment, and cognitive development in the 1958 British birth cohort study." *British Medical Journal* 325: 305.
8. Low birth weight refers to less than 2,500 grams.
9. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. 1996. *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: Gathering Strength* vol. 3. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada. p. 434.
10. Cairns, R.B., B.D. Cairns and H.J. Neckerman. 1989. "Early school dropout: configurations and determinants." *Child Development* 60: 1437-1452; Astone, N.M. and S.S. McLanahan. 1991. "Family structure, parental practices and high school completion." *American Sociological Review* 56: 309-320.
11. Sénéchal, M. and J.-A. LeFevre. 2002. "Parental involvement in the development of children's reading skill: A five-year longitudinal study." *Child Development* 73: 445-460; Cooks, C. and J.D. Willms. 2002. "Balancing work and family life." In J.D. Willms (ed.), *Vulnerable Children*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Human Resources Development Canada: 183-197.
12. Statistics Canada. *The Daily*. May 30, 2001. "National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth: Participation in activities, 1998/99."
13. Parents rated how well their child did in school, based on their knowledge of the child's school work, including report cards.
14. Cairns, Cairns and Neckerman. 1989.
15. De Broucker, P. and L. Lavallée. 1998. "Intergenerational aspects of education and literacy skills acquisition." In M. Corak (ed.), *Labour Markets, Social Institutions, and the Future of Canada's Children* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-553-XIB): 129-144.
16. Svenson, K.A. and C. Lafontaine. 1999. "The search for wellness." *First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey – National Report 1999*. Ottawa: First Nations and Inuit Health Survey National Steering Committee. p. 190.

# Provincial variation in reading scores of 15-year-olds

by J. Douglas Willms

This article has been adapted from "Variation in literacy skills among Canadian provinces: Findings from the OECD PISA," *Education, Skills and Learning Research Papers*, no. 12 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 81-595-MIE2004012). It is available for free online at: [www.statcan.ca:8096/bsolc/english/bsolc?catno=81-595-M2004012](http://www.statcan.ca:8096/bsolc/english/bsolc?catno=81-595-M2004012).

T

oday, more than ever before, literacy skills are essential for participation in the labour market, and are a precursor to an individual's long-term health and well-being. The demand for these skills has been steadily increasing, and is likely to continue to do so over the next decade. Earlier research has also shown that young people with strong literacy skills are more likely to enter postsecondary education and have better employment opportunities and higher wages when they enter the labour market.<sup>1</sup>

This article uses data from the 2000 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) to examine the variation between Canada's provinces in the literacy skills of 15-year-old students; it also looks at family background and school factors as potential explanations for these differences.

## CST What you should know about this study

The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is a collaborative effort among member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) to regularly assess the achievement of 15-year-olds in three domains—reading literacy, mathematical literacy and scientific literacy—through a common international test. Thirty-two countries participated in PISA 2000. In Canada, approximately 30,000 15-year-old students from more than 1,000 schools took part, a large sample to enable reliable national and provincial estimates. The PISA 2000 survey included a direct assessment of students' skills through reading, mathematics and science tests, as well as questionnaires collecting background information from students and school principals.

In PISA, reading literacy is defined as the ability to understand, use and reflect on written texts in order to achieve one's goals, to develop one's knowledge and potential, and to participate effectively in society. PISA 2000 used about 140 items representing the kinds of reading literacy tasks that 15-year-olds may require in the future. The reading score assigned to students was designed to average 500 across all OECD countries, with about two-thirds of students in OECD countries scoring between 400 and 600 points. In Canada, the average reading score was 534 and about two-thirds of students scored between 439 and 629.

Students' reading score was related to their socioeconomic status. The PISA index of socioeconomic status (SES) included several measures describing economic, social and cultural aspects of students' families. It was measured using a statistical composite of parental education, parental occupational status, educational resources in the home, family wealth (based on household possessions) and classical cultural possessions.<sup>1</sup>

1. The PISA index of possessions related to "classical" culture in the family home were derived from the availability of the following items in the home: classical literature, books of poetry and works of art.



## Reading performance varies among provinces

The average score of Canadian students on the PISA reading test was 534, just 12 points below that of Finland, the highest-scoring country. The average scores by province varied from a low of 501 in New Brunswick, very close to the OECD average, to 550 in Alberta, comparable to that of Finland. The average scores for the three largest provinces, Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia, were 533, 536 and 538, respectively. Because almost three-quarters of all 15-year-old students live in these three provinces, their reading performance anchors the Canadian average of 534.

Not all 15-year-olds are in the same grade, so an analysis of grade and reading score differences can help in understanding how much of a reading score change may be associated with a difference of one grade. This may put the provincial variations into perspective, although the variations are not solely attributable to the grade difference, but also to a difference in accumulated learning and skill development that has occurred since birth. A difference of one grade makes an estimated average 34-point difference in the reading score; in other words, a one-point difference might be worth about five school days.

## Socioeconomic status is one factor associated with reading performance

Compared to the OECD median, Canada has a higher median socioeconomic score (SES) and a narrower range of SES scores. Canadian students scored above the OECD average in reading at all SES levels, but this lead was slightly greater for low SES students, suggesting that Canada does well in developing the literacy of youth from less advantaged circumstances. Yet, a large performance gap still exists between students from low and high socioeconomic backgrounds. For example, a typical student at the bottom 5%

<b>GST Students in Alberta scored highest on the reading performance test</b>		
	Average reading score (unadjusted)	Average reading score (adjusted for socioeconomic status of students)
<b>Canada</b>	<b>534</b>	<b>527</b>
<b>Province</b>		
Newfoundland and Labrador	517	513
Prince Edward Island	517	518
Nova Scotia	521	515
New Brunswick	501	503
Quebec	536	539
Ontario	533	519
Manitoba	529	526
Saskatchewan	529	529
Alberta	550	535
British Columbia	538	528

Source: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Programme for International Student Assessment, 2000.

point of the SES scored about 479 in reading literacy, while a typical student at the top 5% point scored around 580.

While a student's socioeconomic background is a factor in explaining reading score variation, only some of the variation in reading performance between provinces is attributable to socioeconomic status. After adjusting for the effects of SES, the adjusted average reading scores were not much different in six of the provinces, but they were lower than the unadjusted scores by 6 to 15 points in Nova Scotia, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia. After accounting for the socioeconomic status of students, there is still a substantial variation in reading scores between provinces—from 503 in New Brunswick to 539 in Quebec—indicating that other factors are also at work.

## Reading performance of schools varies substantially even after accounting for students' family background

For the PISA survey in Canada, schools were sampled and 15-year-

old students were chosen within the selected schools. Characteristics of schools and their policies and practices were collected to enable exploration of the relationship between the average reading performance and school characteristics, practices, resources and policies.

There is a substantial variation between schools in the reading performance of their students even after accounting for differences in family background. In every province, reading scores for schools with average SES intake range from 50 to 100 points between the highest and the lowest performing schools. Some of these average SES schools score at or above the Canadian average, and some are among the top scoring ones in the OECD study.

In some national and provincial assessments, the relatively low performance of some schools was linked to the low socioeconomic background of students attending them. But according to PISA, many schools with low SES intakes have exceptionally high performance, while others with high SES have

relatively low performance. Clearly then, there are exemplary schools in every province, including ones that serve students from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds.<sup>2</sup>

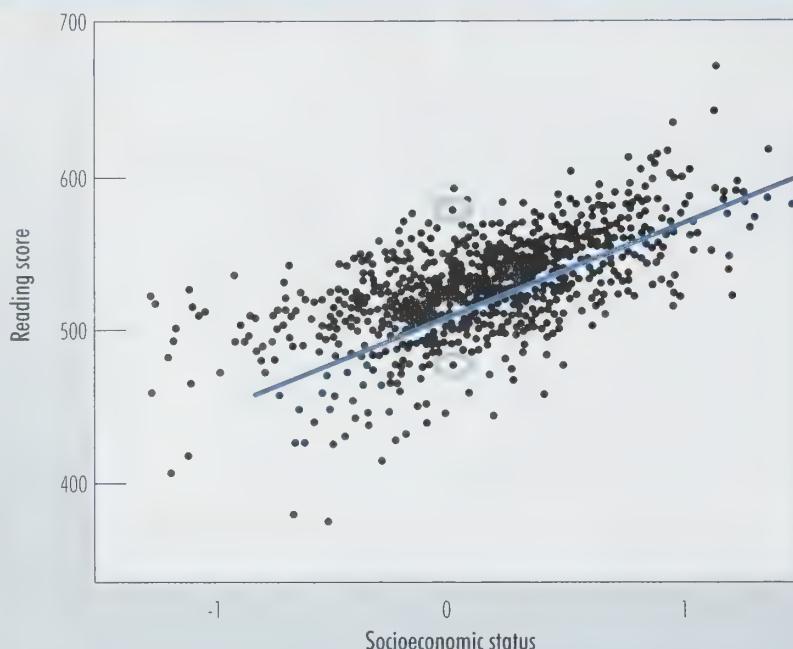
### Students from less advantaged families do better in a high SES school

To understand which factors influence reading scores, a model including factors such as family background of students, school context<sup>3</sup> and school process<sup>4</sup> was developed. This model showed that, on average, an increase of one standard deviation<sup>5</sup> in student socioeconomic status is associated with a 28-point increase in reading performance. In addition, a number of studies have found that the average level of school SES has an effect on student performance over and above the effects already associated with a student's individual level of SES.<sup>6</sup>

According to PISA data, if a student with average family background attended a school with a high SES (half a standard deviation above the OECD average), rather than one with a low SES (half a standard deviation below the OECD average), the student's expected reading performance would be 41 points higher. Students from less advantaged families tended to perform considerably worse if they attended a low SES school than if they attended a high SES school. The same applies for students from high SES families, but the effect was not as pronounced. This suggests that when schools differ substantially in their average socioeconomic intake, the disparities in their reading performance increase.

The differences in reading performance between students from differing SES backgrounds are less pronounced in high SES schools than in low SES schools.<sup>7</sup> For example, if two students—one high SES and one low SES—attended the same school, the expected reading performance gap between them would be 25

## CST Average reading scores increase with higher SES status of the school, but there is still much variation between schools with similar SES status



Note: Each dot on the graph represents a school. The line depicts the school regression relationship between average reading scores and socioeconomic status. Circled schools have similar average SES levels but have very different reading scores.

Source: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), 2000

points in a high SES school and 31 points in a low SES school. This is called triple jeopardy because youth from low SES families have lower reading performance, they have lower scores if they attend low SES schools, and the effect is particularly pronounced if a low-SES student attends a low-SES school.

Accounting for family background, school context and school processes, girls outperformed boys on the reading test by 34 points. Foreign-born 15-year-olds scored 25 points lower than Canadian-born 15-year-olds, after accounting for other factors. This result is not too alarming since earlier research suggests that the literacy gap for foreign-born residents decreases sharply during the first 10 years they are in the country.<sup>8</sup>

Other school-related factors also influence reading scores. The analysis

shows that larger schools perform slightly better on average than small schools: an increase in school size of 100 students is associated with an increase in reading performance of 2 points. However, reading performance declines in schools beyond an optimal school size. Schools where the teachers had specialized training in language arts also scored slightly higher: on average, a 10-percentage point increase in the percentage of specialized teachers was associated with a 1.5-point increase in reading scores. The quality of school infrastructure and the availability of school computers for students were not significant. However, in schools where students made better use of resources, reading scores were higher. Factors pertaining to school policy and practice had no significant effect, except for teacher autonomy.



Two of the measures of classroom practice were also significant factors. A one-point increase on the teacher-student relations scale was associated with a 2.3 point increase in reading performance, while a one-point increase in the disciplinary

climate scale was associated with a 2.6 point increase in performance.

### Provincial reading scores differ for many reasons

The variation in average provincial reading scores is related to many

factors. After accounting for family background or student characteristics such as gender, socioeconomic status and immigration status, those provinces with higher SES scores (Ontario, Alberta, British Columbia) saw their reading scores adjusted downward, while those with lower SES scores (Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick) saw their average reading scores adjusted upward. About 40% of the variation in provincial performance was attributable to differences in family background.

Accounting for the effect of the average SES of schools further reduced the variation between provinces: 63% of the variation in provincial performance was associated with family background and school context combined. Finally, controlling for school process such as school resources, school policy and practice, and classroom practices implies that provinces with high scores on the measures of school process will see their scores decline (Quebec, Alberta, British Columbia) while those with low scores will see them increase (Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick).

After controlling for all of these factors, the average reading scores in eight provinces turn out to be quite similar. This analysis permits an understanding of some of the factors contributing to variations in reading scores between provinces. For example, Quebec's average reading performance was high because it had disproportionately more schools with students of average socioeconomic background scoring in the top range. In contrast, Alberta's average reading performance was relatively high partly because its student population came from a comparatively advantaged background and partly because of positive school policies and practices. Ontario's higher performance was due largely to relatively high socioeconomic status, as well as positive classroom policies and practices.

## GST The socioeconomic status of students and schools are associated with differences in reading scores

Model coefficients for reading scores controlling for family background, school context and school processes

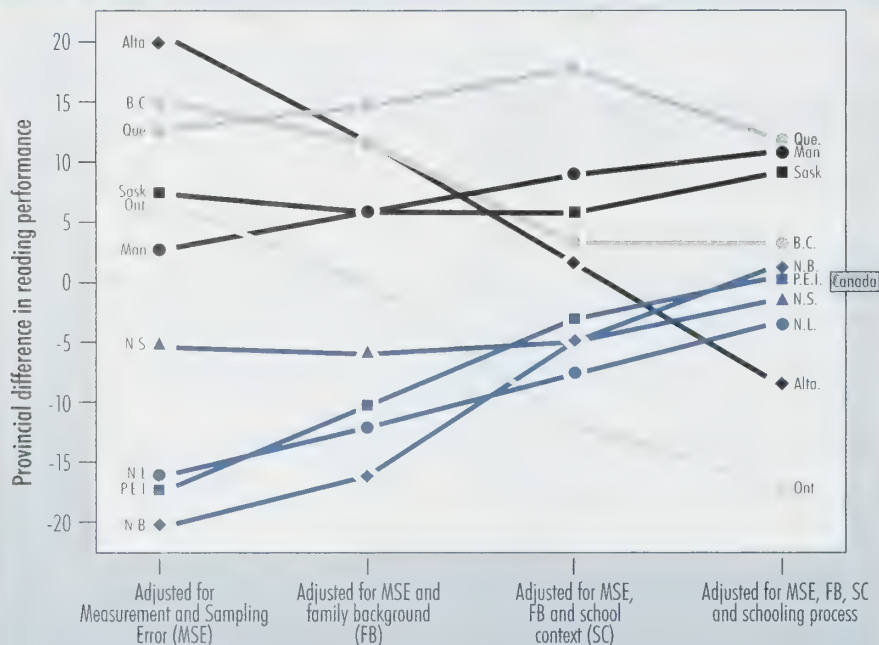
Reading score mean	508.7
<b>Family background and student characteristics</b>	
Socioeconomic status (student-level)	27.9
Female	34.2
Foreign-born	-24.6
<b>School context</b>	
Socioeconomic status (school level)	40.8
Socioeconomic slope (indicates extent of inequality attributable to SES)	-6.5
Female-male performance gap	-6.8
<b>School processes</b>	
<b>School resources</b>	
Student-staff teaching ratio (unit is 1 student)	-0.2
School size (unit is 100 students)	2.1
School size squared (school is larger than optimal size)	-0.1
Students access to school computers (unit is 10%)	1.4
Teachers have specialized training in language arts (unit is 10%)	1.5
Teachers get professional development (unit is 10%)	-0.4
Quality of school infrastructure <sup>1</sup>	-0.3
Students' use of resources <sup>1</sup>	2.6
<b>School policy and practice</b>	
Conduct formal assessment <sup>1</sup>	0.2
Quality of teaching staff (administrators assessment <sup>1</sup> )	-0.1
Teacher morale <sup>1</sup>	-0.1
Teacher autonomy <sup>1</sup>	0.5
Principal autonomy <sup>1</sup>	0.1
<b>Classroom practice</b>	
Conduct informal assessment <sup>1</sup>	-0.4
Teacher-student relations <sup>1</sup>	2.3
Disciplinary climate <sup>1</sup>	2.7
Achievement pressure <sup>1</sup>	0.0

Note: Bold numbers are statistically significant at  $p < 0.05$  level. Many of the school scales used in the model are described in Appendix A of Organisation for Economic and Cooperation and Development, 2001. *Knowledge and skills for life: First results from the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2000*. Paris: OECD. [www.oecd.org](http://www.oecd.org) (accessed September 2004).

1. This school-level variable was scaled on a 10-point scale, ranging from zero to 10 representing a school's position relative to other schools in the OECD. For example, a score of 3.4 on the 10-point scale indicates that the school's score was at the 34<sup>th</sup> percentile among all OECD schools.

Source: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Programme for International Student Assessment, 2000.





Source: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Programme for International Student Assessment, 2000.

## Summary

Differences in reading performance among schools, provinces or countries are the result of several factors that contribute to children's development from birth. Therefore, average scores may reflect the quality of care and stimulation provided to children during infancy and the pre-school years, and the opportunities children have to learn both in school and at home during the elementary and secondary school years.

Some of the variation among schools and provinces in their reading performance is attributable to school resources, policies and practices and classroom practices. It is not possible to identify one or two factors that explain most of the reading score variation among schools or provinces. Higher and less variable outcomes are associated with a broad set of classroom and school factors.

The most important school resource factor for reading performance is whether students were taught by teachers trained in language arts. In addition, two aspects of classroom practice emerged as contributing to higher performance: better teacher-student relations and a strong disciplinary climate. Several factors, including family background, school context and school processes, contribute to the differences in average reading scores between the provinces.

**J. Douglas Willms** is a professor in the Faculty of Education, Director of the Canadian Research Institute for Social Policy, and holds the Canada Research Chair in Human Development at the University of New Brunswick.

1. Raudenbush, S.W. and R. Kasim. 1998. "Cognitive skill and economic inequality: Findings from the National Adult Literacy Survey." *Harvard Educational Review*, 68, 1: 33-79.
2. There is also a wide range of school SES scores in Canada. In fact, nearly 20% of schools have an average socioeconomic status score, similar to the average SES of schools in Greece, Latvia and Spain. About 8% of schools have an SES average score equivalent to the average school in the Russian Federation and below that of Portugal and Poland.
3. School mean of SES was used as a proxy for the factors associated with school context.
4. "School process" covers three categories of school-related factors — school resources, school policy and practice and classroom practice. School resources include student-staff teaching ratio, school size, computers in schools, teachers with specialized training in language arts, teachers involved in professional development programs, quality of the school infrastructure and students' use of school resources such as the school library, calculators, labs, the Internet. School policies and practices include formal assessments indicating the frequency of use of standardized tests; quality of the teaching staff as assessed by the school administrator; teacher morale; teacher autonomy and principal autonomy. Classroom practices include measures of informal assessment indicating the frequency of use of tests developed by teachers, teachers' judgmental ratings, and assessments based on student portfolios, assignments, projects and homework; student-teacher relations; disciplinary climate and achievement pressure.
5. Standard deviation is a commonly used measure of variation or spread of values around their average.
6. Willms, J.D. 1999. "Quality and inequality in children's literacy: The effects of families, schools and communities". In D. Keating and C. Hertzman (eds.), *Developmental Health and the Wealth of Nations: Social, Biological and Educational Dynamics*. p. 72-93. New York: Guilford Press.
7. Negative coefficient for socioeconomic slope under school context indicates this.
8. Willms, J.D. 1999. *Inequalities in Literacy Skills among Youth in Canada and the United States* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89F0116XIE). Statistics Canada, Human Resources Development Canada and National Literacy Secretariat.

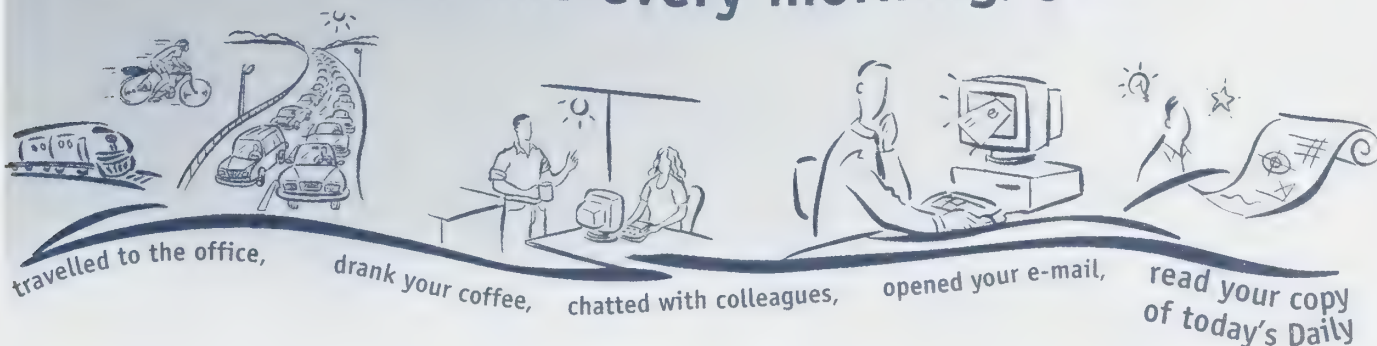
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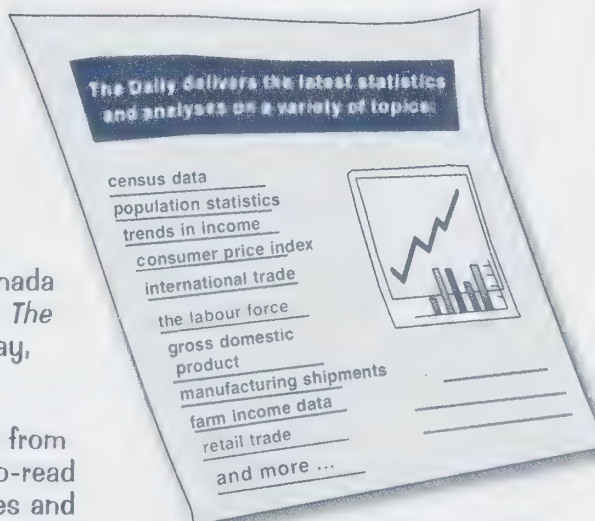


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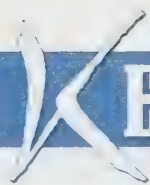


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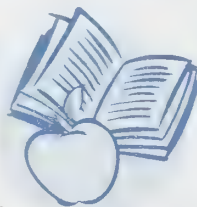
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# KEEPING TRACK

## Education and labour market pathways of young adults



In December 1999, 12% of 20-year-olds were no longer in high school and had left high school without graduating. Two years later, this dropout rate had edged down to 11% as some of these young people had returned to high school.

Some high school dropouts went on to postsecondary studies without having completed their high school diploma. When this was taken into account, by the age of 22, only 9% of youths had dropped out of high school and had not pursued any further education.

Most youths, in fact, continue their education beyond high school. By the age of 22, 76% of youths had some postsecondary experience, up from 70% at age 20.

As with high school, pathways through postsecondary education are complex. By the age of 22, just over 1 in 10 youths had left their postsecondary studies without graduating, according to the Youth in Transition Survey. However, this did not necessarily mean they had called a halt to higher education; some may continue their education later.

**Education and labour market pathways of young Canadians between age 20 and 22: an overview**

Catalogue no.

81-595-MIE2004018

## Use of cannabis

The proportion of Canadians aged 15 or older who admit at least once in the past year using cannabis nearly doubled in 13 years, with the highest rates among teenagers, according to a new study based on data from the Canadian Community Health Survey. According to the study, 6.5% of Canadians reported using cannabis in 1989, 7.4% in 1994, and by 2002, the proportion had reached 12.2%.

Cannabis use was most prevalent among young people, and its use peaked in the late teens. Close to 4 of every 10 teens aged 18 or 19 reported having used marijuana or hashish in the past year. The proportion among 15- to 17-year-olds was about 3 in 10.

Although most Canadians were not current users of illicit drugs in 2002, many had tried them at some point in their lives. More than 10 million people reported having tried cannabis. These people represented 41.3% of the population aged 15 or older. If one-time users are excluded, the proportion would be 32.0%.

**Health Reports, vol. 15, no. 4**

Catalogue no. 82-003-XIE



## Alcohol and drug use in early adolescence

One major factor plays the biggest role

in children's alcohol and drug use in early adolescence and the factor is the behaviour of friends, according to National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth.

Two-thirds of adolescents who reported that all or most of their friends were using alcohol had, themselves, been drunk at least once. Only 8% of those who reported having few or no friends who used alcohol had ever been drunk. Similarly, four-fifths (82%) had smoked marijuana if most or all of their friends had done so, too. This compares with only 7% who didn't have friends who used marijuana.

The study adds to evidence that peer behaviour is related to an adolescent's own alcohol and drug use. However, it is not possible to determine a causal direction. For example, friendships may provide opportunities to learn through imitation and reinforce behaviour. It could also be that "birds of a feather flock together," and adolescents seek friends with similar attitudes toward alcohol and other drugs.

**Health Reports, vol. 15, no. 3**

Catalogue no. 82-003-XIE



## Family violence

Individuals convicted of sexually abusing their children receive harsher sentences than

other offenders. According to the police and court files in the subset of 18 urban centres studied, between 1998 and 2002, there were more than 4,000 convicted cases of assault against children and youth under the age of 18.

Men were implicated in 84% of convicted cases of assaults against children and youth. About 4 out of every 10 convicted men were family members of the child victim, compared with 5 out of 10 convicted women.

Family members convicted of a single violent offence against children and youth were less likely to receive a prison sentence. About 15% of convicted family members got a prison term, compared with 28% of convicted offenders who were friends or acquaintances and 23% who were strangers. Much of the difference in incarceration rates was restricted to convictions for physical assault.

In sexual assault cases against children, family members tended to receive more severe sentences than those who were not family members. Almost half (47%) of family members convicted of sexual offences against children and youth received a prison sentence, compared with 39% of non-family members.

**Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile**

Catalogue no. 85-224-XIE







# SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
<b>POPULATION</b>										
Total population (July 1)	28 999 306	29 302 091	29 610 757	29 907 172	30 157 082	30 403 378	30 689 035	31 021 251	31 361 611	31 629 677
0-17 years	7 124 812	7 160 626	7 198 047	7 201 692	7 189 595	7 157 941	7 137 778	7 121 952	7 091 307	7 032 597
18-64 years	18 435 949	18 632 121	18 833 689	19 050 774	19 243 135	19 459 398	19 698 290	19 976 237	20 279 848	20 536 933
65 years and over	3 438 245	3 509 344	3 579 021	3 654 706	3 724 352	3 786 539	3 852 967	3 923 062	3 990 456	4 060 147
<b>Population rates (per 1,000)</b>										
Total growth	10.6	10.5	10.3	9.3	7.7	8.8	9.8	11.1	9.6	8.8
Birth	13.3	12.9	12.4	11.7	11.4	11.1	10.7	10.8	10.6	10.5
Death	7.1	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.1	7.1	7.2	7.3
Natural increase	6.1	5.7	5.2	4.4	4.1	3.9	3.6	3.7	3.4	3.3
Immigration	7.7	7.3	7.6	7.2	5.8	6.2	7.4	8.1	7.3	7.0
Total emigration	1.9	1.7	1.7	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8
Interprovincial migration	9.9	9.8	9.6	9.7	9.9	9.1	9.5	9.0	9.6	9.4
Marriage	5.5	5.5	5.3	5.1	5.1	5.1	5.1	4.7	4.7	4.7
<b>Percent growth in largest census metropolitan areas (to July 1)</b>										
Toronto	1.9	1.8	2.0	1.9	1.8	2.2	2.9	2.6	1.8	
Montréal	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	
Vancouver	3.2	3.2	2.7	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.8	1.7	1.1	
<b>FERTILITY</b>										
Total fertility per woman	1.66	1.64	1.59	1.55	1.54	1.53	1.49	1.51	1.50	
Teenage pregnancies	46 484	45 161	44 140	41 540	41 588	40 370	38 600	37 049		
Pregnancy rate per 1 000 women aged 15 to 19	48.8	46.9	45.2	42.1	41.7	40.0	37.9	36.0		
Low birthweight babies (<2 500 grams) as % of all births	5.8	5.8	5.7	5.8	5.7	5.6	5.6	5.5	5.7	
Infant mortality rate (per 1 000 live births)	6.3	6.1	5.6	5.5	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.2		
<b>Life expectancy at birth (years)</b>										
Men	75.0	75.1	75.5	75.8	76.0	76.3	76.7	77.1		
Women	81.0	81.1	81.2	81.3	81.5	81.7	82.0	82.2		
<b>Selected causes of death for men (per 100 000 males)* ***</b>										
Cancer	242.7	239.9	237.6	230.7	231.1	228.9	225.3	223.8		
Lung	75.5	73.2	72.9	69.9	70.1	70.3	64.3	64.6		
Colorectal	25.0	25.1	24.3	23.5	24.1	24.1	24.0	22.8		
Prostate	30.7	31.0	29.0	28.4	27.9	26.7	26.7	26.6		
Heart diseases	249.5	245.6	240.9	231.8	227.8	220.8	202.9	189.7		
Cerebrovascular diseases	54.8	54.6	52.5	52.4	49.6	47.3	46.4	44.6		
External causes**	65.8	66.1	64.3	60.8	61.2	63.7	58.6	57.9		
<b>Selected causes of death for women (per 100 000 females)* ***</b>										
Cancer	155.6	152.4	155.7	149.1	151.6	149.4	149.4	147.6		
Lung	31.9	31.3	33.6	32.3	34.5	34.8	34.4	34.4		
Colorectal	16.1	16.2	15.7	15.2	15.7	15.2	15.1	14.9		
Breast	30.0	28.7	28.9	27.4	26.4	25.2	25.0	24.9		
Heart diseases	139.9	137.5	135.3	130.2	126.2	121.1	113.4	107.6		
Cerebrovascular diseases	45.9	44.9	44.3	44.2	41.9	40.0	38.8	37.1		
External causes**	25.3	25.8	25.5	24.4	24.4	25.0	23.5	22.6		

\* Age-standardized to the July 1, 1991 Census of Population. Both sexes combined.

\*\* Includes environmental events, circumstances and conditions as the cause of injury, poisoning and other adverse effects.

\*\*\* Significant distortion of some mortality trends was caused by the implementation of ICD-10 as the Canadian mortality classification standard, effective in 2000. The impact of the implementation of ICD-10 on Canadian mortality trends is assessed in Health Statistics Division's "ICD-9 to ICD-10 comparability study".

Data not available.

Sources: Population estimates came from Demography Division, and birth and death statistics came from Health Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

# LESSON PLAN

## Suggestions for using *Canadian Social Trends* in the classroom

**"Perceptions of Canadians: A sense of belonging, confidence and trust"**

### Objectives

- To understand and define the meaning of social capital
- To understand how social capital is developed

**Curriculum areas:** Civic, family studies, social studies and economics

### Classroom instructions

1. Young people engage in different types of social communities including school, extracurricular groups and family where they learn what is expected of them and what to expect from others. In these places, young people learn powerful lessons about the role of the individual in society. Schools create and depend on social capital. For example, several provinces have volunteering as part of their curriculum which builds the social capital of the community, but schools depend on the involvement and cooperation of parents and organizations to fulfil their role. Research the meaning of social capital and then discuss its importance.
2. At the core of social capital is trust. One of the ways used to gauge the level of trustworthiness of the members of a community is to measure the expectation of having a lost wallet or purse returned with its contents if found by someone they know or by a stranger. Take a quick student survey to determine what percentage of the class would expect to have their wallet or purse returned if another member of the class found it. What are the expectations of a returned wallet or purse if found by a stranger? Discuss how trust might be improved.
3. Communities with strong social networks are more likely to encourage people to behave in a trustworthy manner as the reputation of untrustworthy people travels fast in well-connected communities. Discuss how people trust others in their day-to-day activities. If trust dwindles, what are some of the repercussions?

4. In recent elections, there has been concern that young people are less likely to vote than older people. Some have suggested the decline in voter turnout rates does not signal a decline in civic participation, but rather a shift to more unconventional activities such as participating in petitions, boycotts and public demonstrations. Discuss why young people are less likely to vote and how they are engaged in civic activities.
5. Confidence in public institutions such as schools, the health care system, the police, the justice system, banks and federal parliament is also a measure of strong communities. Which public institutions have the highest level of confidence in your class? Discuss why your class is more confident in some institutions than in others. Compare your class results with the Canada-wide results given in the article.

### Using other resources

2003 *General Social Survey on Social Engagement, Cycle 17: An Overview of Findings*, (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-598). [www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-598-XIE/free.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-598-XIE/free.htm).

- To find lesson plans, articles and data for elementary and secondary schools, check out the Statistics Canada Web site at: [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach.htm). There are more than 150 lesson plans for high school classes, many articles, E-STAT access and other data.
- See the Family studies kit at: [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm) for detailed graphs that you can use to make overheads for your class.

### Educators

**You may photocopy "Lesson plan" or any item or article in *Canadian Social Trends* for use in your classroom.**





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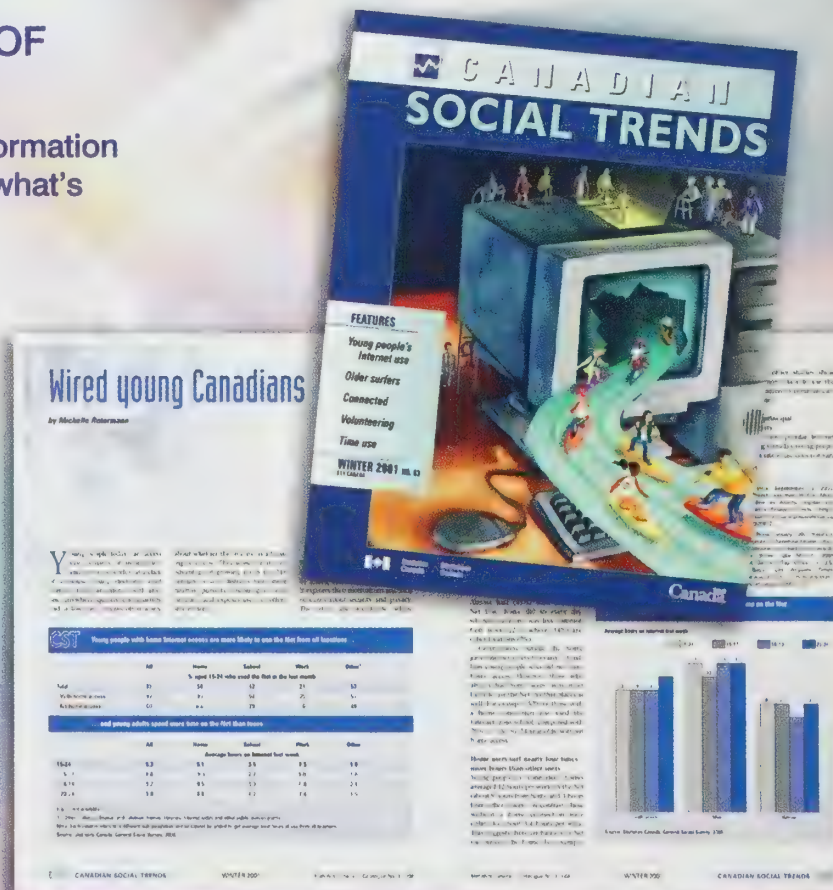
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# CANADIAN *Social Trends*

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*I am Canadian*

*Becoming Canadian*

*Older couples'  
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*Rural self-employment*

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# CANADIAN Social Trends

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# "I am Canadian"

by Derrick Thomas

**T**he people of Canada have a long tradition of identifying themselves according to the land or nation of their sometimes remote ancestors. Over the past few decades, however, a rapidly growing number have begun describing themselves in the census as Canadians. The proportion of the population claiming some element of Canadian ethno-cultural ancestry climbed from fewer than 1% in 1986 to nearly 40% in 2001, making it by far the most common ethno-cultural ancestry reported on the census. Moreover, more than half of the 11.7 million persons who reported 'Canadian' described their ancestry as *exclusively* Canadian without mentioning any other ethnic connection.

What lies behind these changing views of ethnicity? Why do people who not so long ago claimed an English or French ancestry, for example, now report that they are Canadian? Using data from the censuses of population, this article explores the potential reasons behind these changes. It begins by discussing our understanding of ethnicity and how it has changed over time. The article then reviews some of the meanings attached specifically to Canadian ethnicity and follows by examining the characteristics of individuals who, according to the 2001 Census, reported having a Canadian ethnic background.

## **The evolution of 'ethnicity'—then and now**

Some type of question concerning 'origins' has appeared in virtually every census since Confederation. Census takers have asked variously about 'origins,' 'race,' 'ethnic group,' and most recently 'ethno-cultural



ancestry.' The word 'ethnic' first appeared in 1946.

Ethnicity means different things to different people. While it has always referred to the categorization of people or the formation of groups, the specific definitions have evolved over time. Traditionally, observers have viewed ethnic groups as made up of people with shared characteristics. They have often disagreed, however, about the importance of different characteristics in defining these groups.<sup>1</sup>

Some have emphasized inherited, or what might be considered comparatively permanent, traits, such as common geographic origins or historical experiences. Sometimes ethnicity has been seen as a matter

of racial or genetic characteristics. More recently, membership in an ethnic group was considered a question of a shared language, culture, traditions, values or sense of belonging.

Broadly over the last half century, however, people have come to understand ethnic groupings as fluid constructs that change according to the social context. A person's beliefs about who is inside or outside their group may change as they assess their social environment, build networks, make alliances or choose sides in issues or debates. Increasingly, people have come to understand the role that ethnic categorizations can play in personal self-esteem and the life chances of individuals.



The Census of Population provides residents of Canada with an opportunity to describe their ethnic origins. The data, collected every five years, allows us to track the growing popularity of the 'Canadian' response.

Changes in question format and processing have affected the comparability of ethnic origin data between censuses. Although it is likely that data for all ethnic groups have been influenced to some extent by these changes, counts for some groups have been affected more than for others. The increases in the reporting of multiple responses and of 'Canadian' are the most noticeable results of changes.

Along with the changes to the ancestry question, two new related census questions have been added to get at some of the more objective aspects of ancestry. A "population group" question was included beginning in 1996 in order to support employment equity legislation by identifying members of visible minority groups. And for the first time in 30 years, a question was added in 2001 about the birthplace of each parent of each respondent. It is this data along with information on the respondent's own birthplace or immigration status that is used to separate subjects into first-, second- and third-generation residents.

If information on the birthplace of grandparents or great-grandparents were available, it is likely that more of the variation in the reporting of 'Canadian' would be explained.

The following is question number 17 on the 2001 Census of Population:

*While most people in Canada view themselves as Canadians, information on their ancestral origins has been collected since the 1901 Census to capture the changing composition of Canada's diverse population. Therefore, this question refers to the **origins of the person's ancestors**.*

**17** To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's **ancestors** belong?

For example, Canadian, French, English, Chinese, Italian, German, Scottish, Irish, Cree, Micmac, Métis, Inuit (Eskimo), East Indian, Ukrainian, Dutch, Polish, Portuguese, Filipino, Jewish, Greek, Jamaican, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Chilean, Somali, etc.

Specify as many groups as applicable


### Asking the 'ethnicity' question

In response to the evolving concepts of ethnicity, the content, wording and presentation of the census questions dealing with this topic have undergone significant changes over the years. Historically census respondents were actively discouraged from describing their origins as Canadian. This was done to avoid confusing current nationality or citizenship with

ancestry. Enumerators instructed people to report 'Old World' or 'Native Indian' ancestries and were allowed to record Canadian only if the respondent "insisted."

Starting in 1971, however, there have been a number of changes to the census questionnaire and the ethnicity question. First, with the introduction of self-enumeration, respondents completed the census

questionnaire themselves. Then, beginning in 1981, respondents were able to report multiple ancestries, whether through the male or female (or both) lines of descent; in fact, respondents are now encouraged to "specify as many [ancestral] groups as applicable." Finally, in 1986, the ethnic origin question dropped the phrase "on first coming to this continent," leaving respondents to determine for themselves how far back to trace their ancestors when answering the question.

Throughout this period, there was also a transition away from pre-defined, check-off categories toward blank spaces where respondents could write in their own unprompted response. Because it was so frequently written in by respondents to the 1991 Census, 'Canadian' was included as one of a list of example answers in 1996. Perhaps partly as a result, it became the most frequently reported origin and now leads the list of examples provided on the census form.

One of the main effects of these changes was to give more freedom to Canadians to define their own ethno-cultural origins.<sup>2,3</sup> They now decide for themselves how far back in their family tree and along which branches to trace their ancestors. And, at least among those whose ancestors have been in Canada for many generations, the census question about ethnic origin has begun more and more to be interpreted as a question about individual identity.

### What do people mean when they tell us they are Canadian?<sup>4</sup>

By choosing an identity, individuals situate themselves according to social dimensions that are relevant to them, and define themselves with labels likely to enhance their prestige.<sup>5</sup> But who they distinguish themselves from may be as important as who they affiliate themselves with. The identity claims of individuals should, therefore, be considered in the context in which they were made.



When they describe themselves as such, Canadians first of all distinguish themselves from the peoples of their ancestral homelands. It was seemingly the French-speaking settlers of the Saint Lawrence valley who first claimed to be 'Canadiens.' Especially when cut off from their mother country by the British Conquest, they began to distinguish themselves from all Europeans. One of their first British Governors said of his French subjects: "... it seems to be a favourable object with them to be considered as a separate Nation; *La Nation Canadienne* is their constant expression..."<sup>6</sup> As English-speaking settlers also adopted the label 'Canadian,' the prefixes 'French' or 'English' began to be used as qualifiers.

Perhaps the dominant view of the 'Canadian Identity' is that it emerged in opposition to the 'American Identity.'<sup>7</sup> Contrasting and comparing ourselves with Americans is a much-mentioned and constant preoccupation of Canadians.<sup>8</sup> For many Canadians, Americans seem to be the relevant outgroup.<sup>9</sup> By claiming to be Canadian in the period just following the emotional debate over free trade in 1991, Census respondents may have been asserting their national distinctiveness from the United States.

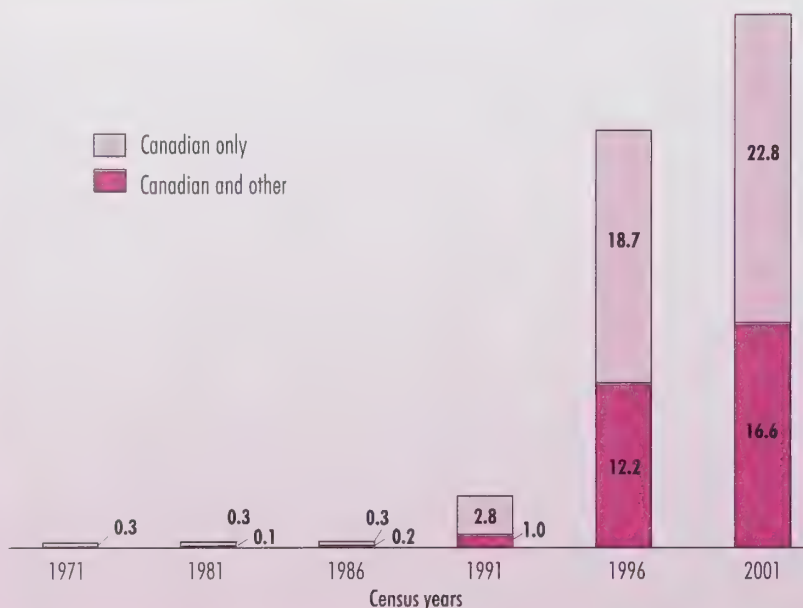
The label 'Canadian' can also be used to distinguish established residents from newcomers. In fact, some experts see in the growing popularity of the 'Canadian' response a fundamental ethnic realignment. Traditional distinctions between French and English are giving way, they argue, to a dichotomy based on period of settlement. According to this view, longer settled European groups adopt the Canadian label in order to distinguish themselves from the more recently arrived immigrants from Asia, Africa and Latin America.<sup>10</sup>

Others argue that there is no necessary connection (and claim to have found no empirical association) between attachment to Canada and

**GST**

The proportion of respondents reporting Canadian ethnic origin has increased dramatically over the past three decades

% reporting Canadian origin



Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1971-2001.

tolerance or support for multiculturalism.<sup>11</sup> In fact, their supposed multiculturalism and tolerance of diversity are among the dimensions along which Canadians habitually compare themselves favourably with Americans. The new willingness to identify themselves as Canadian may reflect a patriotism that has less to do with the preservation of a culture than with citizenship, adherence to their particular institutions and the protection of more recent collective achievements like the charter of rights and the Medicare system.<sup>12,13</sup>

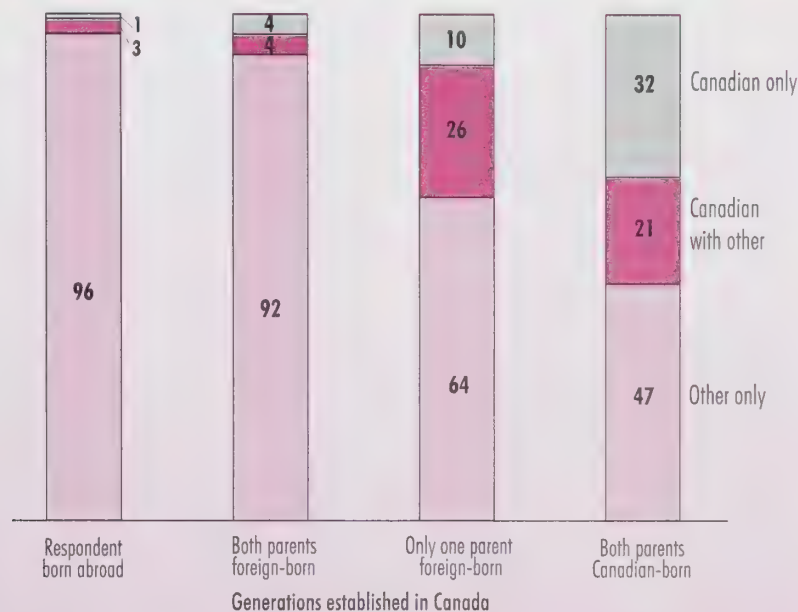
#### 'Canadian' response more likely as number of generations born in Canada increases

It appears that census respondents are indeed answering the question posed with respect to their ethno-cultural ancestry. Those born in Canada of Canadian-born parents are increasingly reporting 'Canadian' instead of the origins of their more distant ancestors. Indeed, 53% of these individuals are claiming some

element of Canadian ancestry. They constitute the great majority (almost 90%) of those who do. Not surprisingly, this group is also far more likely than any of the others to report an exclusively Canadian ancestry. It is likely that if more information were available about, for example, the birthplace of grandparents and great grandparents, the effect of the number of generations in Canada on the 'Canadian' response would become even clearer.

Most likely to report 'Canadian' in addition to another ethno-cultural ancestry were, not surprisingly, persons of mixed Canadian-born and foreign-born parentage: 26% versus 21% of individuals with two Canadian-born parents, for example. Marriages between Canadian-born and foreign-born individuals tend to complicate narratives about ancestry and may encourage people whose forebears have been in Canada for some time to report 'Canadian' on the census.<sup>14</sup>

% reporting various ancestries



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

In contrast, immigrants—regardless of their place of birth, how long they had lived in Canada or at what age they arrived—seldom reported Canadian ethnic ancestry (less than 4% in 2001).

### French speakers and residents of Quebec are more likely than others to respond 'Canadian/Canadien'

At least since 1996, those who grew up in French-speaking households have been more likely to describe their ethno-cultural ancestry as Canadian/Canadien. In 2001, some 52% of individuals with a French mother tongue claimed a 'Canadian only' ethnic origin compared with 18% of those with an English mother tongue. Similarly, residents of Quebec (69%) and to a lesser extent of the Atlantic provinces (52%) are more likely to claim a Canadian heritage (Canadian only or Canadian with other ethnic background) than are residents of Ontario (30%). Residents

of the Western provinces are least likely to do so (25%). The pattern, in short, seems to roughly reflect the stages in which the country was settled and, consequently, the number of generations that the families of respondents have been in Canada.

A number of other factors linked with the reporting of Canadian ethnicity are also connected with generations in Canada. Members of visible minority groups, for instance, are more likely to be immigrants or descendants of immigrants within relatively few generations. The same is true for non-citizens, naturalized Canadians and those who profess a faith other than Christianity or Judaism. Not surprisingly, all of these groups are less likely than average to identify their ancestors as Canadian. According to the 2001 Census, for example, some 8% of visible minority individuals claimed some element of Canadian ethnicity compared with 46% of other respondents.

### Younger respondents more likely to report Canadian ancestry

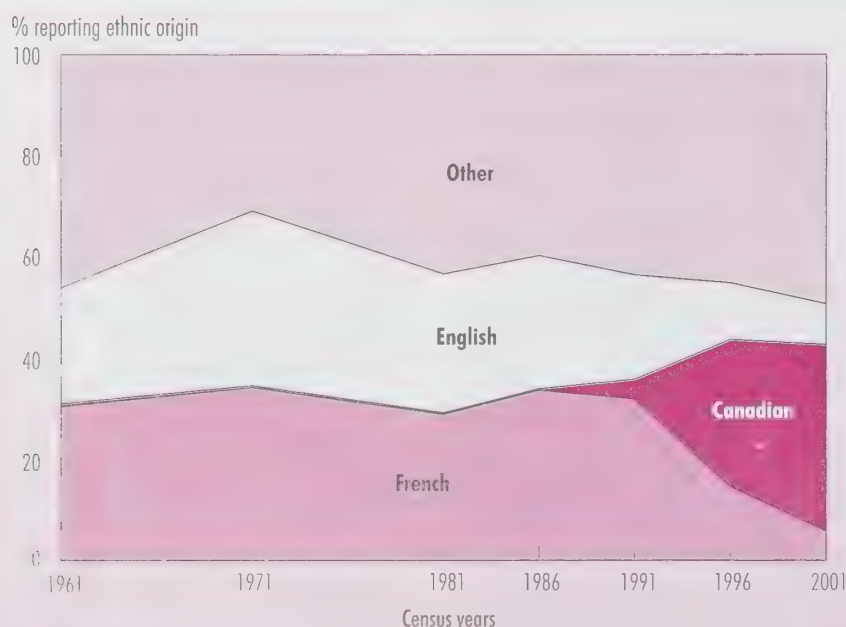
In general, those who indicated their ethnic origin as Canadian appear to be younger than other census respondents. For example, about 40% of persons in their twenties responded 'Canadian' to the census ethnic question compared with about 30% of those in their eighties.

Those who identify as Canadian generally have somewhat lower levels of education than persons who do not. Perhaps this is related to the differing age structure of the two groups. The association between education and a Canadian ethnic background is also influenced by generations in Canada. For example, about one in five immigrants and their children hold university degrees, compared with one in seven of those who have been in Canada for three or more generations.

There is some evidence that may point toward more secular or cosmopolitan attitudes among those who claim Canadian ethnic affiliation. These individuals are more likely to report having no religion, to be divorced, separated or living in a common-law relationship and are less likely to live in families with more than four persons. They are also a little more likely to live in an urban area.

### Canadians are drawn from English and French ethnic groups

A large number of respondents who reported a Canadian ethnic origin in 2001 are persons who declared different ethno-cultural affiliations on previous censuses. Perhaps prompted by the sample answers provided, some respondents have simply reported Canadian as a multiple ethnicity along with their usual choice(s). But well over half (57%) of those who responded Canadian in 2001 chose to mention no other ethnic group.



Note: Data between census years were interpolated.

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1961-2001.

By and large, these single-response Canadians were the people who in previous censuses had checked off English or French as their ethnic origin.<sup>15,16,17</sup> Between 1986 and 2001 the number of people claiming French ancestry fell by over 3.4 million and the number reporting English dropped by 3.3 million. This would seem to entirely account for the 6.7 million persons who claimed Canadian ancestry alone in 2001.<sup>18</sup>

Interestingly, however, other similarly long-established groups such as Aboriginal people, Irish, Scots, Germans and Ukrainians continue to report their original ethnic affiliations. These groups did not experience any decline in their numbers over the past decades, although more of them are reporting Canadian as a second ethnicity. Many of these groups draw inspiration from long-standing struggles for ethnic survival and recognition in their ancestral homelands.<sup>19</sup> In some

cases their identities or independence as peoples have been recovered only recently.

In contrast, the English and French have exported their culture on a global scale. Research undertaken by social psychologists suggests that identification with one's group increases in proportion to the degree of perceived threat to the group's survival.<sup>20,21</sup> While French Canadians may fear that their culture is at risk, neither the English nor the French as such would seem to have cause to feel this way. In fact, of the reduced proportion who continues to report 'French', almost half also report 'Canadian' suggesting, perhaps, that it is French Canadian rather than French culture they are interested in preserving.

In addition, there are good reasons why persons of mixed, complex or unknown ancestry might have checked off 'English' or 'French'

in previous censuses, when the 'Canadian' answer was not available. English and French have historically represented the poles of ethnic conflict in Canada. They also correspond to our official languages and both groups were accorded constitutional guarantees with respect, for example, to education. Perhaps, as a consequence, people with mixed, unknown or weak ethnic attachments had chosen to identify with the "mainstream" or official language, which they or their ancestors happened to have adopted.<sup>22</sup> Today 'Canadian' may represent an easier choice for such people. There is however, no reason to suppose that the English and French answers of the past are any more accurate or descriptive of the ethno-cultural lives of respondents than the Canadian responses of 2001.

Another factor related to the reporting of Canadian ethnic roots also appears to be at work. Americans, Australians, Mexicans and Métis — that is people with new-world or more complex identities — are more likely to report Canadian as an additional ancestry than are the members of other groups. Perhaps this is because new-world groups are more often of mixed ancestry or divided by many generations from their old-world connections.

### Summary

The large increase in the number of persons who describe their ethno-cultural ancestry as Canadian has been mainly due to changes in the census question which, in turn, reflects society's evolving concepts of ethnicity and identity. Because they are no longer told that foreign ancestries are the only correct ones, many people whose parents and perhaps more distant ancestors were born in Canada answer 'Canadian.' This choice may also be popular with those whose ancestries are complicated by intermarriage or migration through several homelands.



It is clear that the likelihood of reporting 'Canadian' increases with the number of generations the respondent's family has spent in Canada. The long-established French speakers and other residents of Quebec, for instance, are more likely than others to identify their ethnic origin as Canadian. British groups also report 'Canadian' quite frequently. Of these, many respond 'Irish' and 'Scottish,' along with 'Canadian.' Persons reporting Canadian as their sole ancestry, however, appear to be drawn almost entirely from among those who previously described their background as English or French.

Many established European groups are reporting a Canadian background, while the newer groups from Asia and Africa tend to state their original ethnic ancestry. As a result, it may appear that an ethnic realignment is indeed underway. It is not clear, however, that people who answer 'Canadian' do so to distinguish themselves from recent newcomers. Those whose families have been established in Canada for generations may simply be reporting, in the absence of any instruction to the contrary, what they regard as their true ancestry. Canadians may also be anxious to distinguish themselves from Americans and to protect their particular democratic institutions and what they may regard as collective achievements like universal publicly funded health insurance and the charter of rights.

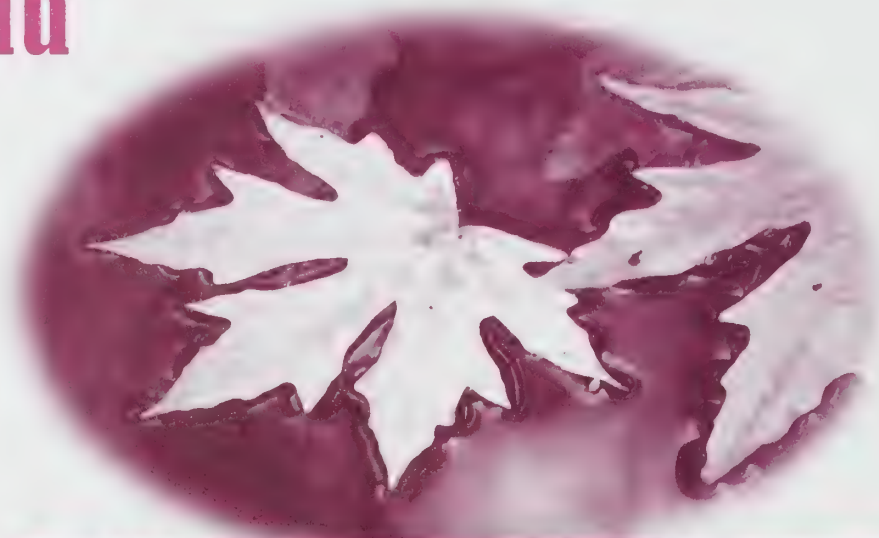
**GST**

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# Becoming Canadian: Intent, process and outcome

by Kelly Tran, Stan Kustec and Tina Chui



Canada has a large and varied immigrant population, a diverse culture and vast distances. But whether individuals are Canadian citizens by birth or by naturalization, they are granted the same rights and responsibilities. Canadian citizenship may thus be viewed as something that creates a shared sense of belonging or an indication of allegiance to Canada. For the foreign-born, acquiring citizenship may be symbolic of the final stage of the migration process, their inclusion into the electoral process and a declaration of their commitment to Canada, their adopted homeland.

As a country built on accepting people from around the world, Canada is home to many different ethnic and cultural groups. Over the past 100 years, waves of immigrants from diverse countries have come here to forge a new life for themselves and their families. In the process, they have helped to shape the rich cultural and ethnic diversity that is Canada today. While the early part of the 1900s saw the vast majority of immigrants arriving from Europe, the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a shift to newcomers largely from Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

**CST**

## What you should know about this study

While data in this study come mainly from the 2001 Census of Population, previous censuses were also used to compare the citizenship take-up rates over time. In addition, supplementary data were used from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) and administrative data from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) which links the records of citizenship applications from the Citizenship Registry System (CRS) to those of permanent residency applicants from the Permanent Resident Data System (PRDS). The PRDS contains detailed information on immigrant landing characteristics, while the citizenship registry yields data on the citizenship process, such as date of application and the granting of citizenship.

Citizenship refers to the legal citizenship status of the respondent. Canadian citizenship is obtained either by birth or by naturalization. A small number of individuals who were born outside Canada to at least one Canadian parent are considered Canadian citizens by birth. Only those landed immigrants who have met certain criteria are eligible for Canadian citizenship by naturalization.

Since 1977, Canada has recognized multiple citizenships, that is, Canadian citizens have the right to hold citizenship of another country. Immigrants who obtain Canadian citizenship also have the right to retain their previous nationality. Similarly, Canadian citizens who become citizens of another country do not lose their Canadian citizenship. In the 2001 Census, those who were citizens of more than one country were instructed to provide the name of up to two other countries of which they were citizens.

Landed immigrants, or 'immigrants', are those who have been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Some immigrants have resided in Canada for many years, while others have arrived only recently.

Citizenship bestows certain benefits and privileges not enjoyed by non-citizens, such as the right to vote, hold public office, be employed in the public service and carry a Canadian passport. However, not having citizenship does not bar an individual from moving freely inside Canada, nor from obtaining education, employment or government services (such as health care). Still, citizenship acquisition is a choice made voluntarily by some and not by others. This study explores the characteristics associated with becoming a Canadian citizen among immigrants who have resided in Canada for various periods of time.

### The decision to naturalize happens soon after arrival

Several factors influence citizenship intentions, such as the anticipated length of residence (whether or not

one intends to settle permanently in Canada or eventually move to another country); rules in the source country governing dual citizenship; attachment to both the source and the host countries; source country tax regimes and legislation on the transfer of assets; time, cost and knowledge of the process of naturalization. In addition, those wanting to obtain Canadian citizenship must demonstrate some knowledge of Canada's history, geography, and the rights and responsibilities of being a Canadian citizen, as well as an ability to converse in at least one of Canada's official languages.

The decision to naturalize appears to be one that is considered early on in the migration process. Even after just 6 months of residence, before becoming eligible for citizenship, and at a time when many are still adjusting to their new country, the

vast majority of immigrants indicate their intention to naturalize once they become eligible. In fact, according to data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC), more than 9 in 10 (92%) immigrants who arrived in Canada between October 2000 and September 2001 intended to become Canadian citizens. The remaining were not sure, or did not intend to naturalize. A comparable survey in Australia found that 81% of recent immigrants wanted to become Australian citizens after just a few months of residence.<sup>1</sup>

### More than 8 in 10 eligible immigrants have become Canadian citizens

The vast majority of people residing in Canada (95%) are Canadian citizens—81% by birth and 14% by naturalization. The remaining 5% are

**GST**

## Eligibility requirements vary from country to country

	Canada	United States	Australia	United Kingdom
Residency requirement	3 of the 4 years prior to application	5 years of continuous residence (i.e. no more than one year absent, resided in one state for at least 3 months)	2 years of permanent residence	5 years of residence, with the last year being continuous
Language requirement	Knowledge of basic English or French	Ability to read, write, speak and understand ordinary English	Understanding of basic English	Sufficient knowledge of English, Welsh or Scottish Gaelic
Knowledge requirement	Basic knowledge of Canada — geography, history, government	Knowledge and understanding of U.S. history and government	Knowledge and understanding of the responsibilities and privileges of Australian citizenship	N/A
Dual citizenship for naturalized citizens	Yes	No	Yes	No
Foreign-born as a percentage of the population	18%	11%	22%	8%
Percent of naturalized citizens among eligible immigrants	84%	40%	75%	56%

Sources: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Statistics Canada, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, U.S. Census Bureau, Australian Citizenship Council, Australian Bureau of Statistics, and British Home Office: Immigration and Nationality Directorate.



Moving from permanent resident status to Canadian citizen may be interpreted as an indicator of integration into society in general, and the labour market in particular. According to the 2001 Census, some socio-economic characteristics of naturalized citizens resembled more closely those of the general population than the characteristics of their non-naturalized counterparts.

In 2001, the employment rate for naturalized citizens aged 25 to 54 was 84%, while the rate for those who were eligible, but did not have Canadian citizenship, was 80%. In comparison, the employment rate for the general population was 85%. Similarly, the unemployment rate was higher among those who did not naturalize: 6.9% versus 5.7% among the population who became citizens.

Nonetheless, the occupations of naturalized Canadians were similar to the occupations of those who were eligible, but have not yet taken up citizenship. Among the top occupations in 2001 for naturalized Canadian citizens were clerical, sales and service, and professional occupations in natural and applied sciences. For those who did not have Canadian citizenship, the most frequent occupations

comprised clerical, sales and service, and machine operators in manufacturing.

Naturalized citizens had higher income levels than those who did not have citizenship. For example, about 20% of naturalized Canadian citizens had a personal income under \$10,000 in 2000, compared with 26% of those who were eligible, but did not have Canadian citizenship. Correspondingly, naturalized Canadian citizens were more likely to have personal incomes of at least \$60,000 in 2000 than those who did not have citizenship: 11% versus 8% respectively. The income profile of naturalized citizens more closely resembled that of the total population (10% of the total population over the age of 15 years had an income of \$60,000 or more).

Naturalized Canadian citizens had a small edge in terms of educational attainment. Nearly one-quarter (23%) had a university degree or higher, compared with 21% of those who did not have citizenship. This level of educational attainment is likely related to the immigration program, which has increasingly emphasized human capital, such as education, as a part of the entrance criteria into Canada.

either not yet eligible for citizenship, are eligible but have not taken the steps to naturalize, or they are non-permanent residents. Based on the 2001 Census, some 84% of all eligible immigrants (those who have resided in Canada for at least three years) are Canadian citizens.

The proportion of eligible immigrants who naturalize is larger in Canada than those of other major immigrant-receiving countries. For example, in Australia, where a minimum two years of residency is required for eligibility for citizenship, 75% of eligible immigrants are naturalized. In the United States, where a five-year residency requirement is in effect, 40% of foreign-born residents are American citizens.<sup>2</sup> Finally, in the United Kingdom, 56% of immigrants who have resided there for at least five years are British citizens.

### **Younger immigrants more likely to become citizens**

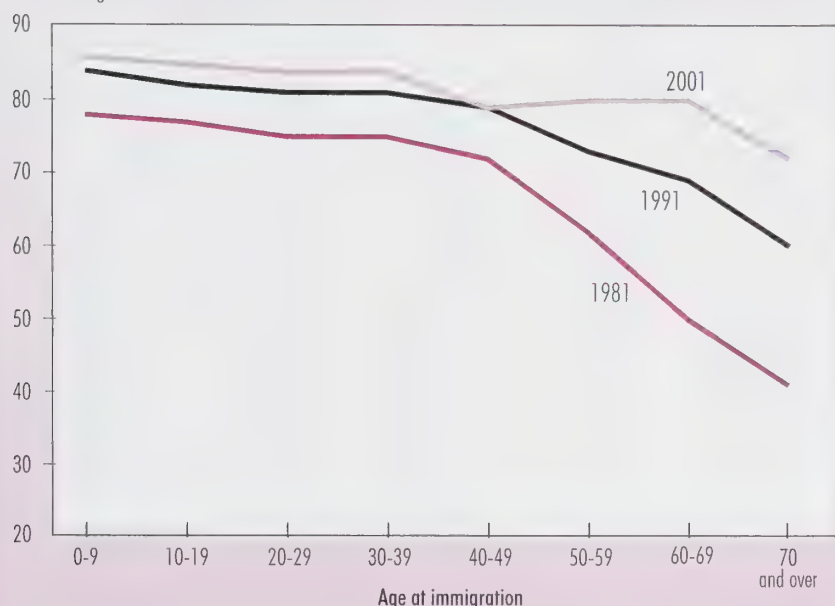
Younger immigrants have more to gain from the benefits that citizenship provides than their older counterparts. For example, younger immigrants are more likely to be in the labour market and so may be attracted to citizenship because it can give them access to certain occupations that are available only to Canadian citizens. In addition, younger immigrants have more time to integrate into society. Conversely, older immigrants, whose language skills are often weaker and who may not be in the labour force, may view citizenship as less important. According to some researchers, immigrants who are older at the time of entry do not have as much time to enjoy the benefits of citizenship and, consequently, are not as likely to embrace it.<sup>3</sup> As a result, the rate

of naturalization is higher among immigrants who arrived in Canada at a younger age: about 85% of those aged less than 20 years at the time of entry are now citizens versus 72% of those aged 70 years or over.

### **The longer newcomers stay in Canada, the more likely they are to become citizens**

In addition to the age at immigration, the length of residence in Canada also affects naturalization rates. Time affords more opportunity for acquiring citizenship and adapting to or integrating into the cultural, economic and social landscape of the country. Indeed, in 2001, the proportion of immigrants who had become Canadian citizens increased from 57% of those who had been residents for 4 to 5 years to 79% of 6- to 10- year residents to 90% of immigrants who had been in the country for 30 years or more.

% of immigrants who are Canadian citizens



Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1981-2001.

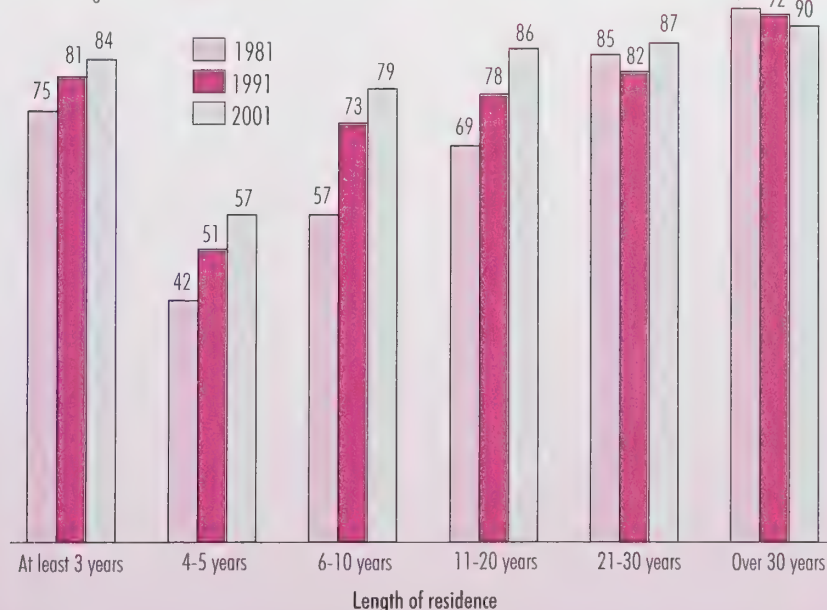
It is interesting to note that recent groups of newcomers are taking less time to become citizens than previous groups. In addition, the proportion of eligible immigrants who naturalize is higher for recent than for earlier groups of immigrants. For example, 57% of newly eligible immigrants (those who have resided in Canada for 4 to 5 years) became citizens in 2001, compared with 51% of their counterparts in 1991 and 42% in 1981. This trend may be a result of the countries of origin of immigrants, whereby more recent groups tend to be from regions with a higher propensity to naturalize.

### Immigrants from different origins naturalize at different rates

Recent immigrants have very different origins than those who had landed in earlier years. Newcomers entering Canada in the last decade were more likely to have been born in Asian countries such as China, India or the Philippines. Conversely, those who came before the 1960s tended to be from the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany and other European countries.

Data from the Census of Population shows that newly eligible immigrants from Africa or Asia are more likely to become Canadian citizens than those from Europe and the United States. According to the 2001 Census, 38% of those who were born in the United Kingdom and 48% of those born in the United States who had arrived in Canada in 1996 or 1997 were citizens by 2001. The proportion increases to about 50% after 6 to 10 years of residence. These source countries are politically democratic and economically capitalist with social, political and economic structures similar to those of Canada.

% of immigrants who are Canadian citizens



Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1981-2001.



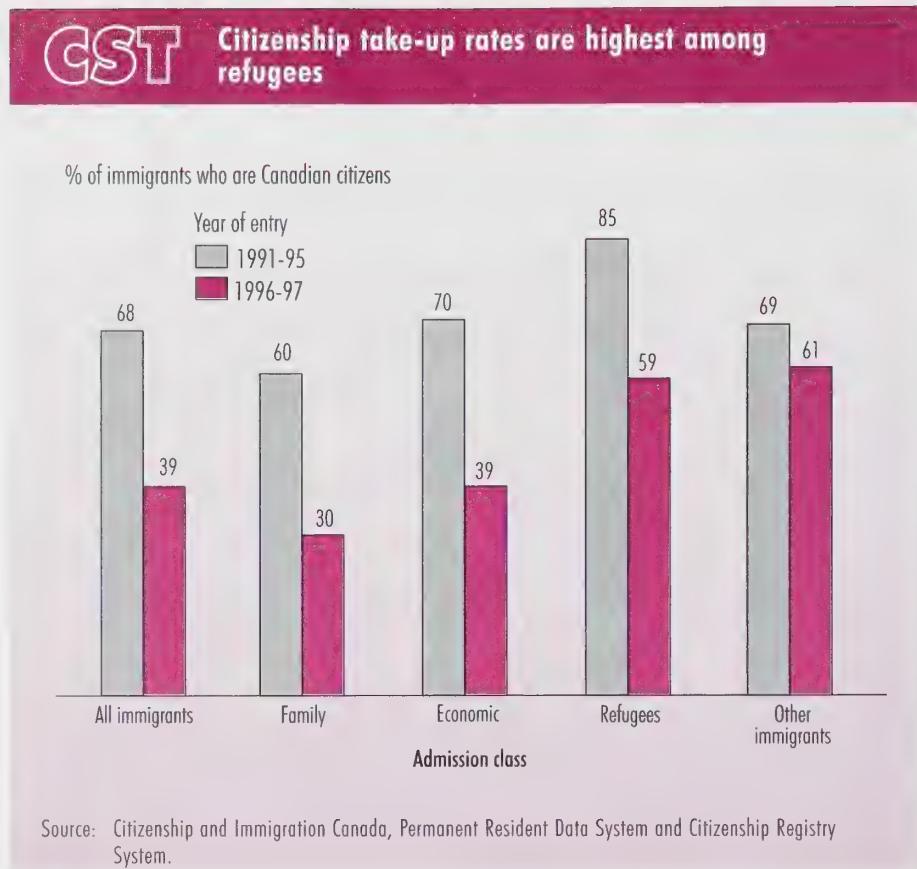
On the other hand, immigrants from China were more likely to have taken up Canadian citizenship by 2001: 62% of 4- to 5-year residents and nearly 90% of 6- to 10-year residents. Similarly, newcomers from Africa had high naturalization rates. In 2001, some 64% of newly eligible immigrants and 86% of 6- to 10-year residents were Canadian citizens. It appears that immigrants who came from countries with developing economies, and political and social systems different from Canada's, are becoming Canadians at a higher rate, perhaps because they are more likely to want to settle in Canada permanently.

Although immigrants from less economically developed countries tend to naturalize faster and in greater proportion than other immigrants, as the length of residence in Canada increases, the citizenship rates of immigrants from all regions of the world rise and converge.

### Who does not take up citizenship?

While the vast majority of eligible immigrants in Canada have naturalized, 16% have yet to take up Canadian citizenship. The reasons for not becoming a citizen are complex and varied. They may be related to laws in the source and the adopted countries prohibiting dual citizenship. Emotional or economic ties, such as taxation or property ownership in the source country, may also sway the decision one way or another, as may barriers such as language ability, time, financial cost or lack of general knowledge of the process.

Citizens of economically developed countries such as Japan or the United States, which do not allow dual citizenship, also tend to retain their pre-migration citizenship status and do not become naturalized



Canadian citizens:<sup>4</sup> about 4 in 10 individuals from these countries who were eligible to become Canadian citizens have not done so. Indeed, even after more than 30 years in Canada, United States-born residents of Canada continued to be the least likely to hold Canadian citizenship (in 2001 32% were non-citizens). In contrast, citizens of developing countries or countries with different political systems that do not allow dual citizenship (i.e. Viet Nam, the People's Republic of China) tend to renounce their former citizenship status and become Canadian citizens. In 2001, 93% of immigrants from Viet Nam and 89% from the People's Republic of China who were eligible for Canadian citizenship had adopted it.

### Refugees most likely to become Canadian citizens

Citizenship take-up rates differ depending on the admission class (family, economic or refugee) at time of landing. Refugees who arrived between 1991 and 1995 (6 to 10 years in Canada in 2001) recorded a citizenship take-up rate of 85%; those who landed in 1996 or 1997 had a take-up rate of 59% by 2001. In contrast, family class immigrants — who tend to be older at the time of landing than other immigrants — recorded the lowest citizenship take-up rates: 60% among those who have lived in Canada for 6 to 10 years and 30% among the newly eligible.



The differences in take-up rates by admission class can be explained in large part by the source countries, the circumstances leading to immigration, and age at admission. For instance, the vast majority of refugees come from developing countries, and are most likely to become naturalized Canadians. As well, immigrants who enter as refugees are likely to leave their source country under adverse conditions and hence are more likely to migrate on a permanent basis. Becoming Canadian could be seen as the final step of their migration.

### Summary

Migrants first choose their destination and eventually decide whether or not to become citizens of their adopted homeland. While a number of factors come into play with both choices, the majority do become Canadian. By doing so, they obtain the rights, privileges and responsibilities associated with being Canadian and, in a sense, make the symbolic transition from permanent resident to citizen. Citizenship take-up rates, however, vary by admission class, place of birth, age at immigration and length of residence in Canada. Naturalization occurred the fastest and take-up rates were the highest among refugees, who came mostly from developing countries. In terms of age, younger immigrants were more likely to become citizens than their older

counterparts. And finally, those who had lived in Canada for a longer period of time had higher citizenship take-up rates than more recent arrivals. Those who do not acquire Canadian citizenship, despite being eligible, tend to be older or from countries with comparable economic or social structures.



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# Marital satisfaction during the retirement years

by Lee Chalmers and Anne Milan

**T**he aging Canadian population and overall decline in the average age of retirement since the 1970s suggest that retirement is becoming an immediate issue in the lives of more Canadians. As do most other events in life which mark a transition, the years leading up to retirement may confront people with new challenges as well as opportunities. In addition to health, finances and several other factors, family relationships in general and satisfaction with marriage in particular greatly influence couples' experience of these years.

This article uses data from the 2001 and 1995 General Social Surveys (GSS) to examine older couples' (aged 50 to 74 years) perceptions of their relationship during retirement or the years leading to retirement. Specifically, the analysis looks at couples' employment or retirement status, each individual's relative contribution to household income and the presence of adult children in the home as they relate to the quality of their relationship.

## Older couples generally report good relationships

Experts often disagree about the link between the quality of relationships and retirement as well as the factors that influence this link. Some researchers have proposed that retirement increases marital satisfaction by reducing competition from other roles and thereby increasing opportunity for marital companionship and intimacy.<sup>1</sup>

Alternatively, the rise in marital interaction resulting from retirement can be viewed as an invasion of privacy that results in tension and disruption.<sup>2</sup> A third possibility is that retirement does not disrupt long-established patterns even though the couple may experience some lifestyle changes.<sup>3</sup>

While the type and number of indicators used to measure marital quality (satisfaction with one's marital relationship and one's spouse<sup>4</sup>) vary from one study to another, most researchers agree that marital quality has both positive and negative dimensions. For the purposes of this analysis, indicators of communication, conflict, and happiness with the relationship were combined to form a "relationship quality scale," which can be used to measure how couples rate their relationship and their partners at one particular point in time.



According to the GSS, couples between the ages of 50 and 74 years are generally satisfied with each other. On the relationship quality scale, which assigns a value of 9 to the lowest and 35 to the highest quality, the average score was 30 for both men and women in 2001, virtually unchanged from 1995. In addition, the older men and women were, the more likely they were to rate their relationship high, particularly in 1995.

## Couples fare better when they are both retired

Over the past decade, industrial restructuring and reshaped employment patterns have contributed to increased pressures on the relationships of older couples. Some of today's adults may be facing retirement earlier and in a less financially secure position than they had intended. Continuing increases in women's labour force participation have meant that more and more couples are entering the retirement transition as members of dual-earner households with the associated challenges of balancing work and family commitments and synchronising retirement timing given differences in pension eligibility.<sup>5</sup>

Older couples where both partners were working or looking for work (a synchronous pattern) reported the lowest relationship quality—significantly lower than couples where both partners were retired/housekeeping, with scores of approximately 29 versus 31, respectively. This difference held for men and women



Data in this article come from the 1995 and 2001 General Social Surveys (GSS). Both cycles focus on family and monitor the changes in Canadian family structures. The sample in each cycle was drawn from the population aged 15 and over who lived in private households in the 10 provinces. The 1995 GSS and the 2001 GSS interviewed about 10,800 and 24,300 individuals respectively. The sample for this analysis is based on men and women who were part of a heterosexual couple (married or common-law) and between the ages of 50 and 74, resulting in almost 1,800 respondents (about 1,000 men and 800 women) in 1995 and almost 4,700 respondents (roughly 2,500 men and 2,200 women) in 2001. The 50 to 74 age range was selected to capture the vast majority of those going through the retirement transition process. In addition, all analyses have been conducted separately for men and women, as the retirement transition is a gendered process.

The dependent variable is relationship quality. Nine indicators were combined to form a relationship quality scale, providing a more robust measure than would a single indicator. Scale items included measures of communication

(frequency of laughing together, and having calm discussions), conflict (frequency of arguments about chores, leisure, money, affection, children, and in-laws), and degree of happiness with the relationship. Combining the items resulted in a numerical variable ranging from 9 (lowest quality) to 35 (highest quality).

Differences in perceptions of relationship quality were examined separately for men and women for each of the survey years using one-way analysis of variance. Ordinary least squares regression analyses were performed for men and women in both survey years to assess the extent to which various characteristics of the couple (age and education differences between respondent and partner, synchronous/asynchronous employment pattern, relative contribution to household income, and presence of respondents' children at home) accounted for variation in perception of relationship quality scores beyond that accounted for by various characteristics of the individual respondent (age, education, religiosity, and importance to one's happiness of having a paying job).

in both 1995 and 2001. In addition, women in 2001 who were in the labour force and whose partner was retired/housekeeping (an asynchronous pattern) reported significantly lower relationship quality on average than women in the "both retired/housekeeping group," scores of 29 versus 31, respectively. Indeed, this is the only employment activity category where the average scores for women decreased from 1995 to 2001.

The connection between lower relationship quality and asynchronous retirement patterns has been established with considerable consistency across studies.<sup>6</sup> Previous research has shown that the husband retired/wife employed pattern is especially likely to be associated with lower marital satisfaction, challenging as it does gender expectations that husbands provide while wives keep

house.<sup>7</sup> However, in this analysis the impact of labour force activity on relationship quality disappears when controlling for other factors.

### **The higher women's contribution to household income, the lower they rate their relationship**

While relative contributions to household income made little difference to relationships for men and women in 1995 or for men in 2001, it did have a significant impact for women in 2001. Although traditional gender-role attitudes may be weakening over time,<sup>8</sup> some still appear to prevail in the relationships of couples aged 50 to 74 years.<sup>9</sup>

Women who contributed over 75% of household income rated their relationship significantly lower than those who provided less than 50%. While the majority of women continued to bring home less than 50%

of household income, a greater percentage contributed 75% or more in 2001 than six years earlier (12% in 2001 versus 7% in 1995). This suggests that increased labour force participation and greater bread-winning responsibilities take a toll on relationships for women. However, after accounting for other variables, contributions to income lose their statistical significance for women, indicating that other factors are having a greater impact on the quality of relationships.

In contrast, in 2001 men who provided less than 50% of household income rated their relationship higher than men who contributed at least 75%, after controlling for other factors. Perhaps sharing bread-winning responsibilities with their wives has been a welcome development for some men.



	1995		2001	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Average score on relationship quality scale (min=9, max=35)				
<b>Respondent's and partner's main activity</b>				
<i>Both retired/housekeeping</i>	31.2	30.6	30.7	30.9
<i>Both in the labour force</i>	28.9 *	28.9 *	29.5 *	29.2 *
<i>Respondent in labour force, partner retired/housekeeping</i>	30.5	30.3	30.2	29.4 *
<i>Respondent retired/housekeeping, partner in labour force</i>	30.0	29.6	30.5 *	30.2 *
<b>Respondent's income as percentage of household income</b>				
<i>At least 75%</i>	30.4	29.5	30.0	29.0
<i>Between 50% and 75%</i>	30.2	29.9	30.0	29.8
<i>Less than 50%</i>	29.6	29.6	30.6	30.1 *
<i>Do not know, not stated</i>	30.2	30.4	30.2	30.3 *
<b>Number of children living at home</b>				
<i>None</i>	30.9	30.5	30.7	30.5
<i>One</i>	29.6 *	29.0 *	29.8 *	29.4 *
<i>Two or more</i>	28.8 *	27.3 *	28.6 *	28.3 *

Reference group shown in italics.

\* Indicates statistically significant difference from the reference group for each category.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1995 and 2001.

### Adult children at home associated with lower relationship quality

An increasingly unstable job market for young people has meant that more couples about to retire or already retired are facing the challenges of a "cluttered" or "refilled" nest.<sup>10</sup> Given that men and women in 2001 were significantly more likely than in 1995 to report having children at home, stay-at-home and "boomerang" children may figure into the retirement transition of an increasing number of Canadian couples.

While these adult children undoubtedly benefit from staying in or moving back to the family home, the benefit to their parents is more questionable. Both in 1995 and 2001, men and women with children present in the home rated their

marriage quality lower than those who had no children at home (scores of approximately 31 for those with no children compared with 30 or less for those with one adult child). With two or more children in the house, the quality of relationship reported by parents fell even lower (to scores of 28 or less). This pattern persisted, even when controlling for other factors.

Of course, this is not to say that parents and adult children cannot live together without negative consequences. Many couples, in fact, have reported positive experiences with their still-at-home and "boomerang" adult children.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps it is not so much the fact of adult children living with their parents, but the reasons behind this situation that are responsible for the drop in

relationship quality. According to research, when the child-launch delay is rooted in the young person's labour market difficulties (e.g. unemployment) and accompanied by economic dependency, the impact on family relationships, including marital quality, is more likely to be negative.<sup>12</sup>

### Age differences between partners do not affect relationship

Previous research found that individuals whose partner's age, religiosity (i.e. frequency of attendance at religious services) or education were substantially different from their own were less satisfied with their marriage than couples who were similar to each other in terms of these characteristics.<sup>13</sup> However, the results of this study show that most of these differences had no effect on the quality of relationships.

Age differences between partners, for example, had no influence on how they rated their relationship. In 2001 only, men whose formal education consisted of at least one more year of study than their partner's were slightly less satisfied with their marriage than men who studied for the same number of years as their wives. Attendance at religious services did not significantly affect the quality of relationship for either men or women in 1995 or 2001.

Finally, the importance attached to having a paying job did not influence men's perceptions of their relationship in 1995, but it did so significantly in 2001. Specifically, men aged 50 to 74 who felt that having a paid job was very important or important scored lower on the relationship quality scale than those for whom having a paid job was not important.<sup>14</sup> Women in 2001 who believed it was important to have a paying job were significantly more likely than those who believed it was not very important or not at all important to report lower relationship quality.<sup>15</sup>

## Summary

Older people generally rate the quality of their relationship highly and the older men and women are, the more likely they are to feel positively about their relationship. However, having adult children at home is negatively associated with relationship quality for both women and men, even after controlling for other factors. These findings confirm the importance of taking linked lives and divergences from what is considered a standardized life course (go to school, work and raise a family, launch the children, retire) into account when considering the retirement process. In addition, the research can be extended to explore the interconnections between couples' retirement transition and the presence of still-at-home or boomerang children.



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9. In this regard, results from the 1995 GSS revealed that 44% of men and 46% of women agreed or strongly agreed with the item that a "job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children." Ghalam, N.Z. Autumn 1997. "Attitudes toward women, work and family." *Canadian Social Trends*. p. 16. For the present group of 50- to 74-year-olds from the 1995 GSS, 63% of the men and 62% of the women agreed or strongly agreed with this item, and 41% of the men and 36% of the women agreed or strongly agreed that "a man's role is to bring enough money home." These gender-role attitude items were not included in the 2001 GSS.
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15. The percentage of women indicating that having a paying job was "very important" increased from 12% in 1995 to 32% in 2001 and the percentage saying it was "not very important" or "not at all important" declined from 47% to 34%.

# Self-employment activity of rural Canadians

by Valerie du Plessis and Melissa Cooke-Reynolds

**S**elf-employment is more common in rural than urban Canada. In 2001, about one in four workers in rural areas, villages and small towns earned at least some of their income from self-employment, compared with only one in six in Canada as a whole.

Of course, farming is a key element explaining high self-employment rates in rural and small town Canada. But although farm self-employment remains a key source of income and employment for many, its importance has declined and self-employment activity on the non-farm side has been increasing rapidly.

Other, less well-understood characteristics that also influence self-employment include "metro-adjacency" and low population density. Simply put, greater distances from larger urban centres mean there is less access to the jobs, markets and employment-related services that tend to be concentrated in bigger towns. Thus, researchers suggest, some rural workers may be self-employed out of necessity, because paid employment or job choice is lacking, whereas others may see an opportunity to provide products and services that their

community would not offer otherwise.<sup>1,2</sup> As well, the low population density of smaller towns and villages may produce greater levels of self-employment due to scale. Because local businesses employ fewer people, the ratio of self-employed entrepreneurs to their paid workers is higher than it would be in cities, where every law office, restaurant, retail store and trucking company would have a larger workforce.

The forces driving self-employment in smaller labour markets may be complex, but there

is no doubt that entrepreneurship is thriving in rural Canada, despite the waning importance of farm self-employment. This article uses data from the Census of Population to describe non-farm self-employment among workers aged 20 to 64 living in Canada's rural areas and small towns. Because it is not uncommon to hold more than one job,<sup>3</sup> this article uses the concept of self-employed *activity* rather than *job* to identify workers who earn at least some of their income from self-employment.





This analysis is based on data from the 1981 to 2001 Censuses of Population. The age group 20 to 64 was selected because this group tends to have a stronger attachment to the labour market than workers under 20 or over 64; in fact, it represented 92% of all workers aged 15 and over in Canada in 2001. Data about the respondent's job or business refer to the week prior to the Census, while sources of income data refer to the previous year. However, this does not affect the rate of self-employment or the contribution of self-employment to the worker's income. The Census collects self-employment income in two categories only: net farm income and net non-farm income from an unincorporated business or professional practice. However, if self-employed working owners of an incorporated business reported that it was their main job, they were included in this study.

**Self-employment activity** includes all workers who are self-employed in their main job, as well as employees who reported earning self-employment income from a farm, unincorporated business or professional practice on their Census questionnaire. Those earning income from an

incorporated business outside their main job could not be included because this type of income is not itemised by the Census.

**Self-employed workers:** Working owners of incorporated or unincorporated businesses, with or without paid help, and individuals working without pay for a relative in a family business or farm.

**Main job:** For a person with more than one job, the main job refers to the job at which he or she worked the most hours.

**Rural and small town (RST) labour market:** The labour market that exists *outside* the main commuting zones of larger urban centres of 10,000 or more people.

**RST small towns:** Towns and villages in the RST labour market with populations of 1,000 to 9,999 people.

**RST rural areas:** The RST labour market *outside* small towns and villages of 1,000 or more people.

**Larger urban centres:** The combined populations living in census metropolitan areas (CMAs) and census agglomerations (CAs).

### **Self-employment activity is most common in rural areas**

About 2.5 million workers aged 20 to 64 were living in Canada's rural and small town (RST) labour market in 2001. They comprised 1.6 million workers living in rural areas, and 840,000 in small towns and villages. Twenty-three percent of these workers engaged in at least some self-employment activity, compared with the Canada average of 16%.

Within the RST labour market itself, though, the rate of self-employment activity was almost twice as high for workers in rural areas as in small towns — 28% versus 15%. The principal reason for this

difference is farming, which is dominated by self-employment and is concentrated in the rural countryside. But proportionally more workers in rural areas are now engaged in non-farm than farm self-employment activity — 16% versus 12% in 2001 — representing a major shift since the early 1980s.

Small towns have not been so reliant on farming jobs, and farm self-employment activity rates remained below 2% during the study period from 1981 to 2001. However, this part of the RST labour market also recorded a rise in non-farm self-employment activity from 11% to 14% in 2001.

### **Who are the non-farm self-employed in RST Canada?**

In some respects, they are really no different than workers engaged in self-employment activity on the farm. Nine in 10 self-employed RST workers lived with their immediate family (that is, spouse and/or children) whether their work was done on or off the farm. Interestingly, farming families were marginally more likely to include children: 57% compared with 53% of non-farm self-employed workers lived with their spouse (or common-law partner) and their children. Of those workers who did not live with family, most were living alone.

On the other hand, non-farm self-employed workers are significantly better educated. Sixty per cent had at least some education beyond high school, compared with 47% of

workers self-employed on the farm. This gap may reflect the age distribution of people in farming.<sup>4</sup> In fact, people self-employed on the farm were more likely to be in their

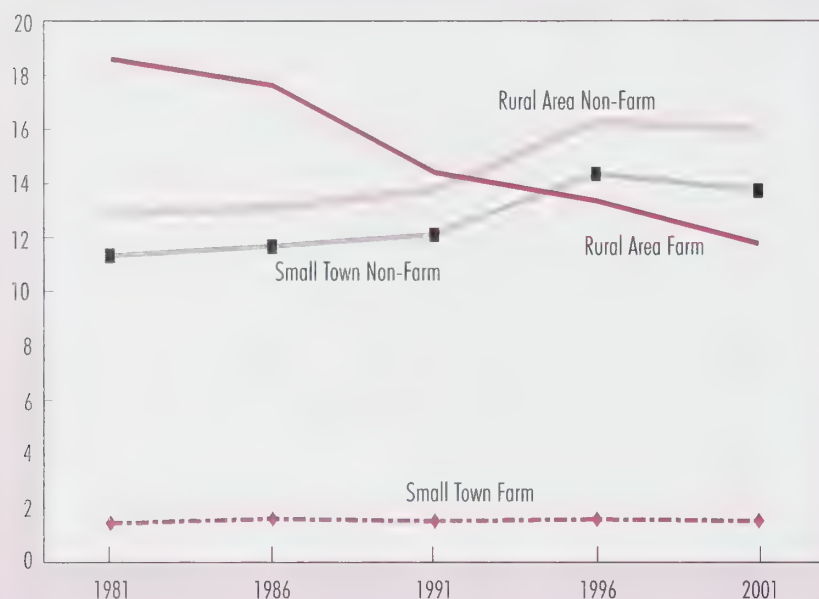
50s or early 60s — almost 39% compared with 33% of non-farm self-employed workers.

One-third of non-farm self-employed workers in the RST labour market were new to the area. According to the 2001 Census, some had moved from a larger urban centre (12%) or another RST area (7%) within the past five years, while 14% had moved within the RST labour market itself. In contrast, only 16% of people self-employed in farming had changed addresses.

**CST**

## More rural workers were engaged in non-farm than farm self-employment activity by the mid-1990s

% of RST workers aged 20 to 64 engaged in self-employment activity



Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1981-2001, custom tabulation.

## Highest growth in non-farm self-employment is among older workers

Men and women in their 50s and 60s have been at the forefront of the shift to non-farm self-employment. In rural areas, they experienced greater increases in non-farm self-employment activity than workers in younger age groups. (Concurrently, they reported greater losses on the farm side.) Between 1981 and 2001, non-farm self-employment rates for men aged 50 to 64 increased from 16% to 23%, while rates for younger men remained flat. And although rural women in every age group recorded gains, those aged 50 to 64 experienced the greatest increase, with non-farm self-employment rates rising from less than 12% to 17% over the period.

In the workforces of small towns and villages, it is also older workers who have recorded the greatest gains. Among workers aged 50 to 64, non-farm rates increased from 17% to 22% for men and from 9% to 16% for women. The growth experienced by women under age 50 was much smaller, while rates for younger men declined slightly over the period.

Although high growth in non-farm self-employment among older workers is consistent with the national trend, in RST areas affected by the decline in farming, it may also speak to falling demand for farm labour. It is possible that some workers in their 50s and 60s started non-farm businesses after retiring from

**CST**

## Self-employment activity is most common in rural areas

	Canada	Rural and small town areas		
		Total	Rural areas	Small towns
			'000s	
All workers (aged 20-64)	13,522	2,500	1,660	840
			% of all workers	
All self-employment activity	16	23	28	15
Self-employed in main job	13	19	22	12
Income from self-employment	3	5	6	3
Non-farm self-employment activity	14	15	16	14
Self-employed in main job	11	13	14	12
Income from self-employment	2	2	3	2
Farm self-employment activity	2	8	12	2
Self-employed in main job	1	6	8	1
Income from self-employment	1	3	3	1

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001, custom tabulation.



farming, or in addition to their regular farming operations.<sup>5</sup> Switching careers would be entirely feasible since many of the skills required in modern-day farming, such as

computer operation and business management, as well as the type of equipment and facilities farmers own, are generally transferable to other industries.<sup>6,7,8</sup>

## GST Are self-employed workers running businesses in the city?

At the same time that rates of non-farm self-employment activity have been growing in rural and small town Canada, people have been moving into these areas. A 2002 Statistics Canada study documents the migration into rural areas throughout the 1970s, 1980s and into the 1990s. Specifically, the study notes the "small but noticeably higher rate" of RST in-migration among the 55 to 64 age group.<sup>1</sup>

Of course, one of the attractions of self-employment is the freedom to choose one's place of work. In the era of the Internet and telework, many potential entrepreneurs may dream of working from home. One must therefore ask if some of the growth in non-farm self-employment, especially among those workers aged 50 to 64, can be attributed to people who live in the country but actually conduct their business in larger urban centres.

According to the 2001 Census, about 12% of non-farm self-employed RST workers were recent arrivals, that is, they had been living in an urban centre five years before (1996). Proportionally more had moved from the city to small towns (13%) than to rural areas (11%). One in 10 were actually running their businesses in the city, but fewer from small towns were commuting into the city to work (7% versus 11% living in RST rural areas). This probably reflects entrepreneurs who moved to the rural countryside but commute back and forth to larger urban centres to work.

1. Rothwell, N., R.D. Bollman, J. Tremblay and J. Marshall. March 2002. "Migration to and from rural and small town Canada." *Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin* 3, 6 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 21-006-XIE).

### One in 10 RST workers engaged in self-employment activity run their business in the city

Residence in 2001	Total ('000s)	% working in a larger urban centre	% residing in a larger urban centre in 1996
Workers aged 20-64 engaged in non-farm self-employment activity			
<b>RST Total</b>	380	10	12
Men	233	10	11
Women	147	10	13
<b>Small towns</b>	115	7	13
Men	68	8	12
Women	48	6	13
<b>Rural areas</b>	265	11	11
Men	165	11	11
Women	100	12	13

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001, custom tabulation.

### Why is non-farm self-employment activity growing?

A variety of reasons account for the steady rise in non-farm self-employment while farm self-employment falls. Among them is the fact that the number of census farms has declined and that productivity is higher among those operations that remain. Both factors reduce the requirement for farm labour. But according to a 2002 Statistics Canada study, another element should also be taken into account: the sharp rise in demand for non-farm labour that provided more off-farm employment opportunities, especially for farmers' spouses, during the late 1990s.<sup>9</sup>

The 2001 Census data support this suggestion. Only 69% of RST workers engaged in self-employed farming activity said that farming was in fact their main job. This indicates that many workers in rural and small town labour markets found there was something to be gained working off the farm.

### Most non-farm self-employed workers operate businesses in the service sector

Where are self-employed people in rural and small town Canada finding non-farm business opportunities? Although the majority have carved out niches in the service sector, fully 29% are operating businesses in the goods sector.<sup>10</sup> This is a substantially larger proportion of the self-employed workforce than in Canada as a whole (21%) and reflects mainly a greater concentration of self-employed workers in the forestry, fishing and hunting industries. Like farming, these are primary industries whose activities are based in the rural countryside and are characterized by a high incidence of self-employment.

A smaller share of the non-farm self-employed RST workforce has built businesses in the services sector — 71% compared with 79% nationally — reflecting lower demand for this kind of work outside urban centres. For example, in 2001, only 17% of self-employed persons in the RST



labour market were working in producer services, compared with 27% in Canada as a whole. On the other hand, proportionally more were working in distributive services, suggesting that self-employed RST workers have found demand for their skills in those industries.

Looking at self-employment rates within each individual industry enriches the story further, because it identifies whether individuals operating small business are helping to meet the needs of the market. The RST non-farm self-employment rate is considerably higher than the national average in the following industries: wholesale and retail trade;

transportation and warehousing; business, building and other support services; information, culture and recreation services; accommodation and food services; and other services.<sup>11</sup> These are areas of the economy that might easily lend themselves to exploitation by local entrepreneurs since they are largely dependent for their success on intimate knowledge of the area, its markets and its development potential. Furthermore, each of these sectors can be served by smaller firms, meaning that the ratio of self-employed owners to paid workers would be higher in these industries.

### Majority of non-farm self-employed earn their main living operating their business<sup>12</sup>

Over half — 53% — of self-employed non-farm workers in rural and small town Canada earn at least 75% of their income from their own unincorporated business. This is somewhat lower than the national figure of 57%. However, the overall figure masks the fact that average earnings can vary substantially, depending on the industry in which an individual works. Self-employed workers in producer services, for example, have much higher average earnings relative to those in "other services" or the goods sector.<sup>13</sup>

As is the case among paid workers, a gap in earnings exists between women and men. Men running an unincorporated business were considerably more likely to earn more than three-quarters of their total income from non-farm self-employment: on average, 58% of men compared to 47% of women in the RST labour market. There are many reasons why women generally earn less than men from self-employment, among them the fact that women more typically work in lower-paying industries; they more often work part-time, especially in rural and small-town Canada; and they are much less likely than men to employ paid workers, which is generally associated with larger enterprises and higher income.<sup>14</sup>

### Summary

Self-employment has always been more common in rural and small town Canada than in larger urban centres. This has historically been due to the effect of farming, but it remains true as the importance of the non-farming economy strengthens. During the past two decades, non-farm self-employment activity has become increasingly important as a source of employment and income.

**CST**

### Rates of non-farm self-employment in distributive services and producer services are higher in RST labour markets

	Canada	Rural and small town areas		
		Total RST	Rural areas	Small towns
Self-employed as % of non-farm employment (aged 20-64)				
All non-farm industries	12	14	15	12
Goods sector	11	13	15	9
Forestry, fishing and hunting	26	29	32	20
Mining, oil and gas extraction, utilities	4	6	8	5
Construction	26	29	30	26
Manufacturing	5	5	7	4
Services sector	12	14	15	13
Distributive services	11	16	17	13
Wholesale trade	9	12	13	10
Retail trade	12	17	18	14
Transportation and warehousing	13	17	19	14
Producer services	19	23	25	21
Finance, insurance, real estate and leasing	9	11	11	9
Professional, scientific and technical	27	34	36	32
Business, building and other support	19	28	30	25
Social, cultural and professional services	9	11	12	10
Educational services	3	3	3	3
Health, care and social assistance	11	9	8	10
Informational, cultural and recreational	14	19	21	15
Accommodation and food services	10	16	18	13
Other services	23	32	34	29

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001, custom tabulation.

Older workers have been at the forefront of these changes, reporting the greatest increases in rates of non-farm self-employment and, on the farm side, the greatest losses.

In 2001, about one-third of non-farm self-employed workers in the RST labour market operated businesses in the goods sector. However, fully two-thirds of non-farm business owners worked in the service sector, with high representation in the distributive services and other services industries.

A slim majority of RST entrepreneurs running an unincorporated business earned at least three-quarters of their annual income from self-employment in 2000, with men more likely than women to be making their main livelihood running their own business.



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2. Findeis, J.L., L. Jenson, and G. Cornwell. 1997. "Rural employment alternatives: Wage work versus self-employment among rural households" in Bollman and Bryden (eds.). p. 286.
3. About 5% of workers held more than one job in 2001; this rate of multiple jobholding has been fairly stable since 1987. Marshall, K. April 2002. "Duration of multiple jobholding," *Perspectives on Labour and Income* 3, 4 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE): 5-11.
4. Generally speaking, the average age of farmers has been climbing over the last two decades. The median retirement age is now 66, compared with 62 years for the overall workforce. Bowlby, G. February 2002. "Farmers leaving the field." *Perspectives on Labour and Income* 3, 2 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE): 13-18.
5. *ibid.* In 1998, people employed in agriculture reported one of the highest multiple job-holding rates of any industry – 15% held another job off the farm.
6. Statistics Canada. Autumn 1997. "The self-employed as employers." *Labour Force Update* 1, 3 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 71-005). p. 12.
7. In 1998, over half of farmers who held multiple jobs worked in transportation and warehousing, manufacturing, retail and wholesale trade, health care and social assistance, or educational services. Bowlby. 2002.
8. Reimer, B. 2000. "IWG—self-employment component II: statistics summary." *A Report for the New Rural Economy Project of the Canadian Rural Restructuring Foundation*. Montréal: Concordia University. p. 8.
9. Bowlby. 2002.
10. The Census provides information about the type of industries in which people are self-employed in their main job. This definition is somewhat more limited than the concept of self-employment activity used earlier in this article, but it remains very useful.
11. The industry category "other services" includes car repair and maintenance, repair of household goods, personal care services, funeral services, laundry and dry cleaning, and pet care, as well as services provided by non-government organizations.
12. Census information about income from non-farm self-employment activity is not complete because respondents report only net income from any unincorporated businesses they operate. Income earned from incorporated businesses, which generally report higher revenues, is excluded, meaning that the estimates may be biased downward. Nevertheless, data are available for 65% of rural and 59% of small town non-farm self-employed workers who engaged in non-farm self-employment activity in 2000.
13. Statistics Canada. 1997. p. 31.
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# Chinese Canadians: Enriching the cultural mosaic

by Tina Chui, Kelly Tran and John Flanders



It was gold in the 1800s that lured Chinese immigrants to settle in North America, first in California, then British Columbia. Chinese arrived by the hundreds in 1848 for the gold rush at "Gam Saan", or Gold Mountain, as they called California. A decade later, when news spread about a Fraser River discovery, groups of Chinese headed north to British Columbia in search of a Canadian *Gam Saan*.

The first Chinese community in Canada was founded in Barkerville, B.C. By 1860, Vancouver Island and mainland British Columbia combined had an estimated population of 7,000 Chinese. The first settlers worked the gold fields. But when the gold began to run out, they moved on to other occupations in domestic service and agriculture, and then as railway builders.

Canada's Chinese community has come a long way since these first settlers struggled for a foothold more than a century ago. According to the 2001 Census, Chinese in Canada now comprise the country's largest visible

## CST What you should know about this study

This analysis uses data mainly from the 2001 Census of Population to examine the language, religion and settlement patterns of Chinese in Canada. Respondents identify themselves as belonging to the Chinese population group by checking a mark-in category on the questionnaire. This type of question, used to identify visible minorities,<sup>1</sup> was first introduced in the 1996 Census.

Prior to 1996, data on visible minorities were derived from responses to the ethnic origin question, in conjunction with other ethno-cultural information, such as language, place of birth and religion. Readers should exercise caution in comparing visible minority data between censuses which used different methods of collecting data.

Data on reasons for coming to Canada were obtained from the first wave of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC). Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB) provides landing records of all immigrants coming to Canada since 1980. These records provide information on such characteristics as admission class, country of last permanent residence and place of birth for all immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1980 and 2001.

1. The *Employment Equity Act* defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." The visible minority population includes the following groups: Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese and Korean.



minority group, surpassing one million for the first time, following successive waves of immigration. They are a diverse group, reporting a variety of countries of birth, mother tongues, home languages and religious affiliation. But they are linked by a common ethnicity.

Earlier Chinese immigrants came as manual labourers; recent arrivals tend to come with education and human capital, entering Canada either as skilled workers or to join their family. The children of Chinese immigrants comprise a large proportion of the population as well. Today, the Chinese in Canada are better educated, work in a much wider variety of occupations and are a growing source of skilled and highly-skilled workers.

Today's Chinese Canadian communities are vibrant. These communities have strong infrastructure serving members who come to Canada from different parts of the world. They have a strong presence especially in major cities and have played a role in Canada's cultural mosaic. While some historic Chinatowns have been abandoned, new neighbourhoods, such as the Chinese community in Markham, Ontario, or Richmond, British Columbia, have sprouted in major cities across the country.

This article examines the history of the Chinese in Canada, its diverse population and its contribution to the nation's rich multicultural mosaic.

### Early Chinese immigration: working on the CPR and enduring discrimination

A major wave of Chinese immigration to Canada occurred when thousands of young Chinese were brought to Canada to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. The hardships that the Chinese work gangs endured in helping to link Canada coast-to-coast are well-documented. Many were killed in dynamite blasting accidents; some were buried alive when tunnels

collapsed, while others drowned in the Fraser River. After Donald A. Smith drove home the last spike of the CPR in November 1885, most Chinese workers were simply let go.<sup>1</sup>

For decades following the railway's completion, Chinese immigration was discouraged through restrictive policies, such as the *Chinese Immigration Act*. This act essentially excluded any Chinese person from entering the country and controlled those already in Canada. Some returned to the People's Republic of China, while those who remained worked in industries such as forestry, fishing canneries, sawmills and coal mines. Many moved east in search of other job opportunities. As a result, Chinese communities established themselves across the country.

Although the *Chinese Immigration Act* was repealed in the late 1940s, the number of Chinese immigrants coming to Canada remained relatively small.<sup>2</sup> In fact, between 1921 and 1960, fewer than 30,000 immigrants of Chinese origin arrived in Canada. Nevertheless, the repeal did allow Chinese residents who were not already Canadian citizens to apply for citizenship.

Europe and the United States continued to be the main sources of immigrants to Canada until the 1960s. However, Canada's immigration policy changed significantly in the late 1960s. The universal points system was introduced, and race or national origin was removed as a selection criterion.

With this change, which emphasized skills and educational attainment, many immigrants, Chinese included, arrived with educational and occupational backgrounds that were quite different from those of earlier arrivals.<sup>3</sup>

### Immigration during the past two decades

The level of Chinese immigration to Canada took off during the mid-1980s. Chinese immigrants came mainly from three areas: China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. During the two-decade period from 1981 to 2001, an average of 35,400 immigrants arrived from these three sources each year.

The number of immigrants from Hong Kong increased significantly in the mid-1980s and early 1990s as concerns mounted about the

**GST**

**The growth of the Chinese population in Canada accelerated with changing immigration laws in the late 1960s**

	Number ('000s)	% of total population
1901	17	0.3
1911	28	0.4
1921	40	0.4
1931	47	0.4
1941	35	0.3
1951	33	0.2
1961	58	0.3
1971	119	0.6
1981	300	1.2
1991	626	2.3
2001	1,029	3.5

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1901 to 2001.

## CST Chinese exclusion and the Head Tax

After completion of the Canada Pacific Railway, the 1885 *Act to Restrict and Regulate Chinese Immigration* was the first in a series of exclusionary legislation aimed at limiting Chinese immigration to Canada. This act introduced the \$50 "head tax" which was required of any person of Chinese origin who entered Canada, although diplomats, consular representatives and merchants were exempted. This tax was subsequently increased to \$500.<sup>1</sup>

The 1923 *Chinese Immigration Act* further prevented Chinese from entering Canada, and placed more restrictions on those already living in the country. Chinese residents were denied the right to vote, obtain citizenship and work in certain occupations.<sup>2</sup> During the exclusionary period, the population declined from 46,500 in 1931 to 34,600 in 1941.

Exclusionary legislation also delayed the growth of the Chinese second generation and led to a grossly imbalanced sex ratio: in 1911, the census recorded about 28 Chinese

men for every woman. Because it was difficult or impossible to sponsor wives or family members, many of the men already in Canada during this period lived as bachelors. Married life was limited mainly to wealthier Chinese merchants. The situation today is much different – 98% of married immigrants were living with their spouse in 2001.

It was after the repeal of the *Chinese Immigration Act* in 1947 that wives and children of Chinese residents were permitted to enter Canada. Eventually, immigration policies shifted from a focus on origin or ethnicity toward occupations and humanitarian grounds, thus making way for the increased presence of the Chinese in Canada.

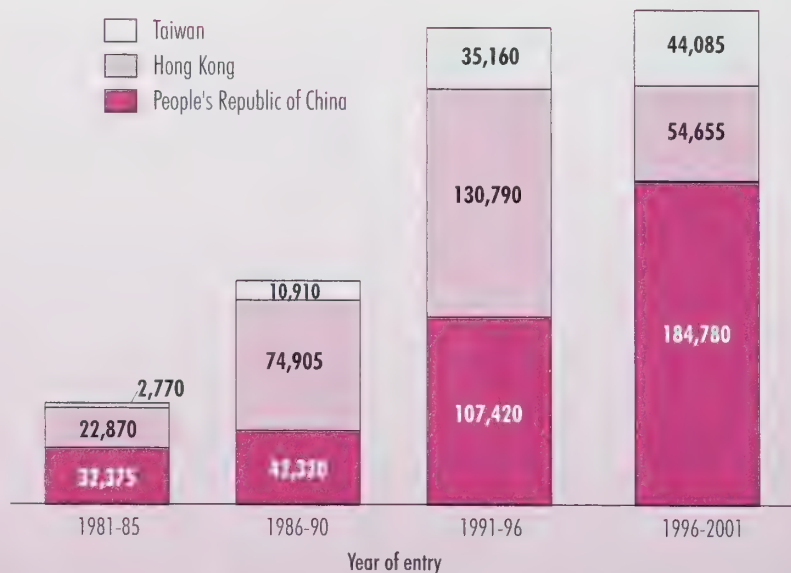
1. Anderson, K.J. 1995. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. McGill-Queen's University Press. Montréal.
2. Li, P.S. 1998. *Chinese in Canada: 2nd Edition*. Oxford University Press. Toronto.

colony's return to the People's Republic of China. Immigration from Taiwan also increased throughout the 1990s. But between 1991 and 2001, the People's Republic of China was the top source country of newcomers to Canada; nearly 197,400, or 11% of all landed immigrants, were born there.

For some Chinese, immigration to Canada was secondary migration. About 5%, or 35,000, of immigrants who were born in China, Taiwan or Hong Kong had been a permanent resident elsewhere before landing in Canada between 1981 and 2001.<sup>4</sup> As well, some Chinese from Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos arrived in the early 1980s, as Canada accepted an unprecedented number of refugees who had fled Southeast Asia.

In the early 1980s, just over half of Chinese immigrants were admitted under the "family" class of immigration. But during the 1990s, this proportion declined as the share of "economic" immigrants increased. In

## CST Immigrants born in the People's Republic of China now make up almost two-thirds of Chinese immigrants



Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database.



the late 1990s, four in 10 immigrants born in the People's Republic of China, Taiwan or Hong Kong arrived in the economic class. A similar share came as their spouses or dependents. Chinese who arrived under the refugee category represent less than 2% of newcomers during the past two decades.

The Chinese population in Canada grew substantially in the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1981, the census enumerated about 300,000 Chinese living in Canada. By 2001, this population had more than tripled to 1,029,400, or 3.5% of Canada's total population. Chinese formed the country's largest visible minority group in 2001.

### Across the generations: One-quarter of Chinese in Canada native-born

Although immigration has been the main spur to the growth of the Chinese population in Canada, the Chinese have been settled in Canada for over a century. As a result, they are one of the few visible minority groups with a fairly high proportion of individuals born in Canada.

In 2001, 25% of Chinese in the country were Canadian-born. This was still well below the proportion of 65% among Japanese in Canada and 45% among Blacks, the other two visible minority groups with a long immigration history.

### Today's Chinese mainly live in Toronto and Vancouver

The majority of Chinese immigrants settled in the nation's biggest cities. As a result, almost three-quarters of the Chinese population in Canada lived in either Toronto or Vancouver in 2001.

Recent Chinese immigrants found Vancouver especially welcoming. During the 1990s, they helped double the size of the existing community. By 2001, the Chinese community accounted for 17% of Vancouver's total population, compared with 9% a decade earlier.

Recent immigrants also contributed to a 50% increase in the size of Toronto's Chinese community. In 2001, 9% of Toronto's total population was Chinese, up from 6% a decade earlier.

Immigrants offered varied reasons for settling in any given region. However, their chief rationale was that family and friends already lived there, which was reported by more than half of the Chinese newcomers who arrived in 2000/01. About one-quarter who settled in Toronto did so because of job prospects, while in Vancouver, many said the reason was simply the climate.<sup>5</sup>

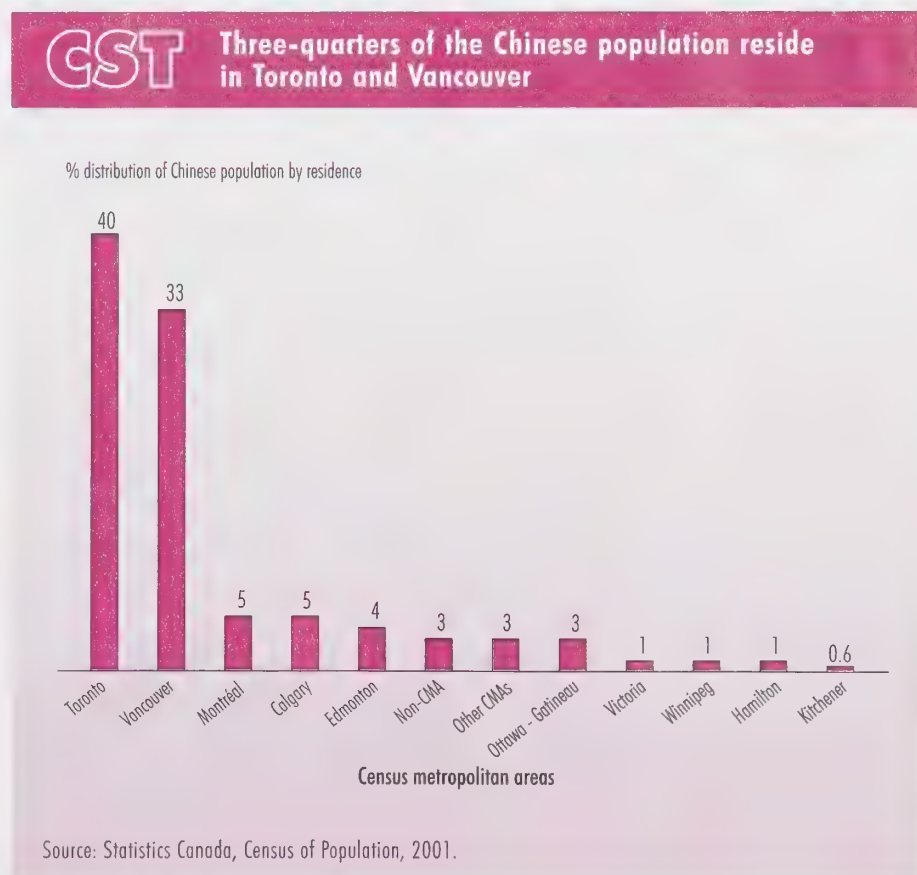
Within the major urban centres, traditional Chinatowns – areas in the city core characterized by Chinese architecture, restaurants, shops and heavy use of Chinese dialects – are now joined by new communities. In Toronto, Chinese communities have spread beyond the traditional Chinatowns into the suburbs. For example,

three in 10 residents of Markham were Chinese in 2001, as were slightly over one in five Richmond Hill residents.

In the Vancouver region, almost four in 10 residents in Richmond were Chinese, the area with the highest Chinese concentration in Canada. Most Chinese residents in Richmond were born in Hong Kong, the majority (65%) having arrived in the 1990s. In the city of Vancouver, 30% of the population was Chinese, as was 26% of the population of Burnaby.

### Better educated, more highly skilled

Overall, today's Chinese in Canada are better educated than their predecessors. Nearly one-third (31%) of Chinese, whether they were foreign-born or Canadian-born, had a university education, almost double the rate of 18% among the general population.





The first Chinatown in Canada was in Victoria, British Columbia, where many immigrants from China set up tents and mud huts on Cormorant Street in 1858.<sup>1</sup> In Vancouver, Canton and Shanghai Alleys were bounded by Carrall, Pender and Main streets.<sup>2</sup> And in the east, the site of Toronto's current city hall once housed the first Chinese laundries and restaurants in the city.<sup>3</sup>

The development of a Chinatown is argued to be the result of the discrimination and exclusion during the early days of Chinese settlement. Chinatowns in those days were characterized by a population consisting predominantly of men, who worked as laundrymen, domestics or cooks. Chinatowns served as a cultural gathering point, where people with common language or dialect, background and experiences with discrimination and harsh treatment could live and work together.

Over the years, some Chinatowns grew and expanded into different parts of a city, while others became extinct. With the completion of the CPR in the late 1800s and the subsequent restrictive immigration policies, many of the first Chinatowns on Canada's west coast were abandoned.

However, when immigration policies were reversed and Canada began to open its doors to more immigrants, the Chinese population began to increase. As a result, Chinatowns grew to encompass a wide variety of businesses to meet the needs of this population.

Although some urban centres still retain their historic Chinatowns, new commercial areas that cater to ethnic Chinese sprouted all over Canada's major cities, especially Toronto and Vancouver. This was due to the increasing need for Chinese merchandise and services for the growing community.

Today's Chinatowns are a far cry from those that served earlier settlers. Instead, they are places of business or commerce, where traditional Chinese food or goods unique to the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong or Taiwan are sold. As well, many Chinese shopping areas are not located in the traditional downtown cores. The relatively new Chinese retail areas were established to serve the clientele in nearby residential neighbourhoods.

In addition to serving the needs of the Chinese community, Chinatowns retain an exotic appeal that continues to attract non-Chinese and tourists.

1. Lai, D.C. 1988. *Chinatowns: Towns Within Cities in Canada*. UBC Press. Vancouver.
2. Ng, W.C. 1989. *The Chinese in Vancouver, 1945-1980: The Pursuit of Identity and Power*. UBC Press. Vancouver.
3. Thompson, R.H. 1989. *Toronto's Chinatown: The Changing Social Organization of an Ethnic Community*. AMS Press Inc. New York.

Chinese work in a wide variety of occupations. In 2001, about one-fifth of prime working-age Chinese (aged 25 to 54) were in sales and service occupations, and another fifth in business, finance and administrative occupations.

About 16% were in natural and applied sciences occupations, more than twice the share of 7% for the general population. Another 13% of Chinese were in management occupations, and 11% in occupations in processing, manufacturing and utilities.

## Challenges in the labour force

The Chinese see themselves as hard-working, industrious people. They have had an impact on the development of Canada's labour force during the 1990s. A total of 303,800 Chinese aged 15 to 64 came to Canada in the 1990s, representing roughly 22% of the growth in the labour force population during that period.

However, as have many other newcomers, some recent Chinese immigrants experienced difficulties entering the labour market. According to the 2001 Census, prime working-age Chinese who immigrated in the 1990s had an employment rate of

61%, lower than the level of 80% for the total population. Many reasons lie behind the challenges to economic integration, but the recognition of foreign qualifications was reported by many Chinese as a major issue.<sup>6</sup>

The employment situation of Chinese born in Canada was comparable to that of the total population. The employment rate of Canadian-born Chinese men aged 25 to 54, at 86%, was the same as that for all Canadian-born men. Meanwhile, the rate for native-born Chinese-Canadian women, at 83%, was in fact higher than the proportion of 76% for all Canadian-born women.

	Total population	Chinese-Canadian population			Other visible minorities
		Total	Foreign-born	Canadian-born	
<b>Total population ('000)</b>	29,639	1,029	754	252	2,954
			%		
<b>Education, population aged 15 and over</b>					
Less than high school graduation	31	30	31	25	27
High school graduation and/or some postsecondary	25	24	22	29	26
Trades certificate or diploma	11	4	4	4	8
College certificate or diploma	15	11	11	11	13
University certificate diploma or degree	18	31	32	31	26
<b>Experienced labour force, population aged 15 and over<sup>1</sup></b>					
Paid workers	88	87	86	94	91
Self-employed	12	13	14	6	9
<b>Labour force activity, population aged 25 to 54</b>					
Employment rate	80	71	70	84	74
Unemployment rate	6	7	7	5	9
<b>Occupation, population aged 25 to 54</b>					
Management	12	13	13	14	9
Business, finance and administration	19	20	20	26	18
Natural and applied sciences and related	7	16	15	16	8
Health	6	5	4	9	7
Social science, education, government service and religion	9	6	5	9	6
Art, culture, recreation and sport	3	2	2	4	2
Sales and service	19	20	21	14	22
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related	15	6	7	5	12
Primary industry	3	1	1	1	1
Processing, manufacturing and utilities	7	11	12	2	14

Note: Excludes non-permanent residents.

1. Experienced labour force comprises workers, employed or unemployed, who worked for pay or in self-employment since January 1, 2000.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

## Language: Cantonese the main dialect

Chinese characters are generally used as the written language among members in the community. However, Chinese people speak different dialects, depending on the region from which they originated.

Taken together, the Chinese dialects represent the third most common mother tongue reported in the 2001 Census, after English and French. About 3% of the population,

or 872,400 people, reported a Chinese language as their mother tongue, that is, the language (or one of the languages) that they learned as a child and still understand.

More than 320,000 people reported that their mother tongue was Cantonese. Of these Cantonese speakers, 44% were born in Hong Kong and another 27% in the People's Republic of China. However, 18%, or more than 60,000, were Canadian-born.

The second most common Chinese dialect language was Mandarin, the mother tongue of more than 103,200 people. Fully 85% of these individuals were born in the People's Republic of China or Taiwan, while an additional 7% were born in Canada and 2% in Malaysia. Almost, three-quarters (74%) arrived in Canada in the 1990s.

However, only about 790,500 people reported speaking a Chinese language at home on a regular basis,

*continued on page 32*

# Toronto

Concentration of Chinese Population  
by Census Subdivisions  
2001

Chippewas of Georgina Island First Nation

## Top Places of Birth

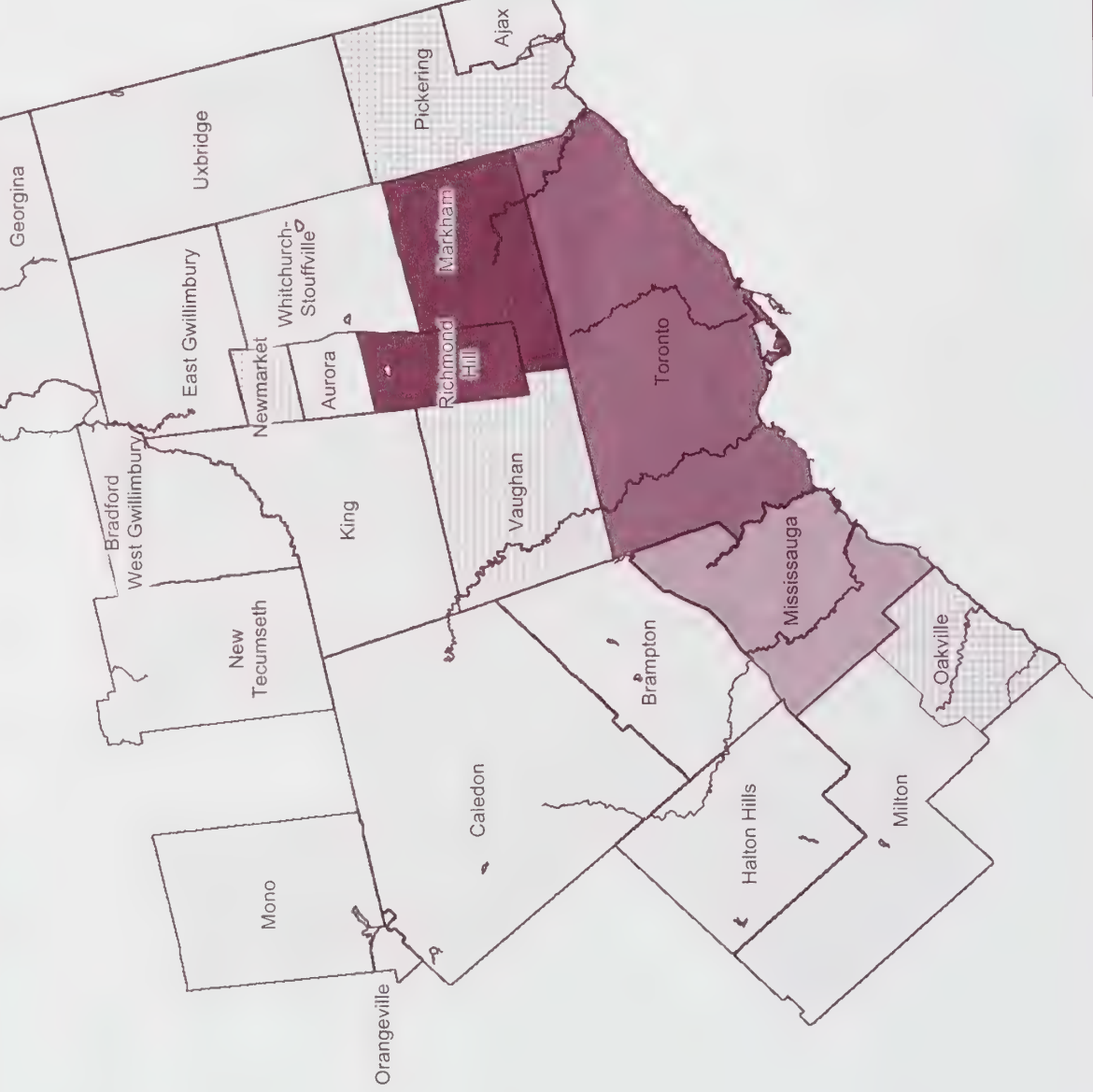
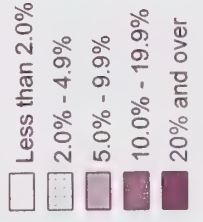
Toronto	40%
People's Republic of China	22%
Hong Kong	21%
Canada	4%
Taiwan	

Richmond Hill	45%
Hong Kong	22%
People's Republic of China	21%
Canada	3%
Taiwan	

Markham	45%
Hong Kong	23%
People's Republic of China	20%
Canada	2%
Taiwan	

Mississauga	27%
Hong Kong	25%
People's Republic of China	24%
Canada	6%
Taiwan	

## Percent of total population





# Vancouver

## Concentration of Chinese Population by Census Subdivisions 2001

### Top Places of Birth

Richmond	38%
Hong Kong	26%
People's Republic of China	16%
Canada	13%
Taiwan	

Vancouver	37%
People's Republic of China	24%
Canada	22%
Hong Kong	8%
Taiwan	

Burnaby	29%
People's Republic of China	23%
Hong Kong	21%
Canada	17%
Taiwan	

Greater Vancouver RDA	57%
People's Republic of China	12%
Canada	12%
Hong Kong	11%
Taiwan	

Coquitlam	31%
Hong Kong	20%
People's Republic of China	19%
Canada	17%
Taiwan	

### Percent of total population



81,900 fewer than those who reported having a Chinese mother tongue. This suggests some language loss has occurred, mainly among the Canadian-born who learned Chinese as a child, but who may not speak it regularly or do not use it as their main language at home.

Although language retention is an important component of cultural diversity, knowledge of an official language is of particular importance for social and economic integration, especially for immigrants. In 2001, 85% of Chinese reported that they had conversational knowledge of at least one official language. About 15% reported they could speak neither English nor French.

Not surprisingly, half of those who could not speak an official language were immigrants who came to Canada in the 1990s, while more than one-fifth (22%) had come earlier in the 1980s. These immigrants were more likely to be in the older age groups. In contrast, the vast majority (89%) of prime working-age Chinese immigrants reported knowledge of at least one official language.

### Most reported no religious affiliation

In general, six in 10 Chinese reported no religious affiliation in 2001, compared with only 16% of the total population. Religious affiliation varied with the region from which immigrants originated. Of those who were born in the People's Republic of China, 71% reported no religious affiliation, as did 58% of those born in Hong Kong and 48% of those in Taiwan.

Members of the Chinese community who did hold religious beliefs tended to report Buddhism, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism as their religious affiliation. About one-third of Taiwanese immigrants indicated they were Buddhist, whereas one-third of immigrants born

in Hong Kong reported they were Roman Catholic, Protestant or members of some other Christian denomination.

### Chinese families have strong presence

Although the majority of earlier Chinese immigrants came to Canada and lived here while their families remained in China, today's Chinese families have a strong presence. In 2001, some 93% of Chinese resided in a family household, compared with 87% of the general population.

Almost half (46%) of the Chinese were a spouse in a census family, compared with one-fourth of the total population.<sup>7</sup> And nearly 38% of Chinese were children in a family, as opposed to one-third (33%) in the general population.

Traditional Chinese culture emphasizes respect for the elderly and the taking care of aging parents as a family responsibility. It is not uncommon for Chinese households to consist of several generations living together under one roof.

Among the Chinese who were aged 65 or older, 16% were non-census family members living with relatives. This proportion was four times higher than among the same age group in the general population. Indeed, only one in 10 senior Chinese Canadians lived alone, compared with almost three in 10 non-Chinese seniors.

### Summary

The Chinese population has undergone a tremendous transformation in Canada since the first settlers arrived here 150 years ago: from a group that numbered barely 17,000 in 1901 to the largest visible minority group at about one million in 2001. The Chinese community, comprising immigrants and the Canadian-born, is a key player in Canada's multicultural mosaic. Today's Chinese Canadians have a

vastly different socio-economic profile than their predecessors. Many brought a range of skills and experience from their countries of origin. Although, in general, recent arrivals faced challenges in economic integration, Chinese who were born in this country have made significant headway.

A history that began with hard work, commitment and perseverance continues, as each Chinese Canadian searches for his or her own *Gam Saan* in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**GST**

**Tina Chui and Kelly Tran** are senior analysts with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, and **John Flanders** is senior media advisor in Communications Division, Statistics Canada.

1. Lee, W.M. 1984. *Portraits of a Challenge: An Illustrated History of the Chinese Canadians*. Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario. Toronto.
2. Immigrants arriving shortly after the Second World War were mainly "displaced persons" from European countries such as the Netherlands, Poland and Hungary.
3. Li, P.S. 1988. *Chinese in Canada: 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*. Oxford University Press. Toronto.
4. Based on administrative records of immigrants born in Hong Kong, Taiwan or People's Republic of China who reported a different country of last permanent residence.
5. Data on reasons for settlement choice were collected by the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada for those who landed in Canada between October 2000 and September 2001.
6. Chui, T, K. Tran and J.L. MacDonald, "Landing a job: the role of foreign qualifications". Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Population Society, June 2-5, 2004.
7. A census family consists of either married or common-law couples living with or without children, and lone-parent families.



# KEEPING TRACK

## Use of hospital emergency rooms



Some 3.3 million people, or one out of every eight Canadians, aged 15 or older, had their most recent contact with a health professional, or treatment for an injury, in a hospital emergency room in 2003, according to the Canadian Community Health Survey.

Among both sexes, the most likely to do so were aged 15 to 24. About 20% of men and 18% of women in this age range received treatment for a serious activity-limiting injury, or contacted a health professional, in an ER. ER use for most recent contact of health professionals declined for both sexes, falling to 11% among seniors.

Household income was a factor in ER use. About 13% of people in the highest income group had received their most recent treatment in an ER, compared with 18% of people in the lowest income group.

People who reported having a "regular" doctor were just as likely to report ER use as those who said they did not have a regular physician. However, 21% of those who had consulted a doctor more than five times during the year before the survey reported using an ER, almost double the proportion (12%) for those who went to the doctor less frequently.

### Health Reports

**Vol. 16, no. 1**

Catalogue no. 82-003-XIE

## University tuition fees



Undergraduate university students expect to pay 3.9% more on average in tuition fees, which is the smallest increase in three years. However, this average includes four provinces that have capped tuition fees: Manitoba, Newfoundland and Labrador, Quebec, and Ontario.

They will pay an average of \$4,172 for the 2004/05 academic year, up from \$4,018 the year before. This is almost triple the average of \$1,464 in 1990/91, the result of significant increases during the 1990s.

The biggest increases will again be for students in law and medicine. However the most expensive program remains dentistry. The biggest increase among the faculties is medicine, where undergrads will pay 9.2% more than the previous fall, an average of \$9,977.

International students also face tuition hikes. At the undergraduate level, average tuition fees for international students will increase to \$11,903 and graduate fees will increase to \$11,307 on average.

**The Daily  
September 2, 2004**

Catalogue no. 11-001-XIE

## E-commerce

An estimated 3.2 million Canadian households placed orders online in 2003, up from 2.8 million the year before. These households accessed the Internet from various locations, not just home. In total, they placed 21.1 million orders, up from 16.6 million the previous year.

An additional 1.7 million households reported that they used the Internet only to window-shop, virtually unchanged from 2001. This group browsed online catalogues to narrow their purchasing decisions, but did not place orders or make purchases online.

More Canadian households were paying for their goods and services online. Paradoxically, many shoppers indicated concerns about security aspects of the Internet, but they were still willing to use their credit cards online. In fact, the proportion of electronic commerce households that paid for their Internet orders online rose from 79% in 2001 to 85% in 2003.

### Internet Use in Canada

Catalogue no. 56F0003XIE



## Earnings of couples with high and low levels of education



The gap in earnings between couples who are highly educated and couples with much lower levels of schooling has widened considerably during the past two decades, according to a new study.

Couples consisting of two university graduates have seen their employment income rise substantially. On the other hand, those with high school education or less have struggled to maintain their standard of living.

The study, based on census data, showed that in 2000, Canadian-born couples in which both spouses had a high school diploma or less had annual earnings for the most part that were no higher than those of their counterparts in 1980.

In contrast, Canadian-born couples where both partners had a university degree earned 14% to 22% more than their counterparts did two decades earlier. In 2000, these couples accounted for 10% of all Canadian-born couples, more than twice the rate of 4% in 1980.

**Business and Labour Market  
Analysis Division**

Catalogue no.  
11F0019MIE2004230





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# SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
<b>INCOME<sup>1</sup></b>									
<b>Average market income</b>									
Economic families <sup>2</sup>	55,800	56,000	56,200	57,900	60,700	61,900	64,600	66,000	65,900
Unattached individuals	21,300	21,700	21,300	21,400	22,300	23,700	24,400	25,200	25,600
<b>Average total income (includes transfer payments)</b>									
Economic families <sup>2</sup>	63,700	63,700	64,100	65,600	68,300	69,100	71,600	73,400	73,200
Unattached individuals	27,400	27,400	26,800	26,900	27,900	28,900	29,500	30,400	30,900
<b>Average income tax</b>									
Economic families <sup>2</sup>	12,500	12,600	12,600	13,000	13,700	13,300	14,100	13,100	12,800
Unattached individuals	4,900	5,000	4,800	4,700	5,000	5,300	5,300	5,000	5,000
<b>Average after-tax income</b>									
Economic families <sup>2</sup>	51,200	51,000	51,500	52,600	54,600	55,800	57,600	60,300	60,500
Unattached individuals	22,400	22,500	22,100	22,200	22,800	23,600	24,100	25,300	25,900
<b>Average after-tax income by quintiles for families</b>									
Lowest quintile	19,800	19,700	19,100	19,100	19,800	20,600	20,800	22,400	22,300
2nd	34,400	34,000	33,600	33,900	35,000	36,300	37,000	38,600	39,000
3rd	46,800	46,000	46,600	47,000	48,400	49,600	50,800	53,100	53,600
4th	60,800	60,300	61,200	62,200	64,300	66,000	67,700	70,300	71,200
Highest quintile	94,200	95,100	97,100	101,000	105,500	106,400	111,500	117,300	116,400
<b>Earnings ratios (full-year, full-time workers)</b>									
Dual-earners as % of husband-wife families	60.3	60.5	61.3	63.0	63.4	63.8	65.0	66.4	66.7
Women's earnings as % of men's (full-time full year workers)	69.7	73.0	72.8	69.2	72.1	69.4	71.7	71.0	71.3
<b>Prevalence (%) of low income after tax (1992 low income cut-offs)</b>									
Families with head aged 65 and over	2.5	2.1	3.0	3.8	3.6	2.7	2.9	2.2	2.7
Families with head less than 65	10.6	11.3	11.9	11.2	9.6	9.5	8.7	7.3	7.7
Two-parent families with children	8.3	9.7	9.7	9.3	7.4	7.6	7.4	5.9	5.4
Lone-parent families	42.1	42.5	45.3	41.3	35.5	34.1	29.5	26.7	30.1
Unattached individuals	30.7	30.6	33.7	33.0	30.5	30.2	28.5	26.1	24.8
<b>FAMILIES</b>									
Marriage rate (per 1,000 population)	5.5	5.5	5.3	5.1	5.1	5.0	5.0	4.9	--
Crude divorce rate (per 1,000 population)	2.7	2.6	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	--
Total number of families ('000) <sup>3,4</sup>	7,778	7,876	7,975	8,039	8,096	8,151	8,214	8,284	8,358
<b>% of all families</b>									
Husband-wife families	86.1	85.8	85.5	85.2	84.9	84.6	84.2	83.9	83.6
with children	51.1	50.9	50.6	50.4	50.1	49.9	49.7	49.4	49.2
without children	35.0	34.9	34.9	34.8	34.7	34.7	34.6	34.5	34.4
Lone-parent families	13.9	14.2	14.5	14.8	15.1	15.4	15.8	16.1	16.4
% of husband-wife families									
with children	59.4	59.3	59.2	59.1	59.1	59.0	59.0	58.9	58.8
% of lone-parent families headed by women	82.8	83.0	83.1	83.2	83.3	83.4	83.5	83.6	83.6

-- Amount too small to be expressed.

1. All incomes are in 2002 constant dollars.

2. An economic family consists of two or more people who live in the same dwelling and are related by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption.

3. A census family is referred to as immediate or nuclear family consisting of married or common-law couples with or without children, or lone parents and their children, whereas a child does not have his or her own spouse residing in the household.

4. Excluding the territories.

Sources: *Income in Canada* (Catalogue no. 75-202-XPE), *Income Trends in Canada* (Catalogue no. 13F0022-XCB), *Annual Demographic Statistics* (Catalogue no. 91-213-XPB) and *Divorces* (Catalogue no. 84F0213-XPB).



# LESSON PLAN

## Suggestions for using *Canadian Social Trends* in the classroom

### "I am Canadian"

#### Objectives

- To explore the concept of ethnicity and its relevance to our lives.

**Curriculum areas:** civics, history, geography, sociology, anthropology, psychology.

#### Classroom instructions

1. Have the students conduct a survey to find out how they would answer the census question, "To which ethnic or cultural group did your ancestors belong?"
2. Discuss why, in response to this question, some people indicate a Canadian origin, while others with similar ancestral backgrounds do not.
3. Invite the students to share their views on what it means to be Canadian. Are Canadians different from Americans?
4. The article, "I am Canadian," states that "ethnicity means different things to different people." Discuss with the students their own definitions of ethnicity and have the class choose one that best incorporates all their views.

5. Belonging to an ethnic group may result in advantages or disadvantages. Have the students debate the consequences of a utopian world without ethnicity or one where ethnic distinctions cease to be made. What would be the plusses and minuses?
6. According to "I am Canadian," some people report multiple ethnic backgrounds such as, for example, Canadian along with another ethnicity. Discuss why some ethnic groups are more likely to do this than others.

#### Using other resources

Use E-STAT (at <http://estat.statcan.ca>) to obtain data on the population from any town, village, or municipality in Canada who responded Canadian to the ethnic origin question on the census. You can use the data to generate a map showing the proportion of Canadian respondents.

#### Educators

**You may photocopy "Lesson plan" or any item or article in *Canadian Social Trends* for use in your classroom.**





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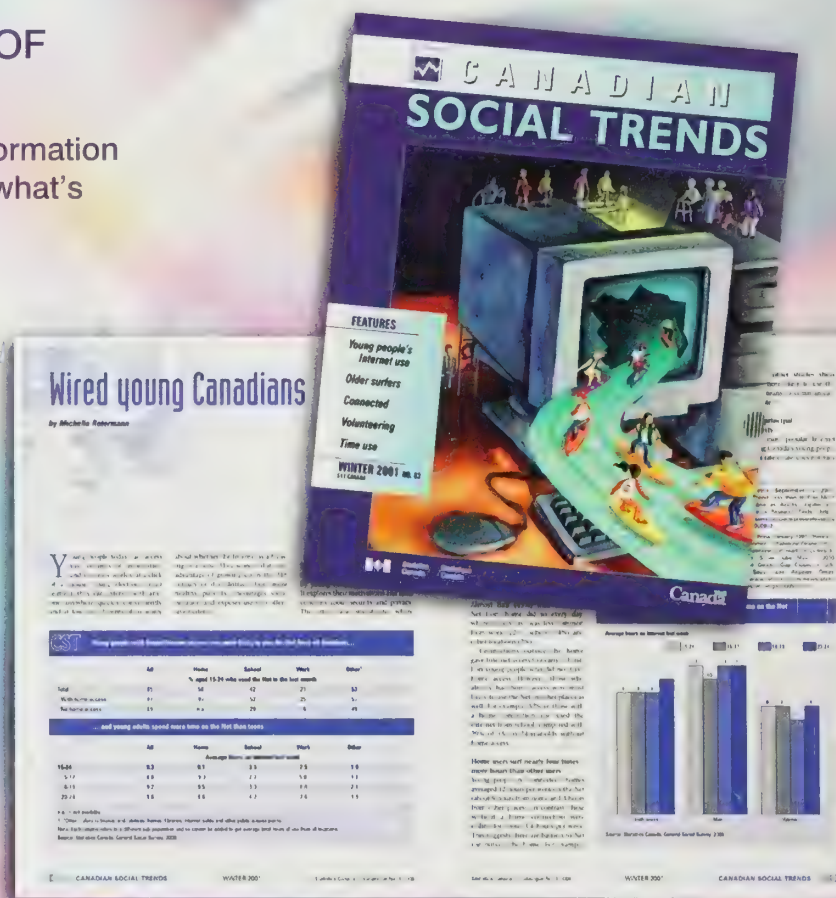
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# CANADIAN Social Trends



## FEATURES

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# CANADIAN Social Trends

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# Always the bridesmaid: People who don't expect to marry

by Susan Crompton

**D**espite all our worries about "fractured families" and declining family values, most Canadians still want to be husbands, wives and parents. A 2004 study of Canadians' opinions about family life found that the vast majority still hold very traditional views about love, marriage and having children.<sup>1</sup> However, researchers still warn that despite their most honourable intentions, people who delay marrying may never walk down the aisle.

Research consistently shows that delaying marriage tends to increase the likelihood that a person will never marry.<sup>2</sup> After age 30, a single person may not wish to marry; it may seem less feasible or less desirable than it did when they were younger.

This article uses the 2001 General Social Survey to look at "mature singles," that is, men and women older than the average age at which people first marry (28 for women, 30 for men) but not yet past prime working-age (under 55). These men and women numbered over 1.1 million in 2001; they had never legally married and were not living common-law at the time of the survey. More than half a million of them (550,000) did not think they would ever get married. This article examines some of the differences between those mature singles who do not expect to marry and those who do.

**GST**

## What you should know about this study

Data in this article are drawn from the 2001 General Social Survey (GSS) on family and marital history. The survey was conducted by telephone in over 25,000 households in the 10 provinces. All respondents who had never been legally married were asked: "Do you think you will ever marry?" This study uses only those respondents who answered either "Yes" or "No" who were not living common-law at the time of the survey, and who were at least one year older than average age at first marriage, yet still of prime working-age.<sup>1</sup> The resulting study population of *mature singles* comprises just over 1,600 respondents representing about 526,000 women aged 29 to 54 and almost 621,000 men aged 31 to 54.

The sample was restricted in order to create a clearer picture of the study population. Respondents under the average age at first marriage might reasonably expect to marry simply because of their age, which is highly correlated with marriage. However, after age 30, the likelihood of contracting a first marriage begins to fall and by age 55, it is virtually nil. Respondents who answered "Do not know" were excluded as having no opinion, as were persons living common-law since they are neither single nor married and would confound the results.

*Will-marrys, wills:* Mature singles who think they will eventually marry.

*Won't-marrys, won'ts:* Mature singles who do not think they will ever marry.

<sup>1</sup> In 2002, average age at first marriage was 28 for women and 30 for men; prime working-age is conventionally defined as ages 25 to 54, because it is the age group with the highest rate of labour force participation.

### Dreaming of Mr. or Ms Right

Madame Sosostreis<sup>3</sup> and her psychic sisters all know that women want to marry a man who is tall, handsome and wealthy, while men want to marry

a supermodel. Social researchers know this too, and numerous studies of mate selection identify the same basic characteristics. Simply put, women generally want a wealthy,





## ERRATA

Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-008-XPE  
*Canadian Social Trends*, Summer 2005

See article “Always the bridesmaid: People who don’t expect to marry.” On page 3, the chart title reads as follows: About 1 in 10 single people in their 30s and early 40s doubt they will ever marry.

It should read as follows:

About 1 in 10 people in their 30s and early 40s doubt they will ever marry.

socially dominant man and men generally want an attractive younger woman able to have children.<sup>4</sup>

A particularly detailed U.S. study of single 19- to 35-year-olds ranked some of the principal criteria people consider when looking for a marriage partner.<sup>5</sup> They differ somewhat for men and women, but in general, they are quite mercenary. Both sexes would prefer to marry someone who earns more money and has more education than themselves, and they would be willing to consider someone who is more than 5 years older (age is highly correlated with income). They would not really want to consider accepting someone who has trouble keeping a steady job, has children or has been married already.<sup>6</sup>

### Won't-marrys tend to have fewer socio-economic resources

Mature singles who do not think they will marry have lower incomes than those who do. Their median income is 16% lower than that of *will-marrys* (about \$29,700 versus \$34,400). In addition, mature singles who don't envisage marriage are less well-educated than those who do, with only 24% versus 34% having a university degree; in contrast, they were almost twice as likely to be high school drop-outs, at 17% versus 9% of *wills*. And while most mature singles in both groups are employed, 13% of *won'ts* (but virtually no *wills*) were not in the labour force because of family responsibilities or illness.<sup>7</sup> *Will-marrys* were also more likely to be men (56% compared with 44% women) but *won't-marrys* were no more often men than women. (For many characteristics, the differences between men and women are not statistically significant; therefore, male-to-female comparisons will be limited only to those that are significant.)

That *will-marrys* have higher incomes, and the educational qualifications to maintain or improve their earning power, certainly makes them better potential mates. Also, they are younger and have more years during

## GST About 1 in 10 single people in their 30s and early 40s doubt they will ever marry

% of population aged 20 and over



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

which to use those advantages to build wealth and economic security. Just over half of mature singles who expect to marry are 35 years or older, with an average age of about 36. In contrast, 83% of *won't-marrys* are 35 or older, with an average age of 42. Women in both groups tended to be younger than men.

Being older may also influence a person's expectations of marriage in other ways. With friends, work and leisure interests, mature singles satisfied with their lives may feel no need for the companionship of a spouse; alternatively, they may have obligations to an existing family that might make it difficult to accommodate a spouse.

About half of *won't-* and *will-marrys* live alone, and about one-third with their parents or other adults. However, *won't-marrys* were significantly more likely to be living with children—20% versus 12% of *will-marrys*. Furthermore, the responsibility for

childcare falls preponderantly on women: fully 38% of female *won'ts* and 23% of *wills* live with their children, compared with few men.

Almost two-thirds of mature single women living with their child (or children) do not think they will find a husband, which may reflect a realistic assessment of their marital potential. On the one hand, single mothers most often want a partner who helps to provide economic support and improves their social standing;<sup>8</sup> on the other hand, having a child without a husband increases the chances of living in poverty, making these single mothers less attractive partners to the type of man they would consider marrying.<sup>9</sup>

As is clear from the fact that many have children, a substantial number of mature singles may never have married, but they have lived in a conjugal relationship. Proportionally more *won'ts* (43%) than *wills* (33%) have lived common-law, and it is



	Mature singles Won't marry			Will marry				Mature singles Won't marry			Will marry		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women		Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Number ('000s)	550	288	261	597	332	265							
Average age	42.1	42.2	41.9	36.5	37.3	35.6							
Median income ('000s)	30	31	29	34*	36	32							
	% (distribution downward)							% (distribution downward)					
<b>Age group</b>													
29 to 34	17	13	21†	48*	43	55†							
35 to 39	23	25	19	28*	32	24							
40 to 44	26	28	25	14*	14	13							
45 to 49	17	18	16	7*	7 <sup>E</sup>	7 <sup>E</sup>							
50 to 54	16	15	16	3 <sup>E</sup> *	3 <sup>E</sup>	F							
<b>Annual personal income</b>													
Under \$30,000	46	42	50	37	32	44†							
\$30,000 and over	54	58	50	63	68	56†							
<b>Highest level of schooling completed</b>													
University	24	23	25	34*	34	35							
College	26	24	26	30	29	30							
Some postsecondary	11	9 <sup>E</sup>	12	12	12 <sup>E</sup>	13							
High school	21	25	17	13*	14	12							
Less than high school	17	16	17	9*	10 <sup>E</sup>	8 <sup>E</sup>							
<b>Main activity in previous 12 months</b>													
Working	77	79	75	82	83	81							
Looking for work	4 <sup>E</sup>	5 <sup>E</sup>	F	4 <sup>E</sup>	4 <sup>E</sup>	F							
Family responsibilities	6 <sup>E</sup>	F	11 <sup>E</sup>	3 <sup>E</sup>	F	7 <sup>E</sup>							
Long-term illness	7 <sup>E</sup>	8 <sup>E</sup>	7 <sup>E</sup>	F	F	F							
Other	5 <sup>E</sup>	5 <sup>E</sup>	5 <sup>E</sup>	7 <sup>E</sup>	7 <sup>E</sup>	7 <sup>E</sup>							
<b>Living arrangement</b>													
Alone	51	62	40†	48	51	44							
Child, children	20	4	38†	12	3 <sup>E</sup>	23†							
Parents with or without siblings and/or others	14	18	11 <sup>E</sup>	20	21	18							
With others	14	16	11	20	24	15							
<b>Romantic liaisons</b>													
Have lived common-law	43	37	50†	33*	29	38							
Have never lived common-law	57	63	50†	67*	71	62							
Currently in intimate relationship	20	24	16	39*	36	43							
Not in intimate relationship	77	74	79	58*	61	54							
<b>Region of residence</b>													
Atlantic region	5	5 <sup>E</sup>	5 <sup>E</sup>	7	7	8							
Quebec	43	44	43	17*	16	18							
Ontario	27	25	29	40*	40	39							
Prairie region	12	11	12	17*	18	16							
British Columbia	12	14	10	16*	18	19							
<b>Main language spoken at home</b>													
English	52	54	50	73*	77	68							
French	42	42	42	13*	11 <sup>E</sup>	15							
Other (including multiple languages)	6 <sup>E</sup>	4 <sup>E</sup>	7 <sup>E</sup>	14*	12 <sup>E</sup>	16 <sup>E</sup>							

Note: Women aged 29 to 54, men aged 31 to 54. Family responsibilities include caring for children and household work.

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

F Too small to be reliable.

\* Significantly different from *won't-marrys* ( $p < 0.05$ ).

† Significantly different from men in some marital expectation group ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

possible that their reluctance to marry may stem in part from an unfavourable experience in such a relationship. Interestingly, women who don't expect to marry are more likely than men to have lived common-law (50% and 37%, respectively).

While the mature singles in this study were not living common-law at the time of the survey, many were dating. However, the *wills* were

certainly more active: twice as many were in an intimate relationship with someone living in a separate household, at 39% versus 20% of *won't-marrys*. Since marriage is a potentially viable option for them, their romantic attachment may influence their expectations of marrying; alternatively, the fact that they wish to marry may have led them to look for a partner in pursuit of that goal.

### Hearing the beat of a different drummer

There are socio-economic differences between *wills* and *won't-marrys* that may play into their respective suitability as marriage partners. But it seems the real sticking point is that love (being part of a couple), marriage and family are simply not as important to *won't-marrys* as they are to other mature singles.

	Mature singles					
	Won't marry			Will marry		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Number ('000s)	550	288	261	597	332	265
	%					
<b>Being part of a couple is...</b>						
Important or very important to my happiness	54	57	52	92*	94	91
Not very or not at all important	46	43	48	8*	6 <sup>E</sup>	9
<b>Being married is...</b>						
Important or very important to my happiness	13	12 <sup>E</sup>	14	69*	72	65
Not very or not at all important	87	88	86	31*	28	35
<b>Having a child is...</b>						
Important or very important to my happiness	42	34	52†	68*	68	68
Not very or not at all important	58	66	48†	32*	32	32

Note: Age range for females is 29 to 54 years of age; for males it is 31 to 54 years. Excludes no opinion.

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution.

\* Significantly different from *won't-marries* ( $p < 0.05$ ).

† Significantly different from men in same marital expectation group ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

Respondents were asked to rank how important it was to their personal happiness to achieve certain family-related goals.<sup>10</sup> In each instance, *won't-marries* were significantly less conventional than *wills*. Of course, most *won'ts* (87%) do not think that being married is important to their happiness, while 69% of *wills* believe that it is. They are more open-minded when it comes to being part of a couple: 54% of *won'ts* concede that having a partner would add to their happiness, whereas almost all *wills* (92%) feel that way. For both groups, being a parent is less critical than being in a partnership: having a child is important or very important to 42% of *won'ts* and 68% of other mature singles. And while male and female *wills* are equally agreed on the importance of children to their happiness, male and female *won't-marries* are sharply split on the issue, at 52% of women but only 34% of men.

Although unique experiences and beliefs have no doubt shaped *won't-marries'* unconventional attitudes to love, marriage and family, it is worthwhile to have a brief glance at some of the factors that may have helped to mould them. For example, people who attend religious services frequently tend to be more family-oriented, placing more importance on marriage and raising children than other adults.<sup>11</sup> Half of *won'ts* claiming a religious faith had not attended religious services in the past year compared with less than one-third of *wills*†.

*Will-marries* were also substantially more likely to be foreign-born (24% versus 10% of *won'ts*) or to have foreign-born parents (36% compared to 13%). This might be expected since many recent immigrant communities highly value family formation.

When discussing attitudes to marriage, it is crucial to remember that they differ substantially between

Quebec and the rest of Canada. Common-law relationships are far more popular in Quebec, where they effectively function not just as a "trial marriage" but as a socially acceptable marriage substitute. Sure enough, a substantial proportion of *won't-marries* are Quebecers, at 43% versus 17% of *wills*. *Won'ts* are also over three times more likely to be francophone, at 42% compared with 13%.

While people generally absorb the values and mores of the society in which they live, their experiences growing up within their own families will also shape their attitudes toward marriage. The breakdown of their parents' marriage is often viewed as contributing to a negative assessment of matrimony. But there seems little evidence of this.

Almost all mature singles in both groups were born to married parents and 8 in 10 lived with both their parents until they were at least 15; in fact, about two-thirds of them reported that their parents were still together as a couple (or had remained so until death separated them). *Won'ts* were slightly less likely to report being close to their parents when they were children: 17% of *won'ts* and 11% of *wills* felt they had not had a close relationship with their mother growing up; 38% and 22%, respectively, had not been close to their father. But over 80% of both *wills* and *won'ts* did agree that they had had a happy childhood.

### What makes a mature single think they will never marry?

Clearly, *won't-marries* differ in some measurable ways from other mature singles who do think they will eventually walk down the aisle. But do any of these factors have a greater predictive power than the others in identifying whether a mature single thinks she or he will not get married some time in the future?

Using a logistic regression model, it is possible to estimate the odds that a person will be a *won't-married* rather than a *will-married*, given a particular set of characteristics. The

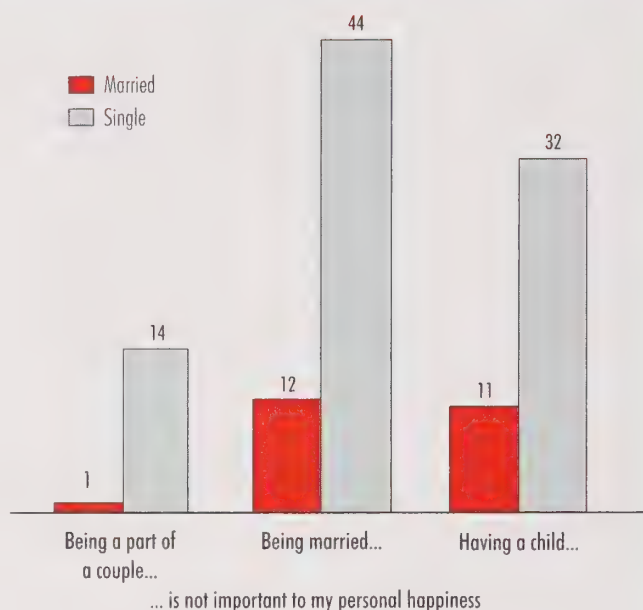


Historically, marriage has marked the transition to adulthood and so people who remain single are often thought to be rejecting their proper role in life. Society has implicitly viewed marriage as "natural and necessary" and has shown a tendency to stigmatize single adults. In 1957, just over half of Americans considered unmarried people to be sick, immoral or neurotic.<sup>1</sup> In the post-war decades, some psychologists and psychotherapists agreed, describing single adults as having schizoid personalities<sup>2</sup> and (as late as the 1970s) being "selfish, irresponsible, impatient, frigid, hedonistic, immature or a combination of these characteristics."<sup>3</sup>

Even today, when so many diverse family forms are generally accepted by society—from lone parents and blended families to unmarried and gay couples—many single people clearly feel the sting of condescension, if not outright prejudice. For example, in recent news articles, singles describe being made to "feel like a second-class citizen" by their married acquaintances, and of being excluded from employment benefits because of society's "fetishizing of coupling."<sup>4</sup>

Many single adults are certainly more indifferent than the average person to love, marriage and family, but their views are not nearly as unconventional as they might think. Some married people express similar views; for example, according to the GSS, over 1 in 8 married Canadians aged 20 and over do not think it is important for them to be married to be happy. This finding is in the same vein as a large 2003 German study which showed that most people were no more satisfied with their lives after marrying than they had been before. The researchers concluded that marriage does not affect everyone the same way, and that people who are very satisfied with life may have less to gain from marriage than those who are dissatisfied.<sup>5</sup>

% of population aged 20 and over



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

1. Israel, B. 2002. *Bachelor Girl: The Secret History of Single Women in the Twentieth Century*. New York: William Morrow. 233.
2. Johnston, M.W. and S.J. Eklund. December 1984. "Life-adjustment of the never-married: A review with implications for counselling." *Journal of Counseling and Development* 63: 230-236.
3. Edwards, M. 1977. "Coupling and re-coupling vs. the challenge of being single." *Personnel and Guidance Journal* 55. Cited in Johnston and Eklund.
4. Stone, A. February 25, 2004. "The high cost of not marrying." *Business Week Online*; Zernike, K. November 30, 2003. "Just say No to the dating industry." *The New York Times*.
5. American Psychological Association. March 16, 2003. "Are married people happier than unmarried people? Study involving over 24,000 people finds general life satisfaction affects attitude toward marital happiness." APA press release.

model's results show that, of the 20 possible contributing factors discussed, only a handful are significant predictors. Models were run separately for men and women.

The clearest indicators that a mature single of either sex does not expect to marry are his or her attitudes to love and marriage. If they do not believe it is important to be

part of a couple, the odds that a man is a *won't-marry* are 4.8 times greater than a man who does, and 3.0 times greater for a woman, all other factors being equal. Similarly, mature singles who place no real importance on being married have very high odds (7.4 for men and 8.8 for women) of being *won't-marrys*.

Age is also a prime predictor of marital expectations, especially for women. The probability of being a *won't* is between 5.0 and 13.1 times higher for mature single women in their 40s or early 50s than for those aged 35 to 39; the odds for a man aged 50 to 54 is 2.6 times higher.



## ERRATA

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*Canadian Social Trends*, Summer 2005

See article "Always the bridesmaid: People who don't expect to marry." On page 7, the final sentence of the third paragraph reads as follows: In contrast, a mature single woman who was in an intimate relationship has significantly lower odds (0.6) of being a *won't-marry*.

It should read as follows:

In contrast, a mature single woman who was in an intimate relationship has significantly lower odds (0.3) of being a *won't-marry*.



As one might expect, men who do not have good employment prospects more frequently believe they will never marry. Compared with employed mature singles, men with a long-term illness (8.1) have significantly higher odds of being *won't-marries*. Being unemployed or out of the labour force for other reasons does not seem to affect the probability of being a *won't-married*, perhaps because these men expect the duration of their non-employment to be short.

While employment status is not a predictor of marital expectation among women, education is, and those mature single women with less than a high school education have odds 5.2 times higher than university graduates of being *won't-married*, all other factors being held constant. Having a child or children also increases the odds that a woman is a *won't-married* (1.7) but has no impact on men.

Some cultural factors affected the probability of being a *won't-married*. Odds are 4.6 times higher for a male francophone than a male anglophone. A woman living in Quebec has much higher odds (3.7), compared with a woman living elsewhere in Canada, when all other variables were held constant. In contrast, a mature single woman who was in an intimate relationship has significantly lower odds (0.6) of being a *won't-married*.

### Summary

Single people who do not expect to marry represent a small but distinct group of adults. For the most part, they are quite similar to mature singles who plan to marry, but they differ in some key ways; for instance, many are single parents, their incomes tend to be lower, and they are less likely to be well-educated. In this respect, their profile tends to conform to a growing trend, in the U.S. at least, which shows that marriage rates are slipping among people in lower socio-economic groups even as they rise among the highly-educated.<sup>13</sup>

# CST

## Age and attitudes are the main predictors of being a *won't-married*

Odds ratio that a mature single would not expect to marry	Men (Model 1)	Women (Model 2)
<b>Love and marriage</b>		
Not at all or not very important to be part of a couple	4.8*	3.0*
Important or very important to be part of a couple	1.0	1.0
Not at all or not very important to be married	7.4*	8.8*
Important or very important to be married	1.0	1.0
Not currently in an intimate relationship with someone	...	1.0
Currently in an intimate relationship	...	0.3*
<b>Age group</b>		
29 to 34	0.5*	1.0
35 to 39	1.0	1.0
40 to 44	1.7	5.4*
45 to 49	1.3	5.0*
50 to 54	2.6*	13.1*
<b>Highest level of schooling completed</b>		
University	...	1.0
College or trade/technical diploma	...	1.3
Some postsecondary	...	1.4
High school	...	2.0
Less than high school	...	5.2*
<b>Children</b>		
Have one or more children	...	1.7*
Have no children	...	1.0
<b>Region</b>		
Quebec	...	3.7*
Rest of Canada	...	1.0
<b>Main activity during the year</b>		
Working	1.0	...
Looking for work	1.8	...
Family-related (includes childcare, household work, paternity leave)	1.5	...
Long-term illness	8.1*	...
Other (includes going to school and retired)	0.5	...
<b>Main language spoken at home</b>		
English	1.0	...
French	4.6*	...
Other	0.4	...

Note: This table presents the odds that a respondent would not expect to marry in the future, relative to the odds of a benchmark group when all other variables in the model are held constant. Age range for males is 31 to 54 years of age.

... Not applicable.

\* Statistically significant difference from benchmark group ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

But it seems that the key distinction between mature singles who do not expect to marry and those who do are attitudinal: they have decidedly less conventional views about the importance of love,

marriage and family. These characteristics have undoubtedly presented *won't-married*s with different life options than other mature singles. But it is impossible to say whether their opinions have shaped



their behaviour and thus their life choices; or whether their views have grown out of their life experience.

**GST**

**Susan Crompton** is Editor-in-Chief of *Canadian Social Trends*.

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5. South, S.J. November 1991. "Sociodemographic differentials in mate selection preferences." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 53, 4: 928-940.
6. Other factors—such as being of a different religion, much younger, not good looking or having less education—fall somewhere in-between, and probably assume more or less importance depending on the attractiveness of the candidate's other qualities.
7. Family responsibilities include caring for children and household work.
8. Huston, T.L. and H. Melz. November 2004. "The case for (promoting) marriage: The devil is in the details." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 66, 4: 943.
9. Hollander, D. September-October 1995. "Having a premarital birth reduces the likelihood a woman will marry." *Family Planning Perspectives* 27, 5: 221-222.
10. Respondents were asked to rank their answers using a four-point scale, but these have been collapsed into two categories for the sake of brevity: *Not important* includes the original responses "Not at all important" and "Not very important"; *Important* includes the original responses "Important" and "Very important." Percentages presented exclude no opinion and non-response.
11. Clark, W. Autumn 1998. "Religious observance, marriage and family." *Canadian Social Trends*. p. 2-7.
12. Percentage of those reporting a religious affiliation who attended religious services or meetings in the 12 months preceding the survey, excluding special occasions such as wedding, funerals or baptisms.
13. Huston and Melz. 2004; Goldstein, J.R. and C.T. Kenney. August 2001. "Marriage delayed or marriage forgone? New cohort forecasts of first marriage for U.S. women." *American Sociological Review* 66, 4: 506-519.

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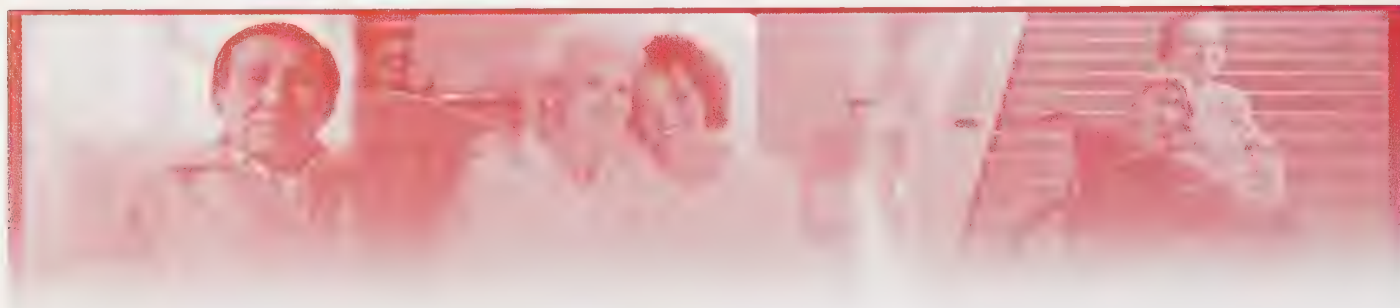
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# Elder care and the complexities of social networks

by Kelly Cranswick and Derrick Thomas



**W**e live in an aging society. And much has been written about how care will be provided to an aging population. Will the health care system through institutions, hospitals and home care provide the bulk of care? Or will family and friends chip in and assist their loved ones with everything from meals to personal care?

Social networks represent an important area of study because, unlike aging or health status, for many, they can be developed with relative ease by individuals and other stakeholders. We can't stop aging, and our capacity to affect our health as we age is limited, but we may be able to build social networks, adjust our living arrangements or otherwise change our behaviour to get the care we may need.

The size, quality and proximity of people's social networks are arguably among the things that determine whether seniors receive formal care delivered by professionals, rely on informal care provided by family and

friends or, indeed, receive no care at all. The likelihood of receiving care of each type will perhaps depend partially on how many family members and friends a person has, whether they live close by, and the quality of the relationship with them.

In this article, we look at the relationship between the social networks of non-institutionalized seniors and whether they receive formal, informal or no care. Data are drawn mainly from the 2002 General Social Survey (GSS), supplemented by data from the 1996 GSS and the 2001 Census of Population.

## **More seniors in private households receive care**

For the past two decades, the proportion of seniors who have been receiving care through institutions has been declining. Fewer than 10% of senior women and only about 5% of senior men—about 287,000 persons—resided in health care institutions in 2001.

There are a number of possible reasons for this shift. For example, seniors often prefer to age in the familiar surroundings of their own homes and neighbourhoods; most are living longer, often without serious health problems; and governments may find it less expensive to provide some form of support to seniors in their homes, rather than to assume broader responsibility for them in an institution.<sup>1</sup>

As a result, the proportion of seniors who have been receiving care while residing in a private home has been increasing. According to the 2002 GSS, about one-quarter of seniors—1.0 million—living in private households were receiving care due to a long-term health problem. About another 2% of seniors outside institutions were experiencing unmet caregiving needs; that is, they reported that they needed care but received none. This group was younger and healthier on average than those who said they were receiving the assistance they



Most of the data in this article come from the 2002 General Social Survey (GSS) on aging and social support. The GSS telephone survey covered the non-institutionalized population in the 10 provinces. Respondents were randomly selected from a list of individuals aged 45 and over who had responded to another Statistics Canada survey. Data were collected from about 25,000 respondents over an 11-month period from February to December 2002. Data was also used from the 1996 General Social Survey on aging and social support, as well as the 2001 Census of Population.

In order to help us explain how the type of care that a senior receives depends on their individual characteristics, we employed a series of multinomial logistic regression models. Among the characteristics examined for each senior were gender, age, level of education, whether or not they professed a religious affiliation, and whether or not they (or a household member) owned the home in which they lived. We also looked at some fairly direct measures of the proximity, size and quality of their social network; including: who lived with them; how many other family members they considered close; how many other friends they considered close; and their level of satisfaction with these relationships.

Multivariate models allow us to isolate the effect of each characteristic on the probability that a senior will receive formal care delivered by paid professionals, informal care provided by family or friends, or no care at all. When the effect of a particular characteristic is measured independently of the influence of the other characteristics in the model, it helps to ensure that the results observed are not due to the correlation between different characteristics. To examine the impact of one characteristic, all the others are held constant at their typical, most common or average value. Thus, the probability of receiving care is always calculated for a person who, with the exception of the characteristic being tested, is a *typical* or *average senior*.

**Typical, average senior:** A senior who represents all seniors, created by using the relevant characteristics at their typical, most common or average value. This senior is of average age (74.2 years) and average health (Health Utility Index of 0.78). He or she lives with their spouse, professes a religious affiliation, has a secondary school education, and lives in a home owned by themselves or a household member. The senior is satisfied with the quality of the relationship with their family and their friends. They have an average number of close family members (5.8) and an average number of close male (3.6) and female (4.5) friends. These characteristics remain constant, except for the characteristic being tested; for example, the probability of a senior receiving care based on age is estimated for a senior possessing all the standardized characteristics above, except that his or her age is not 74.2 but varies from 65 to 90 years.

**Care receiver:** Canadians aged 65 and over who reported receiving assistance with at least one task in the 12 months prior to the survey because they had a long-term health problem.

**Care:** Help with inside-the-house activities, outside-the-house activities, transportation or personal care.

**Informal care:** Help with care activities provided by family and friends.

**Formal care:** Help with care activities provided through government organizations or non-government organizations or directly by an employee paid by the senior or someone acting on behalf of the senior.

**Health status:** This was categorized using the *Health Utility Index*, which is a composite index based on quantitative measures of the senior's level of vision, hearing, speech, mobility, dexterity, and cognition; as well as qualitative aspects of health such as emotion, pain and discomfort. Individuals are assigned an index number from 0 to 1, with 1 being perfect health.

required; at the same time, they were older and less healthy than those who did not need care. They appear, in short, to be a group in transition to care.

Of those 1.0 million non-institutionalized seniors receiving care, just under one-half (45%) received help exclusively from family and friends, while just over one-half

(55%) received at least some formal assistance. About half of those getting formal care also reported having informal assistance from family and friends.

Women are more likely to receive care because of a long-term health problem: over 30% compared with fewer than 20% of men. Even after taking account of age, health and other factors, senior women are more likely than men to receive help, particularly through the formal care system. The differing life spans and life cycles of men and women is no doubt one of the factors at play. Women, for example, tend to outlive their partners. Because the conditions under which they receive care often differ, men and women will generally be discussed separately in this article.

### Poor health is the main reason seniors receive care

As one might expect, the most important determinant of receipt of care for men and women living outside an institution was health status. While the probability of receiving care was about 20% for seniors in average health, the probability of receiving care increased dramatically with declining health.

For the otherwise typical senior, the probability of receiving care rose from about 12% for those in very good health to almost 80% for the very ill. Although the actual probabilities were different for senior men than for women, the relationship between health and receipt of care remained the same. However, it is important to note that, while health status may help us to predict who will receive care, it is not a very good predictor of whether that care will be formal or informal.

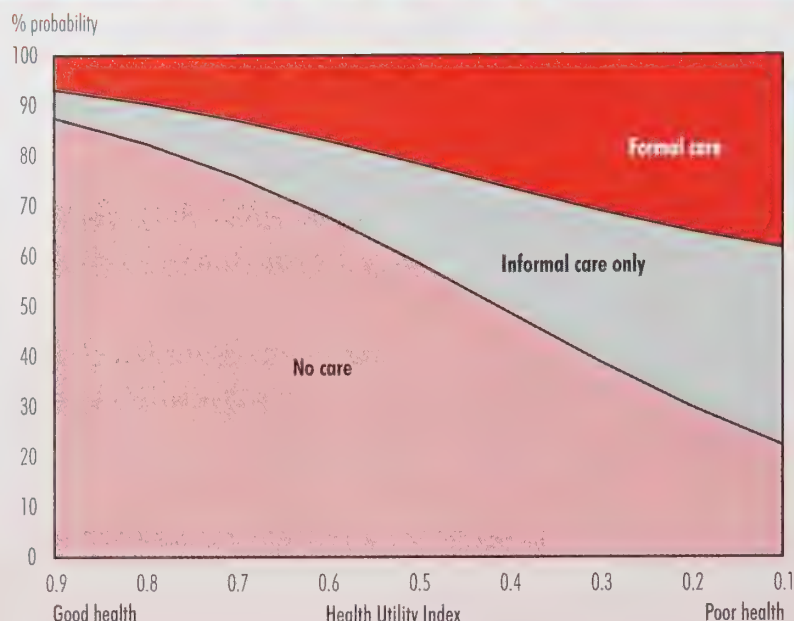
### Older seniors also receive more care

Of course, increasing age also has a strong impact on the care received by seniors. For the otherwise typical senior, the probability of receiving care increased with age.

The relationship is very reminiscent of the one between health and receipt of care, with the exception that people who were in stable health were more likely to receive formal as

**GST**

**Seniors with poorer health receive more care of both types regardless of their age**

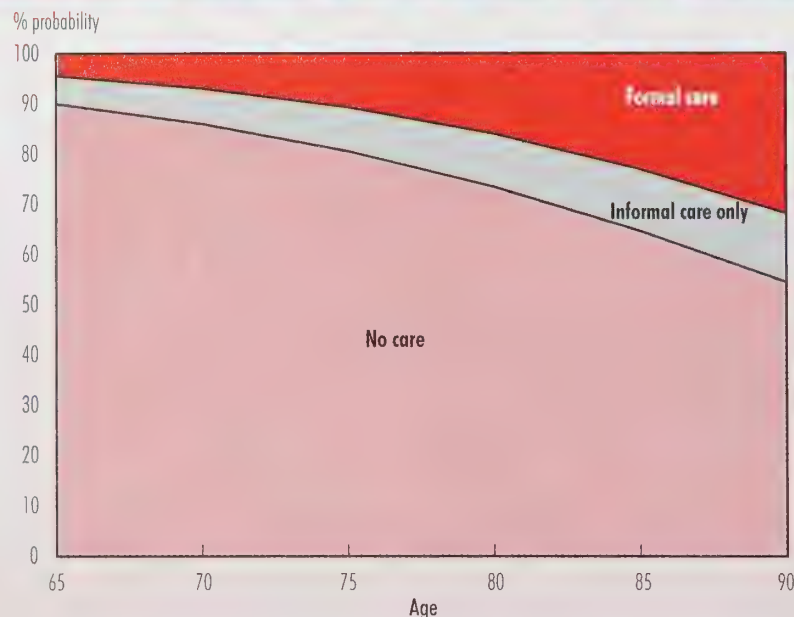


Note: Probabilities are calculated for the typical senior, where health status varies but all other variables in the model are held constant. For the definition of the typical senior, see "What you should know about this study."

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.

**GST**

**Seniors receive more formal care as they age because they are losing their social networks**



Note: Probabilities are calculated for the typical senior, where age varies but all other variables in the model are held constant. For a definition of the typical senior, see "What you should know about this study."

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.



% probability



Note: Probabilities are calculated for the typical senior, where relationship satisfaction varies but all other variables in the model are held constant. For a definition of the typical senior, see "What you should know about this study."

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.

opposed to informal care as they got older. This is at least partly due to the fact that advanced age is correlated with the decay of the support network that might have provided informal support and that older seniors are more likely to be without surviving close family or friends.

### Living arrangements were associated with care received by women

The person with whom one lives represents a key aspect of one's social network, and senior men and women differ significantly in respect of their living arrangements. According to the 2002 GSS, two-thirds of non-institutionalized senior men lived in a two-person household with a spouse, while only a little over one-third of women did. Women most often lived alone (43%) while it was the least common arrangement among men (16%). About 19% of women and 17% of men opted for living with family and friends (this

could include living with a spouse as well as other family members or friends).

For a typical man, the probability of receiving either formal or informal care was not significantly affected by his living arrangements.

For a typical woman, however, the probability of receiving formal care increased from about 9% for those who lived with children and others to almost 12% for those who lived with a spouse. Women who lived alone had the highest probability of receiving formal care at about 15%, while women living with children and others were more likely to rely on informal care. Somewhat surprisingly, however, women living with a spouse were the least likely to depend on informal care.

It is a little puzzling that more informal care was not received in two-person households. As we have seen, a substantial minority of senior women and the majority of men live with a spouse. The apparent lack of

care in these arrangements might be traced to a divergence in each partner's understanding of what constitutes care. It may be that some categories of assistance such as meal preparation, laundry, transportation and home maintenance, are perceived as part of the traditional division of labour between spouses and are only identified as caregiving when one partner can no longer perform them. If the contributions of their spouses were apparent to them, it might well be that more informal care would be reported by both sexes and that living arrangements would be identified as a significant factor in the care received by men.

### The size of the social network is important to receiving formal and informal care

For the average woman 65 years of age and older, the more relatives she feels close to, the more care she tended to receive; not surprisingly, this extra assistance is principally in the area of informal care. On the other hand, women with a large network of close female friends had a higher probability of receiving formal care. This suggests that while an extended family tends to take direct responsibility for the care of senior women, friends help them to seek out formal care. Alternately, it may be that people who maintain relationships with a relatively large number of friends also have a greater familiarity with the larger world which helps them to arrange formal care. On the other hand, extensive social networks seem to make little difference to the care men receive; in fact, having a large number of male friends was associated with less formal care.

Seniors who were satisfied with the kind and frequency of contact with family members were, all else being equal, more likely than other seniors to have received informal care. Meanwhile, satisfaction with the quality of their friendships was associated with the probability of receiving formal care, especially for men. Among women, the effect of



friends is described by the extent of the network.

### Better educated seniors receive more formal care

The level of education they have attained has an impact on whether seniors get formal care or rely solely on informal care. The probability of receiving formal help increased from about 7% for the typical senior without high school to over 13% for the typical senior with a university degree or college diploma. All else held constant, educated people less often had to rely exclusively on informal care and were less likely to receive no care at all. The effect of education on receipt of care is a little stronger for men than for women.

This link may exist because educated persons are better able to negotiate the institutional channels that could prove a barrier to accessing formal care for less literate seniors. Education is also correlated with lifetime earnings and wealth, which may mean that people with more education have the means to pay for formal assistance.

### Home ownership is associated with care for women

Another key measure of wealth—home ownership—has predictive power only for women. All other things being equal, typical senior women who lived in a home owned by themselves or a household member were more likely than renters to receive care (both formal and informal). The difference between owners and renters was somewhat greater for informal care.

Education captures the effect of household wealth for senior men, who earned that wealth over a long period of paid employment. Since women in this age group are not likely to have a similar work history, home ownership is a better predictor of financial resources available to wives, since it represents the assets built up by the couple. That there is a relationship between home ownership and care receipt for women may

also lie in a greater propensity for women to adjust their living arrangements (that is, sell their home) when their spouse dies. Getting rid of the house can lessen the need for help with yard work or home maintenance, reducing a woman's dependence on the systems that provide this type of care.

### Women who profess a religion receive more care

Senior women who reported having a religious affiliation were more likely to receive care than women who did not. They were more apt to receive informal care but were also more likely to get formal care. Acknowledging a religious affiliation may be indicative of membership in a community and suggests a social network on which one may be able to depend. Religion may also reflect traditional values or links with traditional networks (in the same way

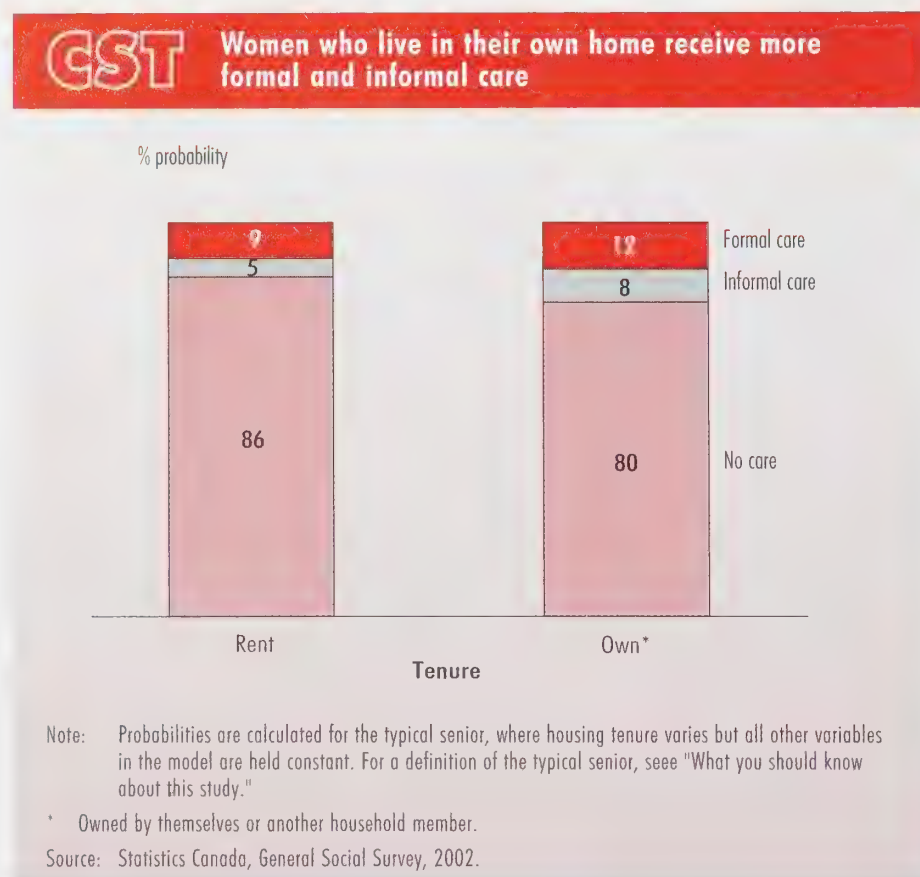
as a large family) that may allow one to receive care informally. This may be contrasted with the ostensibly weaker ties of friendship, which are associated with reliance on the formal system.

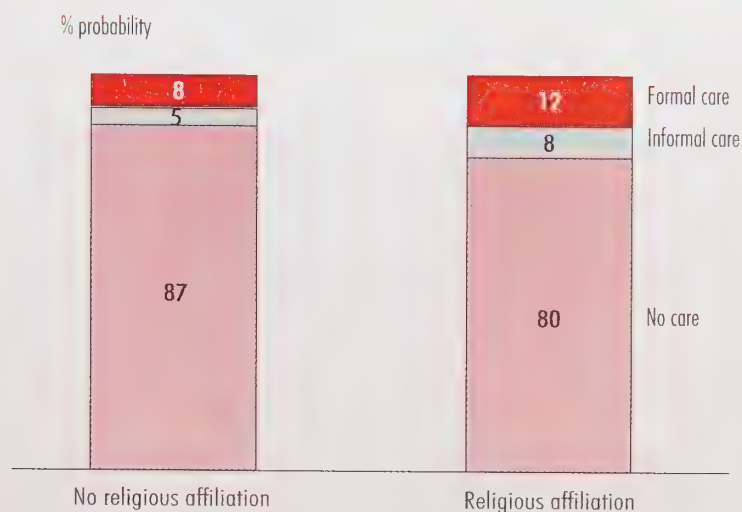
Frequency of attendance at religious services seemed, however, to be correlated positively with health status and was associated with less rather than more care (both formal and informal). This can likely be explained by people needing to be in fairly good health in order to attend a service.

For men, religion apparently played no role in the likelihood they would receive care.

### Summary

As the proportion of seniors receiving care through institutions has been declining, the proportion receiving care outside them has been increasing. Seniors receive this care





**Note:** Probabilities are calculated for the typical senior, where religious affiliation varies but all other variables in the model are held constant. For a definition of the typical senior, see "What you should know about this study."

**Source:** Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.

because of their declining health; however, the distribution of non-institutionalized seniors between the formal and informal systems seems to be conditioned by factors other than health. Perhaps due to shrinking informal networks, older seniors were more likely to receive formal care. Those with higher levels of education,

many friends and satisfying relationships with friends were more likely to receive formal care; in contrast, those with large families or who professed a religion tended to rely on informal care. Women who lived alone acquired more formal care than those who lived with a spouse, who in turn received more than those who lived with their children or others.

It would be a mistake to view social networks as constraining or determining the receipt of care in the same way as health and age, or even education and income. Social networks and living arrangements are related to the type of care received in potentially more complex ways. It is possible for care receivers and providers to adjust their networks or living arrangements to obtain or provide care. While seniors cannot change their age or health status, they may contact friends, move in with family, move into an institution or even move to a different community, in order to get the help they require. Information about the value of social networks is important as seniors age and make choices affecting their overall well-being.

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1. In many ways, institutionalization extends or substitutes for formal care, thereby affecting the demand for, and receipt of, care in the community. Although there are important differences in the rate of institutionalization across jurisdictions, regional disparities do not substantially change the findings of this study.

# The sandwich generation

by Cara Williams

This article is an adaptation of "The sandwich generation," *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE, vol. 5, no. 9), available at [www.statcan.ca:8096/bsolc/english/bsolc?catno=75-001-X20041097033](http://www.statcan.ca:8096/bsolc/english/bsolc?catno=75-001-X20041097033).

**B**alancing home and work, particularly when young children and a full-time job are in the picture, can be challenging for the best of us. It is easy to see why: eight hours at the office, plus commuting, arranging children's activities, helping with homework, preparing meals, doing household chores and planning for family time makes balance seem more like an elusive goal than a firm reality. For some, the task becomes even more difficult when they must provide care to aging parents or other relatives. These people make up the sandwich generation, whose members are caught between the often conflicting demands of caring for children and caring for seniors.

While today's sandwich generation is relatively small, it is likely to grow substantially as baby boomers age. Because of their sheer numbers, when boomers become seniors, they will account for a much larger proportion of the population than do the elderly today. In fact, population projections indicate that by 2026, one in five Canadians will be 65 or older, up from one in eight in 2001.

Another factor associated with a growing sandwich generation involves lower fertility rates, which may translate into fewer adults available to care for the elderly. Finally, because today's young adults

frequently delay marriage and parenthood, it is not unusual for older family members to require care at a time when young children and teens are still part of the household. Indeed, delayed marriage, postponement of children, and decreased fertility rates, coupled with increased life expectancy, mean that the average married couple may have more living parents than children.<sup>1</sup>

The personal and financial sacrifices made by members of the sandwich generation have been highlighted in the media.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, however, some analysts have argued that because the sandwich generation is small, the negative consequences of belonging to this group are overstated.<sup>3</sup> Yet others think that most care of seniors by family members is better defined as "helping" and that intensive caregiving is very limited.<sup>4</sup> To date, however, little empirical data exist for Canada. This article uses the 2002 General Social Survey (GSS) to examine care of the elderly by persons aged 45 to 64 with children still at home. The analysis focuses on the types of care given, the time spent on these activities, the effects on the individual from both a work and a personal perspective, and the resources that could benefit caregivers.

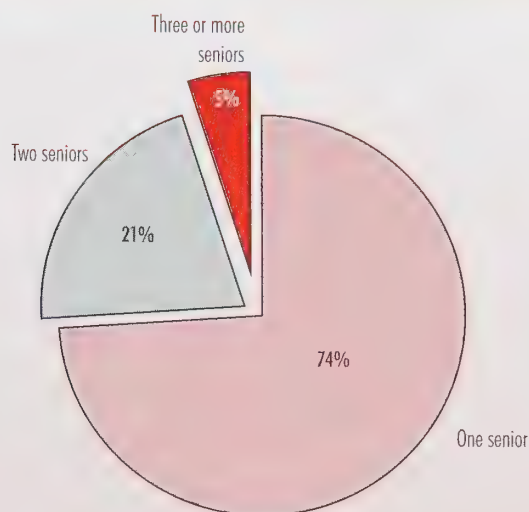
## Balancing care of children and seniors is not a new phenomenon

Providing care to elderly relatives is not new and, until quite recently, families played a pivotal role in this regard.<sup>5</sup> In the past, it was not unusual to find three generations in one household, with the primary caregiving done by the middle-aged woman in the home. While some striking similarities exist between past and present caregiving, one crucial difference is evident: Today, the majority of working-age, non-senior women engage in paid work and are not full-time homemakers. However, while parents have seen childcare services evolve, little formal support has been established for the growing number of middle-aged men and women caring for seniors.

So how are families coping? Research has shown that women do more child care and housework, while men spend longer hours at paid work. But what happens when elder care enters the mix? Are women more likely to be on call or is the responsibility shared?

According to the 2002 GSS, about 2.6 million people between 45 and 64 had children under 25 living with them. Approximately 27%—or 712,000—also performed some type of elder care. These individuals make up the sandwich generation. While





Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.

## Sandwiched workers spend less time on elder care than those without children at home

The 2002 GSS looked at the number of hours respondents spent on elder-care activities such as housework and meal preparation; yardwork and outside home maintenance; driving to appointments; and helping with bathing or dressing. Although results indicate that the incidence of providing care was similar, sandwiched workers spent fewer hours on these activities than those with no children at home: an average of 20 hours per month versus 26 hours, respectively. The two groups spent a similar amount of time on their paid job—sandwiched workers 42 hours per week and workers with no children at home, 41 hours.

The number of hours spent caring for someone provides an indicator of intensity. Sandwiched workers who spend eight hours or less per month on elder care can be considered low-intensity caregivers, while those spending more are their high-intensity counterparts. Effects on the caregiver differ significantly based on these groupings. However, it is not only the amount of care that matters. While two caregivers may spend similar amounts of time helping a senior, the tasks they need to perform may differ substantially. For example, one care receiver may need help only with outside chores such as mowing the lawn, while another may require assistance with daily living, such as bathing, dressing or feeding.

Not surprisingly, caregivers in the high-intensity group were more likely to experience negative health effects. Indeed, 76% of these individuals felt stressed compared with 67% of their low-intensity counterparts. While 22% of high-intensity caregivers reported changes in their sleep patterns, only 9% of those in the low-intensity group stated similar occurrences. In addition, 23% of high-intensity individuals found their general health affected by elder care versus 7% of

the vast majority provided elder care for their parents or parents-in-law, about 25% cared for other relatives, friends, neighbours or co-workers.

## Some sandwiches are thinly spread

Caring for both children and elderly relatives can be stressful, particularly for those with young or multiple children.<sup>6</sup> If, in addition, more than one elderly person needs to be looked after, the situation may become even more complicated. Indeed, about 21% of sandwiched workers cared for two seniors and another 5% for at least three.

The vast majority (more than 8 in 10) of those who provided care for their children as well as a senior stated that their main activity in the last 12 months had been paid work. In comparison, only 65% of individuals who cared for an elderly person but who had no children were employed. Balancing work and family

can be tough. Interestingly, however, according to the 2002 GSS, most people (82%) who worked while providing both child care and elder care were generally satisfied with the balance they had struck.

Nonetheless, caring for both children and seniors does sometimes necessitate life adjustments, such as a change in work hours, refusal of a job offer, or a reduction in income. About one in seven sandwiched workers had reduced their work hours over the previous 12 months, 20% shifted their work hours, and 10% lost income.

Sandwiched workers have been portrayed as unable to meet their other responsibilities because of caring for a senior.<sup>7</sup> However, results of the GSS show that only slightly more than 1 in 10 workers aged 45 to 64 who were caring for an elderly person, either with or without children at home, had difficulty meeting their other responsibilities.

	Intensity of elder care	
	Low (8 hours or less per month)	High (more than 8 hours per month)
	%	
<b>Proportion feeling stressed</b>		
Very/somewhat	67	76*
Not very	23	19
Not at all	9 <sup>†</sup>	5 <sup>†</sup>
Don't know/no opinion	F	F
<b>Care giving has resulted in</b>		
Health repercussions	7 <sup>†</sup>	23*
Changed sleep patterns	9 <sup>†</sup>	22*
Extra expenses	32	55*
Change in social activities	28	50*
Change in holidays	17	43*
Care receiver moving closer	7 <sup>†</sup>	10 <sup>†</sup>
Caregiver moving in with care receiver	F	6 <sup>†</sup>
<b>Effects on work</b>		
Work hours shifted	11	35*
Work hours reduced	10	26*
Income reduced	6 <sup>†</sup>	17*
<b>Overall burden</b>		
None	60	37*
Little/moderate	34	56*
Quite a bit/extreme	3 <sup>†</sup>	6 <sup>†</sup>

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to some non-response.

\* Indicates statistically significant difference from the low-intensity sandwiched group.

<sup>†</sup> Use with caution

F Too unreliable to publish

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.

low-intensity caregivers. And, about one-half of those in the high-intensity group had to change their social activities and 43%, their holiday plans. These individuals were also much more likely than their low-intensity counterparts to feel constantly stressed: 20% versus 9%.

Caregivers in the high-intensity group were also considerably more likely to experience work-related problems. They were three times as likely to shift their work hours, and more than twice as likely to reduce them or to experience a drop in income.

### Women more involved in caregiving

Women continue to shoulder much of the childcare responsibility within two-parent households, even when both parents are in the labour force.<sup>8</sup> This also holds true for elder care, both in terms of the likelihood of providing care and in performing the most intensive tasks such as bathing, dressing and cooking.<sup>9</sup> About 25% of 45- to 64-year-old men with children at home provided elder care compared with 32% of women in similar circumstances.

The amount of time devoted to elder care also varied between men

and women. Working women with children at home spent more than twice as many hours per month caring for an older person as their male counterparts (29 hours versus 13). This may be due in part to the type of care performed. For example, 69% of outside home maintenance and 65% of transportation assistance was done by men. Conversely, women were more likely to provide personal care (79% versus 22% of men), and in-home care such as food preparation and clean-up (65%). This pattern also held true for those who provided elder care only.

### Although satisfied with life, sandwiched workers are more stressed than others

Two schools of thought have emerged with respect to the personal consequences of caring simultaneously for seniors and children. According to one, such people feel no more rushed or stressed than anyone else, since the negative aspects of caregiving are balanced by increased self-esteem.<sup>10</sup> According to the second, the two roles may lead to overload, poor health, increased stress, and an inability to find balance in life.<sup>11</sup> In addition, many adult children have considerable emotional difficulty caring for their aging parents. As a result, the situation can be stressful for both caregiver and care receiver, especially as failing health necessitates more care.<sup>12</sup>

The 2002 GSS supports both schools of thought. For example, 95% of sandwiched workers reported feeling satisfied or very satisfied with life in general—virtually the same proportion as those with fewer responsibilities. However, although generally satisfied, sandwiched workers were significantly more likely to feel stressed (70%) than either those who provided elder care only (64%) or those with no childcare or eldercare responsibilities (61%).

This is not surprising, given that working full time, raising children and caring for seniors often leaves little time for social activities or holidays



**Employed persons aged 45 to 64**

	Sandwiched	Elder care only	Neither
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%

**Overall health**

Excellent/very good	74	74	73
Good	22	21	21
Fair/poor	4	5	5

**Stress level**

Very/somewhat	70	64*	61*
Not very	21	25	26
Not at all	7	10	10
Don't know/no opinion	F	F	F

**Job, family balance**

Very satisfied	21	28*	29*
Satisfied	61	57	57
Neither/no opinion	5	5	4
Dissatisfied	11	8	8
Very dissatisfied	F	F	F

**Satisfaction with life**

Very satisfied	34	32	29*
Satisfied	61	62	65
No opinion	F	F	F
Not very satisfied	3 <sup>F</sup>	4	3
Not at all satisfied	F	F	F

<sup>E</sup> Use with caution

<sup>F</sup> Too unreliable to publish

\* Indicates statistically significant differences from sandwiched workers.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.

and may, in addition, contribute to health problems. Indeed, more than one-third of these caregivers found it necessary to curtail social activities, and a quarter had to change holiday plans. Often a call for help can come in the night and the caregiver must leave the house to provide assistance. Some 13% experienced a change in sleep patterns, and the same percentage felt their health affected in some way. While 1 in 10 sandwiched workers lost income, 4 in 10 incurred extra expenses such as renting medical equipment or purchasing cell phones.

Nonetheless, for many, caregiving has positive aspects. More than 60% of caregivers felt they were giving back some of what life had given them, and 70% reported that their relationship with the elderly person was strengthened. While caregiving can be difficult to fit in with other obligations and responsibilities, only about 5% of respondents felt it to be an extreme burden.

**The caregiver's wish list**

Those busy balancing children, work and elder care reported needing support in the form of workplace

programs or appropriate government policy. Workplace support includes flexible hours, telework, and information about community resources in particular, and health and aging in general.<sup>13</sup> However, despite concerns that potential work absences by sandwiched caregivers would lead to higher associated costs and productivity losses, eldercare programs are less likely to be available than childcare programs—and even if offered, they are not often used.<sup>14</sup> The 1999 Workplace and Employee Survey (which excludes public administration) found that 802,700 individuals or 7% of employees had access to childcare services but only 78,800 (just under 10%) made use of them. While fewer employees had access to elder care (394,300), the take-up rate was slightly higher at about 13%.

Researchers put forward several reasons to explain the low utilization rate of workplace eldercare services. For example, it appears that programs often do not adequately meet the needs of either the care recipients or caregivers. As well, according to some focus group research, caregivers may try to hide their caregiving responsibilities, fearing that they are career-limiting. And finally, workplace culture may not support the use of such programs even when offered.<sup>15</sup>

The caregiver's wish list was very similar for all individuals providing elder care, whether they had children at home or not. For example, both groups were equally likely to want compensation or tax breaks, information on long-term illnesses or disabilities, or counseling. However, some differences were evident. Of those working, sandwiched individuals were more likely than those caring for an elderly person only to feel they could do a better job if respite care was available (52% versus 46%). Sandwiched workers were also more likely to want flexible work or study arrangements (46% versus 36%).



## Summary

In 2002, about 712,000 Canadians aged 45 to 64 were caught between the responsibilities of raising children and caring for seniors. For more than 8 in 10 of these individuals, paid work was added to the loads. These sandwiched workers found that in caring for a senior, 15% had to reduce their work hours, 20% had to change their schedules, and 10% experienced a reduction in income. Not surprisingly, these individuals also felt the burden in terms of their health and social life.

However, not all consequences of caregiving are negative. More than 60% of those working and caring for an older person while still having children at home felt that caring for

	Employed	
	Sandwiched	Elder care only
	%	
Respite care	52	46*
Flexible work or study arrangements	46	36*
Information on long-term disabilities	43	39
Information on caregiving	42	37
Financial compensation or tax breaks	36	35
Counselling	28	24
Other	12	10

\* Indicates statistically significant difference from sandwiched group.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.

Data in this article come from the 2002 General Social Survey (GSS) on social support and aging. The target population comprises all persons aged 45 and over as of December 31, 2001 in private households in the 10 provinces. Data were collected between February and December 2002. The sample was selected from respondents to the 2001 Canadian Community Health Survey.

For this article, the population of interest was 45- to 64-year-olds caring for children and seniors simultaneously. Individuals were considered *sandwiched* if they provided elder care to someone over 65 and had single children less than 25 living at home. *Sandwiched workers* had a paid job or business as their main activity in the previous 12 months.

This article focuses on types of care given to seniors, hours spent on care, and effects on the caregiver. Caregiving in the form of emotional support is not included. Caregiving activities comprise *personal care* (assistance with bathing, toileting, care of toenails/fingernails, brushing teeth, hair care, and dressing); *care inside the home* (meal preparation and clean-up, housecleaning, laundry and sewing); *care outside the home* (house maintenance and outdoor work); and *transportation care* (shopping for groceries or other necessities, providing transportation, or doing a senior's banking or bill-paying).

## Data limitations

While there are undoubtedly individuals under 45 who are sandwiched, they were not as likely as those aged 45 to 64 to be in this group.<sup>1</sup> According to some, younger caregivers may find elder care more burdensome because their children are younger. To determine if age of children had an effect on responses, sandwiched workers with children under 15 were examined. Results indicated that there was no difference between those with younger children and the population of interest.

Additionally, just over 10% (81,000) of sandwiched workers were not asked 'impact of caregiving' questions if the person for whom they provided care had died during the previous 12 months. Consequently, there may be some bias in the 'impact of care' responses. Finally, since only those providing elder care were asked 'impact of care' questions, it is not possible to compare them with the general 45- to 64-year-old population. Thus, the major comparison group comprised 45- to 64-year-olds who provided elder care but had no children at home. When possible, comparisons have been made with individuals not providing elder care and having no children at home.

<sup>1</sup> Wisensale, S.K. October 1992. "Toward the 21<sup>st</sup> century: Family change and public policy." *Family Relations* 41, 4: 417-422.

a senior was simply giving back what they had received, and 70% stated that the relationship was strengthened. While these individuals were just as likely as other workers to be satisfied with their work-home balance, they were much more likely to feel generally stressed. They were also significantly more likely to wish for flexible work arrangements or respite care to enable them to be better caregivers.

Those who spent more than eight hours a month on elder care were more likely than those spending less than this amount to feel the effects. Of the high-intensity caregivers, half had to change their social activities, and about 35% had to alter their work schedule.



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# Social anxiety disorder: Much more than shyness

by Margot Shields

This article is an adaptation of "Social anxiety disorder—beyond shyness" in *How Healthy Are Canadians?*, an annual supplement to *Health Reports* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-003), published in October 2004. For a complete list of references, please consult the original work, available free at [www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/82-003-SIE/82-003-SIE2004000.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/82-003-SIE/82-003-SIE2004000.htm).

**M**ost people have felt awkward or embarrassed in a social or performance situation at some point in their lives. However, people with social anxiety disorder (also known as social phobia) experience much more discomfort than this. They go through life feeling extremely uncomfortable or paralyzed in social situations because they intensely fear being scrutinized or embarrassed. So they either totally avoid social encounters, or face them with dread and endure them with intense distress.<sup>1</sup> Although social anxiety disorder is often dismissed

as shyness, studies have shown it to have a chronic and unrelenting course that is characterized by severe anxiety and impairment.<sup>2</sup> The disorder has been aptly described as "crippling shyness."<sup>3</sup>

It is difficult to estimate how many individuals actually have social anxiety disorder, as most people with the condition do not seek professional treatment for their fears. Social anxiety disorder was thought to be a rare and usually mild condition until the 1980s, when it was recognized as a separate disorder in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders. Then in the 1990s, several epidemiological studies suggested that social anxiety disorder was associated with significant impairment and was far more prevalent than initially thought.<sup>4</sup> In fact, by this time, it was considered one of the most common mental disorders. Because few people are formally treated, however, epidemiological population-based studies are really the only way to estimate the prevalence of social anxiety disorder and the burden it can impose.

Using data from the 2002 Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS): Mental Health and Well-being, this article presents current and lifetime prevalence rates of social anxiety disorder for Canadians

aged 15 years or older. It also discusses the age of onset, duration of symptoms, relationship with other mental disorders, the burden of the condition as well as the number of people with the disorder who sought professional help.

## **Performing or public speaking most scary for those with social anxiety**

According to the 2002 CCHS, just over 2 million Canadians aged 15 or older (8% of the total population) reported they had a "lifetime history" of social anxiety disorder; in other words, they had symptoms at some point in their lives. Approximately 750,000 people (3%) currently had the disorder, meaning they had symptoms in the 12 months before the survey interview.

The most commonly feared situation for people with social anxiety disorder was performing or giving a talk, but many reported facing several other situations with anxiety; for example, meeting new people, talking to authority figures, or entering a roomful of people. The majority with social anxiety disorder reported fearing 10 or more of the 14 social situations covered by the CCHS, and close to 95% feared 5 or more. For half of the situations, women were slightly more likely than men to report a fear.





The Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) cycle 1.2: Mental Health and Well-being was conducted in the 10 provinces in 2002. The survey used the World Mental Health version of the Composite International Diagnostic Interview (WMH-CIDI) to estimate the prevalence of various mental disorders in the Canadian household population aged 15 or older. The CIDI was designed to be administered by lay interviewers and is generally based on diagnostic criteria outlined in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition. Based on the advice of experts in the field of mental health, the WMH-CIDI and the

algorithms used to identify mental disorders were revised over a period of time. The questionnaire used for the CCHS is available at [www.statcan.ca/English/concepts/health/cycle1.2/index.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/English/concepts/health/cycle1.2/index.htm).

For some disorders, a set of screening questions was asked to determine if it would be appropriate to ask the respondent the more detailed questions designed to assess a particular disorder. This was done to reduce the number of questions posed to respondents without mental disorders. In some cases these screening questions were also used to categorize respondents as having a disorder.

## Social anxiety disorder is less prevalent among those aged 55 and older

	Lifetime	Current (post 12 months)
	%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>8.1</b>	<b>3.0</b>
<b>Sex</b>		
Men	7.5*	2.6*
Women	8.7	3.4
<b>Age group</b>		
15-24	9.4	4.7*
25-34	9.6	3.8
35-54	9.1	3.1
55 or older	4.9*	1.3*
<b>Marital status†</b>		
Married/common-law	8.0	2.5
Widowed	7.0 <sup>‡</sup>	2.4 <sup>‡</sup>
Divorced/separated	12.7*	5.0*
Never married	12.0*	5.0*
<b>Education‡</b>		
Less than secondary graduation	9.1	3.9*
Secondary graduation	8.8	3.3
Some postsecondary	10.3	3.9*
Postsecondary graduation	8.9	2.7
<b>Household income</b>		
Low/lower-middle	9.8*	4.6*
Middle	7.8	3.0
Upper-middle/high	8.2	2.8

Note: Reference categories are marked in *italics*.

Household population aged 15 or older, Canada excluding the territories.

<sup>‡</sup> Use with caution.

† For people aged 25 to 64.

\* Significantly different from estimate for reference category ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Community Health Survey: Mental Health and Well-being, 2002.

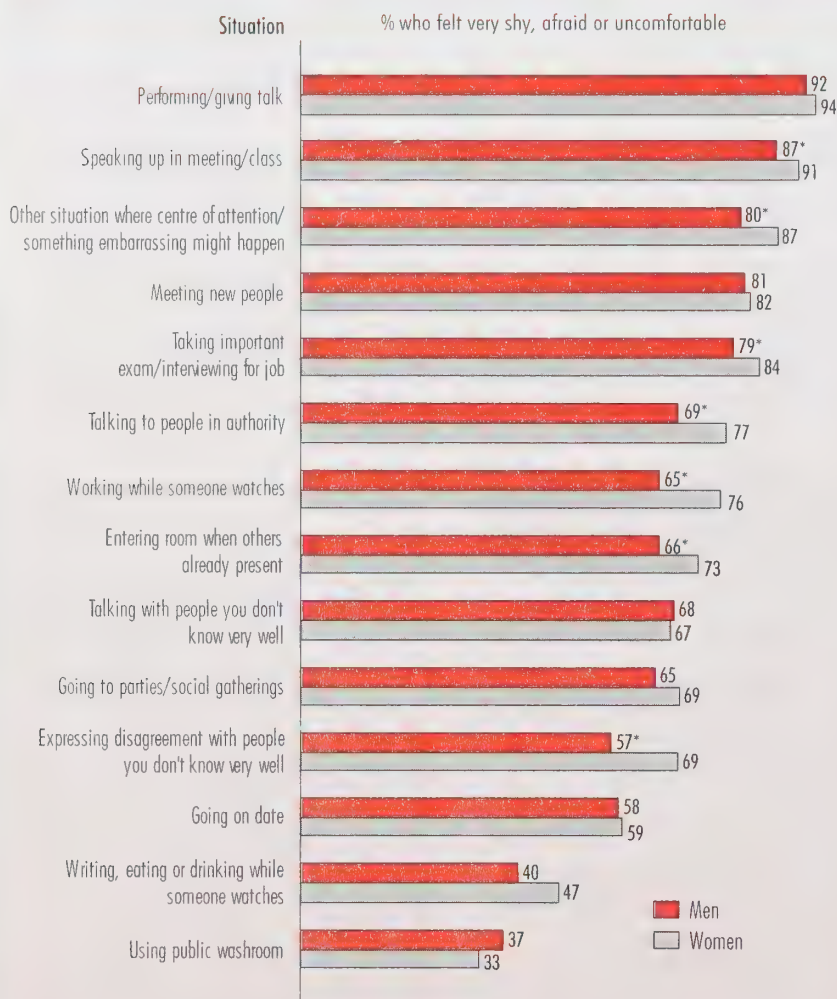
## Social anxiety disorder begins early in life

A striking feature of social anxiety disorder is its early age of onset: symptoms typically begin appearing in childhood or early adolescence. CCHS respondents were asked to report the age at which they first strongly feared or avoided social or performance situations. Among those with a lifetime history of social anxiety disorder, the average age of onset was 13; only 15% reported that symptoms first began after age 18. By contrast, the first symptoms of two other common disorders—panic disorder and depression—were evident much later, at ages 25 and 28, respectively.

Along with its early onset, social anxiety disorder can be a long-standing problem. Many studies have found that symptoms persist for years, often for two decades or longer.<sup>5</sup> Among CCHS respondents with a lifetime history of the disorder, the average duration of symptoms was 20 years. This underestimates the true burden of the disorder, because many were still suffering from it at the time of the survey.

## Social anxiety disorder more common among women

In 2002, women were more likely than men to have social anxiety disorder—both lifetime and current. The ratio



Note: Estimate for each situation excludes respondents who indicated situation did not apply. Household population aged 15 or older, Canada excluding territories.

\* Significantly lower than estimate for women ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Community Health Survey: Mental Health and Well-being, 2002.

of the rates of women to men was 1.2 for lifetime social anxiety disorder and 1.3 for current (past 12 months). This is consistent with other community and clinical studies, which have generally found rates for women to be higher.<sup>6</sup>

Young people aged 15 to 24 were more likely to have current social anxiety disorder (4.7%) than the middle-aged (3.1%), while individuals aged 55 or older were less likely

(1.3%), a pattern also evident in other countries.<sup>7</sup> The CCHS lifetime rates were similar among those aged 15 to 54, after which they dropped off noticeably. It has been suggested that this may result from a cohort effect; that is, people born in the more distant past were less likely to develop social anxiety disorder than more recent cohorts. It is difficult to substantiate this theory, though, because prevalence information for

previous decades is lacking. It is also possible that people with social anxiety disorder die at younger ages, or that the elderly may not recall symptoms of the disorder.

### Married people less likely to suffer from social anxiety disorder

In 2002, the prevalence of social anxiety disorder was higher among people who had never married or who were divorced or separated (both 5.0%) than among married individuals (2.5%). Such relationships with marital status have been found in other studies,<sup>8</sup> and it is believed that the early onset of social anxiety disorder hinders the development of social skills, making marriage, or a successful marriage, less likely.

It is also thought that failure to acquire social skills early in life hampers educational success,<sup>9</sup> a finding supported by the CCHS. Individuals who had not completed their secondary or postsecondary education were more likely to have social anxiety disorder than were postsecondary graduates. In the case of postsecondary students, dropping out of school may relate to fears or discomfort surrounding a new social environment, such as starting another school and/or living in a city away from home.

### Social anxiety disorder more prevalent in lower income households

According to the 2002 CCHS, social anxiety disorder was more prevalent among individuals living in lower income households. Furthermore, people who reported symptoms of social anxiety disorder in the past 12 months were less likely to have jobs, and those who did have jobs had lower personal incomes. This may partly result from the lower educational levels for people with social anxiety disorder, as well as difficulties remaining in a job that demands a fair amount of social interaction.<sup>10</sup> People with social anxiety disorder were also more likely



to be financially dependent. In 2002, 10% of those who had current symptoms lived in households reporting income from social assistance or welfare in the past 12 months, compared with 4% for people with no history of the disorder. These CCHS findings regarding financial dependence are consistent with those of other studies.<sup>11</sup>

### Social anxiety disorder associated with other conditions

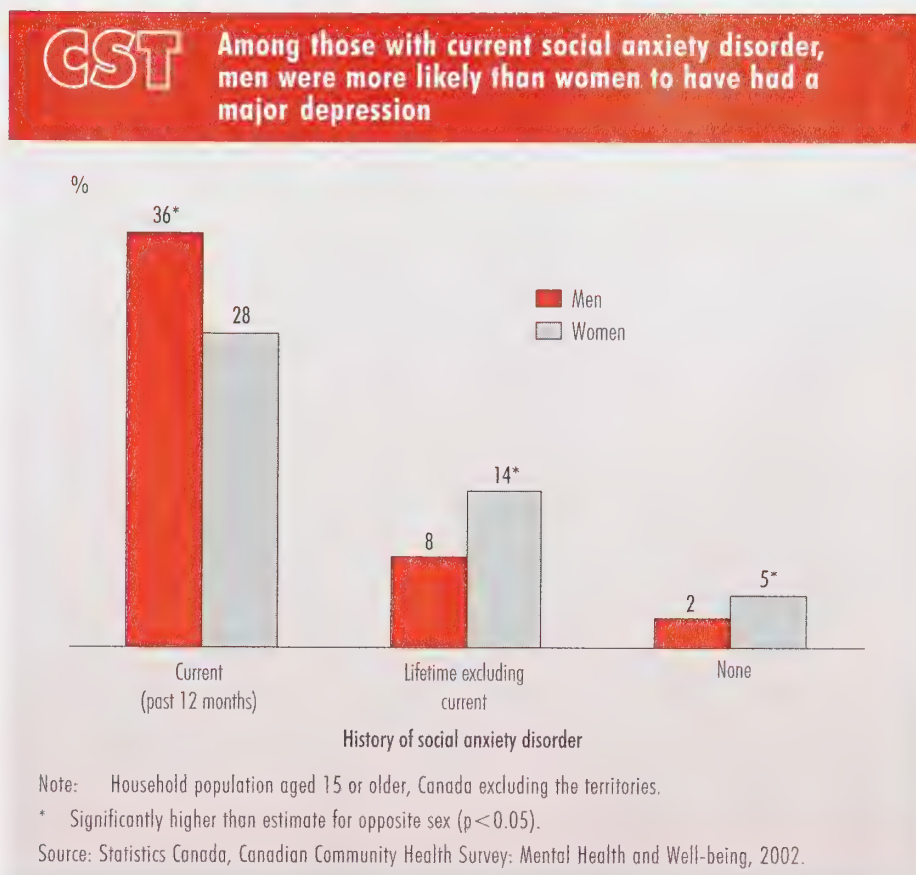
Substantial evidence indicates that social anxiety disorder is associated with increased risk of other anxiety, mood, and substance abuse disorders as well as the severity and persistence of these other mental conditions.<sup>12</sup>

People with current social anxiety disorder were over six times as likely as the general population to have a major depressive disorder, and they were three times as likely to suffer from substance dependency. Even individuals who no longer had symptoms remained at increased risk of having these other disorders. The relationship between social anxiety disorder and these other mental conditions persisted when examined in multivariate models that controlled for socio-economic factors.

It is thought that social anxiety disorder is more likely to be related to depression for women and to substance abuse for men.<sup>13</sup> When the CCHS multivariate models tested for an interaction between sex and history of social anxiety disorder, the only significant interaction was for depression. Among those currently reporting social anxiety disorder, men had a higher risk than women of also suffering from depression. In contrast, among those with a past history or no history of the disorder, depression was more prevalent among women.

### Other mental disorders often follow social anxiety disorder

According to CCHS data, social anxiety disorder often precedes other



mental disorders. In 2002, respondents with a lifetime history of social anxiety disorder and major depressive disorder reported that the symptoms of social anxiety occurred first in about 7 of 10 cases (69%). The age of onset for both disorders was the same in 13% of cases.

When individuals had lifetime histories of social anxiety disorder and panic disorder, social anxiety was evident at a younger age for 59%, and the age of onset was the same for both panic and social anxiety approximately one-quarter of the time.

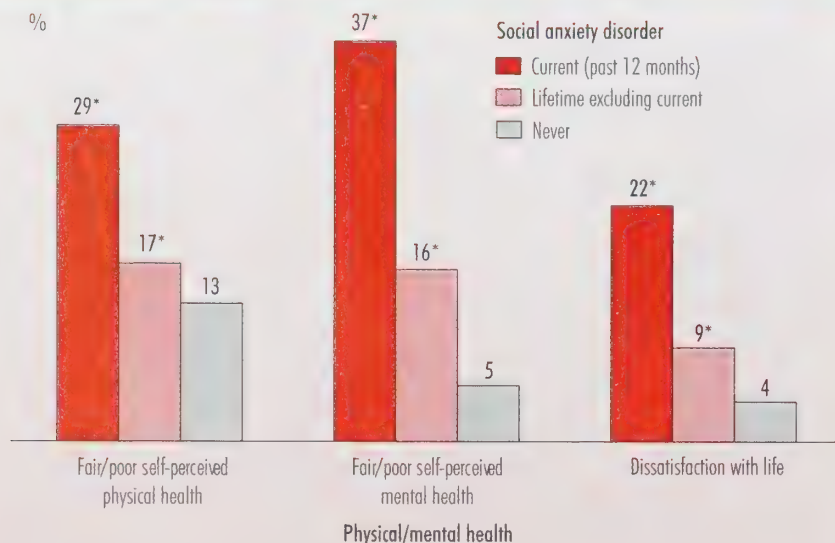
Although it has not been studied extensively, an association between social anxiety disorder and physical illness has been found.<sup>14</sup> CCHS respondents with current social anxiety disorder reported an average of 1.5 physical chronic conditions, significantly higher than the average number reported for those with a past history (1.2) or no history (1.1).

### People with social anxiety disorder lack social support

Previous studies have found that social anxiety disorder is associated with social isolation, disability, and reduced quality of life. CCHS data provide further evidence of these associations.

Four types of social support were measured in the CCHS: tangible support, affection, positive social interaction, and emotional or informational support. Tangible support is the most concrete type, and involves having someone to provide help when you need it—for example, if you are confined to bed or need someone to take you to the doctor, prepare meals, or help with daily chores. Affection is having someone who shows you love and affection, gives you hugs, or loves you and makes you feel wanted. Having someone to relax or have a good time with, or who helps get your mind off things, provides positive





Note: Household population aged 15 or older, Canada excluding the territories.

\* Significantly higher than estimate for "never" ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Community Health Survey: Mental Health and Well-being, 2002.

social interaction. Emotional or informational support comes from people who understand you and your problems, who can give you advice, and share your worries and fears.

Based on CCHS data, people with social anxiety disorder lack adequate social support. Compared with individuals with no history of the disorder, those who currently had it were over twice as likely to have low levels of each type of support. Although the situation was somewhat better for people who no longer had symptoms, they were still more likely to have low social support, compared with those who had no history of the disorder. Clinical studies have found that people with social anxiety disorder actually want social contact, but their fear of interacting prevents this from happening and leads to social isolation.<sup>15</sup> The early age of onset makes it particularly difficult to establish and maintain meaningful relationships.

### Activity limitations more common

Compared with people with no history of the disorder, those with current social anxiety disorder were over twice as likely to report a long-term activity limitation. This means that they were limited in what they could do at home, school, or work or in leisure time because of a long-term physical or mental condition or health problem. They were also over two times as likely to report at least one disability day over the past two weeks; that is, they had spent at least one day in bed, or had cut down on their usual activities because of illness or injury.

Differences in disability days due to mental or emotional health problems or use of alcohol or drugs were even more pronounced. People with current social anxiety disorder were over 10 times more likely to report at least one disability day in the past two weeks due to mental health,

compared with those with no history of the disorder. Individuals who previously had social anxiety disorder were more likely to report long-term activity limitations and disability days in the past two weeks compared with those with no history of the disorder, although their impairment rates were substantially below those of people who currently had the disorder.

### Dissatisfaction with life and health

People with social anxiety disorder tended to have a lower quality of life, as indicated by their rather negative perceptions of their own health and their dissatisfaction with life. Close to 30% of people who currently had social anxiety disorder rated their physical health as fair or poor, compared with 17% of those who previously had the disorder, and 13% of those with no history of it. More than a third of people (37%) with current social anxiety disorder rated their mental health as fair or poor, compared with 16% who previously had the disorder and 5% with no history of the condition.

Dissatisfaction with life in general was also related to social anxiety disorder. More than 20% of people with current symptoms indicated that they felt dissatisfied, compared with 9% of people with a past history and 4% of those with no history.

### Measuring the burden

The relationship between social anxiety disorder and social support, disability, perceptions of physical and mental health, and satisfaction with life persisted even after the effects of socio-economic characteristics (sex, age, marital status, education and income) were taken into account. When measures of major depressive disorder, panic disorder, substance dependency and other physical chronic conditions were introduced, the strength of the relationships did diminish, but in most cases, the associations remained statistically significant.

The appropriateness of controlling for other conditions and disorders when attempting to measure the burden of social anxiety disorder has been debated. In most cases, social anxiety disorder develops before other mental disorders, although a cause-and-effect relationship has not been established.<sup>16,17</sup> Nonetheless, some researchers have hypothesized that causal pathways may exist. For example, many people with social anxiety disorder use alcohol or drugs to help them cope, and this may lead to abuse or dependency.<sup>18</sup> In addition, the social isolation associated with social anxiety disorder and failure to achieve education and employment goals may increase the risk of depression.

The findings based on CCHS data are particularly relevant because, even when other mental and physical health problems are taken into account, the odds for all 10 outcome variables were elevated among people with current social anxiety disorder.

### Majority do not seek treatment

People with a lifetime history of social anxiety disorder were asked if they had ever seen or talked on the telephone to a doctor, psychologist, psychiatrist, social worker or other professional about their fear or avoidance of social situations. The majority had not. Only 37% reported that they had sought professional treatment, far below the rates for major depressive disorder (71%) or panic disorder (72%). Just 27% of individuals with current social anxiety disorder (those who reported having symptoms in the past 12 months) had received professional help in the past year. Those who did seek treatment often waited years before doing so. Among CCHS respondents with a lifetime history of social anxiety disorder, help was sought, on

average, 14 years after the age of onset. These low treatment rates for social anxiety disorder are consistent with findings from other studies.<sup>19</sup>

Failure to seek treatment may be directly related to the nature of social anxiety disorder. Because of their extreme social fears, people may be reluctant or embarrassed to discuss their symptoms with a health care professional; in fact, the effort of contacting and meeting such a professional face-to-face may be extremely difficult for someone with social anxiety disorder. As well, individuals with the disorder often attribute their intense fears to shyness. Because they are not aware that they have a recognized mental disorder, they do not consider professional help.

CCHS results, like those of other studies, indicated that seeking treatment for social anxiety disorder was far more likely if the person had another mental disorder. Among individuals with a lifetime history of both social anxiety and another mental disorder, 51% had sought professional treatment for their social fears—more than twice the rate for those with social anxiety alone (25%). The gap was even broader among those who had sought treatment in the past year: 43% of people with social anxiety in addition to another disorder reported receiving professional treatment versus 16% of individuals with social anxiety disorder alone.

The low treatment rates for social anxiety disorder and the number of years people wait before seeking treatment are troublesome given that, in many cases, the disorder can be treated successfully. In fact, among CCHS respondents who did have professional help, the majority (69%) felt that their treatment was helpful and effective.

### Summary

Social anxiety disorder has been described as an “illness of lost opportunities.” Results from the 2002 Canadian Community Health Survey: Mental Health and Well-being provide further evidence supporting this description. The disorder often begins in childhood or early adolescence: the self-reported average age of onset established using the CCHS data is 13. And symptoms persist—an average of two decades among CCHS respondents with a lifetime history of the condition.

This study of national data found that social anxiety disorder is related to lower educational attainment, reduced employment opportunities, low income and dependence on welfare or social assistance, decreased likelihood of marriage or of having a successful marriage, and social isolation. It is also associated with higher rates of disability, rather negative perceptions of physical and mental health, and dissatisfaction with life.

Although effective treatment is available, most people with social anxiety disorder do not seek professional help to deal with their fears. The effort and commitment required to start and maintain a formal treatment program can be extremely challenging for patients with social anxiety disorder, and if that initial hurdle can be overcome, finding a trained professional may be difficult. However, other studies suggest that early intervention and treatment may not only allow people with this disorder to realize their full potential, but it may also prevent subsequent mental disorders.



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# KEEPING TRACK

## Postsecondary education: Who leaves and why



About one out of every seven young people aged 20 to 22 who had attended a post-secondary institution at some point in their life had left for one reason or another by December 2001.

Almost one in three reported that they left because they didn't like their program or felt that the program was not for them. A further 9% reported that their main reason for leaving was to change programs or institutions.

Leavers were also less likely to have higher grades during their first year of university or college. For example, only 18% of leavers reported an overall postsecondary grade average of 80% or more, less than half the proportion (37%) of those who did not leave.

When asked at the age of 18 to 20 what barriers they might see preventing them from pursuing further education, about one-third of both leavers and non-leavers responded that it was financial barriers that would get in their way.

### Who Pursues Postsecondary Education, Who Leaves and Why: Results from the Youth in Transition Survey

Catalogue no. 81-595-MIE2004026

## Smoking: one step forward, one step back



According to the National Population Health Survey, the proportion of daily smokers who quit has risen steadily over four successive two-year periods since the mid-1990s. The study showed that between 1995 and 1997, about 10% of daily smokers quit. By the two-year period between 2001 and 2003, this proportion had increased to almost 17%.

Smoke-free environments were strongly related to cigarette consumption levels. Men who smoked daily but lived in a smoke-free home averaged 14 cigarettes a day, compared with 20 a day for those who did not live in smoke-free homes. For women, the corresponding numbers were 10 and 16.

Men and women who had their first cigarette within 30 minutes of waking were less likely to quit than those who waited for more than an hour. For men, the odds of quitting were 40% lower for those who had their first cigarette within 30 minutes, and for women there was a 30% reduction in the odds of quitting.

### Healthy Today, Healthy Tomorrow? Findings from the National Population Health Survey

Catalogue no. 82-618-MWE

## Alcohol and illicit drug dependence



In 2002, an estimated 641,000 people, or about 2.6% of the population aged 15 or older, reported symptoms suggesting that they were dependent on alcohol. In addition, 194,000 people, or just under 1% of the adult population, had symptoms that suggested dependence on illicit drugs.

The two most common symptoms of alcohol dependence reported by heavy monthly drinkers were being drunk or hung over at work or school or while taking care of children, and drinking much more than they had intended. The symptom of dependence reported by monthly illicit drug users was taking drugs in larger amounts than intended, followed by increased tolerance, and withdrawal.

More than a quarter (26%) of people who were dependent on illicit drugs had had a major depressive episode in the past year, a significantly high rate compared with those who had not used such drugs. Even those who reported using illicit drugs less than once a month had elevated levels of depression. As well, 15% of people who were dependent on alcohol had had a major depressive episode in the past year, a significantly high rate compared with those who had not done any heavy drinking in that time.

### How Healthy Are Canadians? — Annual Report 2004

Catalogue no. 82-003

## Victim services



Victim service agencies across Canada helped almost 360,000 people affected by crime in 2003, according to Victim Services Survey. A one-day survey snapshot, taken on October 22, 2003, showed that more than three-quarters of the people who sought assistance were victims, either directly or indirectly, of violent crime, and the majority were women or girls.

Not counting those affected by homicide and victims of criminal harassment, one-half of the people served that day were victims of a violent crime committed by a family member, spouse, ex-spouse or intimate partner.

About 33% had been victimized by a spouse, ex-spouse or intimate partner, while an additional 18% were victimized by a family member other than a spouse.

### Victim Services in Canada

Vol. 24, no. 11

Catalogue no. 85-002





# SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
<b>LABOUR FORCE *</b>								
Labour force ('000)	15,059	15,297	15,575	15,842	16,111	16,580	16,954	17,183
Total employed ('000)	13,677	14,019	14,390	14,759	14,947	15,308	15,665	15,950
Men	7,458	7,606	7,794	7,970	8,035	8,182	8,344	8,480
Women	6,219	6,414	6,596	6,789	6,912	7,126	7,321	7,470
Workers employed part-time (%)	19.1	18.8	18.4	18.1	18.1	18.8	18.9	18.5
Men	10.6	10.5	10.3	10.3	10.5	11.0	11.1	10.9
Women	29.4	28.7	27.9	27.2	27.0	27.7	27.9	27.1
Involuntary part-time	31.2	29.2	26.8	25.3	25.8	26.9	27.6	26.7
Looked for full-time work	10.6	10.1	9.1	7.5	7.5	8.1	8.8	8.3
% of women employed whose youngest child is under 6	15.7	15.1	14.8	14.4	13.8	13.4	13.0	12.9
% of workers who were self-employed	17.2	17.3	17.0	16.2	15.2	15.1	15.3	15.4
% of employed working over 40 hours per week	17.5	17.5	16.9	16.4	15.9	15.2	15.1	15.7
% of workers employed in temporary/contract positions	9.3	9.7	10.0	10.5	10.8	11.0	10.5	10.8
% of full-time students employed in summer	45.4	46.9	48.4	50.5	50.8	52.3	53.1	52.5
Unemployment rate (%)	9.2	8.4	7.6	6.8	7.2	7.7	7.6	7.2
Men aged 15-24	17.2	16.6	15.2	13.8	14.5	15.3	15.3	14.9
25-54	8.0	7.3	6.5	5.8	6.3	6.9	6.6	6.1
Women aged 15-24	15.2	13.6	12.7	11.4	11.1	11.7	11.8	11.8
25-54	7.8	7.0	6.4	5.8	6.0	6.2	6.3	5.9
Population with high school or less	12.2	11.3	10.3	9.4	9.7	10.3	10.2	9.7
Population with postsecondary certificate or diploma	7.5	6.6	5.9	5.2	5.8	5.9	5.8	5.6
Population with university degree	4.8	4.4	4.3	3.9	4.6	5.1	5.4	4.9
<b>EDUCATION</b>								
Total enrolment in elementary/secondary schools ('000)	5,386	5,370	5,442	..	..	..	..	..
Secondary school graduation rate (%)	76.3	76.0	76.3	77.1	76.9	..	..	..
Postsecondary enrolment ('000)								
Community college, full-time	398.6	403.5	408.8	..	..	..	..	..
Community college, part-time	91.6	91.4	85.4	..	..	..	..	..
University, full-time	573.1	580.4	593.6	607.3	635.6	..	..	..
University, part-time	249.7	246.0	254.9	243.2	251.1	..	..	..
Community college diplomas granted ('000)	91.4	88.4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Educational attainment of 25- to 54-year-olds (%)								
Less than high school graduation	18.7	17.9	17.2	16.1	14.9	14.3	13.4	12.9
High school graduation	20.7	20.7	20.9	21.2	20.7	20.9	20.1	20.1
Some postsecondary	8.1	8.1	7.9	8.2	7.8	7.7	8.1	8.0
Postsecondary certificate or diploma	33.5	33.9	33.9	33.6	34.9	34.9	35.3	35.8
University degree	18.9	19.4	20.1	21.0	21.7	22.2	23.1	23.3

not available for a specific reference period

Sources: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey and Centre for Education Statistics



# LESSON PLAN

## Suggestions for using *Canadian Social Trends* in the classroom

### **"Always the bridesmaid: People who don't expect to marry"**

#### **Objectives**

To explore the importance of marriage to the next generation of potential husbands and wives.

**Curriculum areas:** Family studies, social studies.

#### **Classroom instructions**

1. Survey the class to determine what percentage of the class expects to marry. Discuss the reasons why some expect to marry while others do not.
2. People marry for many reasons in addition to love; among other things, they want financial security, social status, a partner with whom to have children, and someone with whom to share decision-making and household labour. Make a list of the criteria that you think are important in choosing a compatible husband or wife. What factors are most important?
3. Mature singles who don't expect to marry do not believe that settling down is important to their personal happiness. But a cross-sectional (snapshot) survey like the General Social Survey on which this study is based cannot tell if people have always felt this way, or if their views have changed over time. For instance, someone who has always been very content having close friends, satisfying work or fulfilling hobbies may never have felt that being married would make them more happy; on the other hand, someone who has had a rough time finding a spouse may have decided to withdraw from the "marriage market" in order to avoid further disappointment. What factors would contribute to unmarried people changing their marital intentions as they grow older? Explain the reasons for your answer.
4. Divorce has made many people hesitant to marry. Nevertheless, they still want the love and companionship that comes from being part of a couple; in fact, many people who refuse to marry are perfectly happy to live common-law with someone. Discuss whether being together and being married are different or the same thing.

#### **Using other resources**

See the Family Studies kit at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm)

To find lesson plans, articles and data for elementary and secondary schools, check the Statistics Canada Web site at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach/htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach/htm). There are more than 150 lesson plans for high school classes, many articles, E-STAT access and other data.

#### **Educators**

**You may photocopy "Lesson plan" or any item or article in *Canadian Social Trends* for use in your classroom.**

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# CANADIAN Social Trends



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September 2005

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# What do seniors spend on housing?

by Warren Clark



Canada's senior population has grown rapidly over the past three decades, from 1.8 million in 1971 to 4.1 million in 2004. By 2026, the number of seniors is expected to reach about 7.8 million and will represent 21% of the population. Today's seniors are living longer and healthier lives than those of earlier generations, and technological and medical advances are allowing them to live on their own for longer periods. Nonetheless, age brings limitations that affect where, how and with whom people live. One of the concerns that seniors may face is affordable housing. This may be a particular concern for those seniors who lose a spouse and are faced with reduced household income while shelter costs remain unchanged.

Using data from the 2001 Census of Population and the 2002 General Social Survey (GSS) this article looks at who seniors live with and the affordability of their homes.

## Where do seniors live?

According to the 2001 Census, while the vast majority of seniors aged 65 and over live in private households (93%), the remaining 7% reside in collective dwellings (primarily healthcare institutions such as nursing homes and hospitals). Institutional residency is age-related, increasing from 2% among seniors aged 65 to 74 to 32% among those aged 85 and over. Since the early

1980s, the rate of institutionalization of seniors has declined, as home-care programs and community support have enabled them to stay in their homes longer.

Data from the 2001 Census show that about 69% of seniors who live in private dwellings live in houses, 29% in apartment buildings and 1% in mobile homes. As seniors age,

## **GST** What you should know about this study

For the purposes of this article "seniors" refers to the population aged 65 and over. Housing affordability problems refer to those households where 30% or more of household income is spent on shelter costs including rent, electricity, heating fuel, water or other municipal services, mortgage or loan payments for the dwelling, property taxes and condominium fees. If a senior lives in one of these households then they are said to have a housing affordability problem. Data used to analyze housing affordability of seniors exclude farm, band, and reserve households; households with incomes of zero or less; and households whose shelter costs equal or exceed household income. Data for this article come from the 2001 Census of Population and the 2002 General Social Survey (GSS).

The 2002 GSS is a telephone survey covering the population in the 10 provinces who have land telephone lines, primarily private households. This survey focused on aging and social support. Approximately 25,000 respondents were randomly selected from a list of individuals aged 45 and over based on a sample frame from the Canadian Community Health Survey. Data were collected over an 11-month period from February to December 2002.

however, their housing preferences shift towards apartments (both rental and condominium). By age 85 and over, the percentage of private householders who live in houses dips to 58%, while the share of those in apartments rises to 41%. This shift in housing preferences may be related to home downsizing because of the loss of a spouse, the desire to do less maintenance or to pay lower shelter costs, or the need for improved accessibility to accommodate activity limitations. Despite this trend, selling the family home seems to be the exception rather than the rule for most seniors; overall, they are far less likely to move than younger adults.

### Nearly half of seniors live with their spouse

Health status and the ability to do everyday tasks play a central role in the living arrangement options of older people.<sup>1</sup> According to the 2001 Census, 45% of seniors lived only with a spouse or common-law partner, 27% lived alone, 18% resided with their children or grandchildren (with or without their spouse present), 7% were in an institution and 3% lived with others (relatives or non-relatives).

Seniors share housing with their children for different reasons. Sometimes they move in with their children for help and support after the death of their spouse, because of failing health or the loss of a driver's license. In other cases, the care receiver-caregiver relationship may be reversed, with the senior providing care to a child or grandchild. In addition, co-residence may be influenced by the children's economic need rather than their parents' declining health and resulting need for care. In fact, of all seniors living with their adult children, over half (53%) were in households where a senior was the sole maintainer of the household, whereas about one-quarter (28%) were in households where an adult child was the sole maintainer.

Yet, some groups of seniors were more likely than other groups to

live with their children. In 2001, immigrants (29%), visible minorities (56%), and seniors living in large cities (24%) were more likely to live with their children than the Canadian-born (13%), those not in a visible minority group (16%) and seniors living in small urban communities with between 10,000 and 25,000 people (12%). Also, those seniors from the bottom income quintile,<sup>2</sup> excluding institutionalized seniors, were more likely to live with their children than those from the top income quintile (21% versus 14%).

The living arrangements of seniors have changed somewhat over the past 20 years. The percentage of seniors living alone and the percentage

living with a spouse have increased while the percentage living with their children has remained almost the same. As the gap between men's and women's life expectancies narrows, more seniors may have a spouse present, a key factor in being able to continue living in conventional housing as spouses provide support to each other. Meanwhile, the percentage of seniors in institutions has declined.

Most research shows that older persons with higher incomes are more likely to live independently, suggesting that privacy and independence are "purchased" by those who can afford to do so. According to the 2002 GSS, 86% of widows with higher

**GST**

### Widows and widowers with higher income and fewer children are more likely to live alone

	% living alone	
	Widows	Widowers
<b>Total</b>	77	77
<b>Age</b>		
65-74	78	88
75-84	73	77
85 and over	73	77
<b>Personal income</b>		
Less than \$20,000	70	86
\$20,000-\$39,999	83	86
\$40,000 and over	86	76
<b>Self-assessed health</b>		
Excellent	83	85
Very good	87	76
Good	80	74
Fair	78	75
Poor	67	7
<b>Number of living children</b>		
0	87	95
1	83	87
2	83	80
3	87	74
4	78	89
5	73	87
6 or more	72	87

F Too unreliable to be published.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.



seniors were alone compared with 12% of those with lower income. The presence of adult children and income, health status and housing arrangements. These are major risk factors for widows, who are likely to live alone than those who share with a spouse. And those in poor health are less likely to live alone than those in excellent health. Most seniors' problems are linked to living alone, which is why the same thing will often be a problem for others who live alone, even if they are not part of the senior population.

### Housing affordability problems increased for lower income seniors between 1981 and 2001

Although few seniors mark the arrival of winter, a considerable number will have the stress of paying shelter costs on a tight budget. The measure used to housing affordability is the ratio of shelter costs to income.

Household income. In this article, households are considered to have housing affordability problems if 30% or more of their before-tax household income is spent on shelter. However, it is possible that these households could have found other "acceptable housing" in the local area, but for whatever reason they chose to stay where they were.

In 2001, about 643,000 seniors (18%) had housing affordability problems. While the average household incomes of seniors increased by 28% between 1981 and 2001, in constant dollars, the prevalence of affordability problems for seniors changed only slightly: from 17% to 18% over the same period. Although this was a very small shift overall, affordability problems grew for some seniors in the lowest household income quintile, from 49% in 1981 to 60% in 2001, with nearly all of this change occurring after 1991. Seniors in higher income

households were less likely to have housing affordability problems and experienced little change between 1981 and 2001.

For seniors single, affordability problems were linked to living arrangements of seniors. Seniors who lived alone were most likely to have housing affordability problems (38%), followed by seniors living with others in 24% (senior couples, 10% and those living with their children) 15%. Lone seniors have lower household incomes and are more likely to be older than senior couples. Circumstances that contribute to the disparity in affordability problems. Affordability problems for lone seniors have grown from 35% in 1981.

Housing affordability problems were more likely not only among seniors living alone but also among senior renters, residents of large cities,<sup>7</sup> women, those over age 85, the minorities and recent immigrants. The affordability problems of senior renters were linked to living alone as over half were in this situation.

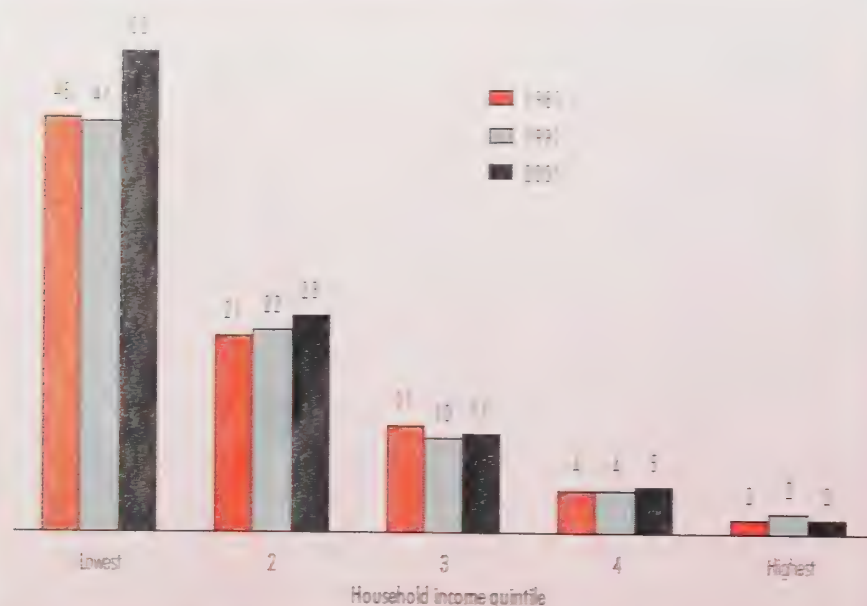
Seniors living alone in large cities were more likely to rent (55%) than those in rural and small town (RST) Canada (37%).<sup>8</sup> And senior renters living alone were the most likely group to experience housing affordability problems (61% in large cities and 49% in RST Canada). In contrast, only 19% of senior homeowners living alone had housing affordability problems (19% in large cities and 14% in RST Canada). Senior renters living with their spouse were much less likely to have affordability problems (18%).

When one spouse dies, household income usually declines. Although shelter costs may not change much, a larger percentage of household income is spent on these expenditures because of the loss of income. In 2000, household income for senior couples averaged \$51,000 compared with \$23,000 for widows living alone.

**GST**

### Housing affordability problems have increased for seniors with the lowest incomes

% of seniors spending 30% or more of household income on shelter costs



Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.



**Seniors aged 65 and over**

Characteristics of seniors	% with housing affordability problem <sup>1</sup>	Average monthly shelter cost (2001 \$)	Average household income in the previous year ('000s of 2001 \$)
<b>Historical data</b>			
1981	17	439	39.8
1986	17	445	41.1
1991	16	486	45.7
1996	18	503	44.2
2001	18	535	47.7
<b>2001</b>			
Men	14	537	52.2
Women	22	534	44.1
<b>Age</b>			
65-74	16	545	50.8
75-84	20	517	44.1
85 and over	27	541	40.2
<b>Living arrangement</b>			
Alone	38	457	24.5
Spouse only	10	502	50.9
Children	10	730	73.5
Others	12	597	55.2
<b>Tenure</b>			
Owned	10	510	53.1
Rented	44	615	30.8
<b>Size of community</b>			
Rural and small town <sup>2</sup>	12	373	36.8
10,000-24,999	16	429	39.1
25,000-249,999	18	468	41.8
250,000-999,999	19	547	49.4
1,000,000 and over	23	676	57.4
<b>Visible minority</b>			
Yes	22	863	68.0
No	18	510	46.1
<b>Immigration status</b>			
Immigrants	20	643	55.2
Recent immigrants	24	1,046	71.4
Canadian-born	19	491	44.6

Note: Shelter costs include rent, electricity, heating fuel, water or other municipal services, mortgage or loan payments for the dwelling, property taxes and condominium fees.

1. Percent of seniors living in households who spent 30% or more of their before-tax household income on shelter costs.
2. "Rural and small town" (RST) refers to the population living outside the commuting zone of larger urban centres—specifically, outside census metropolitan areas (CMAs) and census agglomerations (CAs). RST includes all municipalities with urban populations of 1,000 to 9,999 and rural areas, where less than 50% of the employed individuals commute to the urban core of a CMA/CA.

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.

Women have higher life expectancy than men and tend to be younger than their spouse. As a result, they are more likely to find themselves living alone in their senior years. Because senior women on average also had weaker attachment to the labour force during their working lives, their pension incomes are lower. It is therefore not surprising that senior women are more likely to experience housing affordability problems than men (22% versus 14%).

### Seniors in large cities are more likely to have affordability problems than those in small communities

Seniors living in large cities usually have higher shelter costs and higher average household incomes than those living in smaller cities and rural areas. In large cities, 23% of seniors had housing affordability problems compared with 12% of seniors living in rural and small town Canada. This difference is associated with the higher cost of housing in large cities. In 2001, seniors in large cities had about 80% higher shelter costs than those who lived in RST Canada.

### Seniors in visible minority groups and recent immigrants are more likely to have housing affordability problems

Seniors who are visible minorities or recent immigrants<sup>7</sup> were more likely to live in housing that exceeded the housing affordability benchmark than seniors who were not in a visible minority group or who were Canadian-born. This is partly because two-thirds of visible minority and recent immigrant seniors are concentrated in Toronto and Vancouver where shelter costs are very high. Removing the effect of community size, recent immigrants and visible minority seniors are almost equally likely to have affordability problems as Canadian-born and non-visible minority seniors.

## Recent immigrants in large cities and RST Canada are more likely than Canadian-born seniors to have housing affordability problems

% of seniors spending 30% or more of household income on shelter costs



Note: RST Canada refers to the population living outside the commuting zone of larger urban centres—specifically, outside census metropolitan areas (CMAs) and census agglomerations (CAs). RST includes all municipalities with urban populations of 1,000 to 9,999 and rural areas, where less than 50% of the employed individuals commute to the urban core of a CMA/CA.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

Visible minority seniors and recent immigrant seniors were also more likely to experience crowding<sup>8</sup> and, as noted earlier, were more likely to live with their children, especially those living in large cities. The high shelter costs in the large cities where visible minorities and recent immigrants are concentrated may contribute to crowding. Those visible minority and recent immigrant seniors living in smaller communities are less likely to have affordability problems and crowding than those living in large cities.

### High-priced homes add to affordability issues

Although senior homeowners are less likely to have housing affordability problems than senior renters, about 1 in 10 had an affordability problem. However, many experiencing such problems had much wealth locked up in their homes. In fact, according to the 2001 Census, 21% of senior homeowners with affordability problems had homes valued in the top quarter of homes in their neighbourhood.<sup>9</sup> Those who owned valuable homes had, on average,

higher household incomes and also higher shelter costs, but those with homes valued at \$400,000 and more were more likely to have housing affordability problems than those with homes valued at less than \$100,000 (12% versus 9%). This is not surprising, as those with high value homes are more likely to live in large cities where shelter costs are higher and to pay higher property taxes, heating, electricity and fees for municipal services.

Interestingly, those seniors who owned high-value homes were equally likely to have housing affordability problems regardless of the size of the community they lived in. In contrast, those seniors with low-value homes (less than \$100,000) were about twice as likely to have affordability problems if they lived in a large city (14%) than in RST Canada (7%).

### Summary

The majority of seniors live in houses, but as they age their preference shifts towards apartments. Most seniors live with a spouse, but as they grow older, larger and larger proportions, especially of women, live alone. Ultimately, health problems, death of a spouse, or the difficulties of maintaining a large house may encourage them to move elsewhere. Sometimes that may mean moving in with a son or daughter or vice versa. However, housing affordability problems exist for many seniors, especially for those living alone, renters and seniors living in large cities.

1. Mutchler, J.E. and J.A. Burr. 2003. "Living arrangements among older persons—A multilevel analysis of housing market effects" *Research on Aging* 24, 6: 531-558.
2. Seniors were divided into five groups or quintiles based on their personal income. Each quintile represents one-fifth of all seniors. Quintiles are created by ranking seniors in ascending order of income and partitioning the seniors into five groups such that the estimated number in each group is the same.
3. Shelter costs include rent, electricity, heating fuel, water or other municipal services, mortgage or loan payments for the dwelling, property taxes and condominium fees.
4. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) uses the term "acceptable housing" to refer to housing that is in adequate condition (does not require major repairs), is of suitable size and is affordable (costing less than 30% of before-tax household income). A household is said to be in "core housing need" if its housing falls below at least one of these standards and if it would have to spend 30% or more of its before-tax income to pay the median rent of alternative local housing that meets all three standards. In 2001, 20% of households did not meet the affordability

standard (i.e. paid 30% or more of their before-tax household income on shelter costs) and of these about 7 in 10 were in core housing need. See CMHC. 2004. "The adequacy, suitability and affordability of Canadian housing." *Socio-economic Series* 04-007.

5. Includes census metropolitan areas (CMAs) with populations of 1 million or more people in 2001. This includes the CMAs of Toronto, Montréal, Vancouver and Ottawa-Gatineau.
6. "Rural and small town" (RST) refers to the population living outside the commuting zone of larger urban centres — specifically, outside census metropolitan areas and census agglomerations (CAs). RST includes all municipalities with urban populations of 1,000 to 9,999 and rural areas where less than 50% of the employed individuals commute to the urban core of a CMA or a CA.
7. Recent immigrants are those who arrived in Canada between 1996 and 2001.
8. The dwelling does not have enough bedrooms for the size and make-up of the occupying household.
9. Neighbourhoods refer to census tracts for large CMAs and CAs and to census subdivisions for untraced smaller CAs. Census tracts have populations of about 5,000 people.

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# Preparing for retirement

by Grant Schellenberg, Martin Turcotte and Bali Ram

**S**ettling into retirement involves changes in many aspects of a person's life. Certainly financial adjustments are involved as employment income is replaced by retirement income and spending patterns are altered. People often find they have to make psychological and social adjustments as well. For workers whose job provides a sense of purpose and self-identity, retirement may involve a significant change in how they define themselves.<sup>1</sup>

Social contacts are also likely to be realigned as time is mainly spent with family and friends, rather than co-workers and business associates. Furthermore, retirement generally results in a significant increase in the amount of time that spouses spend together; while retired couples generally report that the quality of their relationship is high,<sup>2</sup> the process of retiring can produce a temporary increase in marital conflict as couples get settled into new routines.<sup>3</sup>

In light of these substantial transformations in lifestyle, retirement counsellors are increasingly encouraging older workers to prepare just as carefully for the non-financial as the financial challenges of retirement. This article draws on the 2002 General Social Survey (GSS) to examine four specific non-financial preparations made prior to leaving the labour force by Canadians who had retired in the previous 10 years (1992 to 2002).

## GST What you should know about this study

Data for this paper were drawn from Statistics Canada's 2002 General Social Survey (GSS). The target population for the 2002 GSS was all persons 45 years of age and over residing in the 10 provinces. The 2002 General Social Survey used a subjective definition of retirement. Respondents identified as retired were those who said their main activity during the past 12 months was "retired", who said "yes" when asked if they had ever retired, or who said they had never retired but replied "yes" to a follow-up question that probed their degree of attachment to the labour force. Just over 4,400 respondents, representing 1.8 million Canadians, were identified as having retired in the 10 years preceding the survey. Respondents who had never worked, had left the labour force before age 30, or did not answer the questions regarding their retirement plans are excluded from this study.

**Retiree:** a person who had left the workforce at age 50 or older in the 10 years preceding the GSS (that is, between 1992 and 2002).

**Non-financial preparations:** one of four steps retirees had taken, before leaving the workforce, that were intended to help ease the transition from employment to retirement. These steps included becoming involved in physical activities, whether learning new sports or increasing the time devoted to their existing interests; cultivating non-physical leisure activities and hobbies; engaging in volunteer activities; or gathering information about retirement, such as talking with a consultant or attending a course about what to expect in retirement and how to plan for it.

### Nearly three-quarters of retirees actively prepared for a life of leisure

In his recent study of retirement, Dr. James Nininger, former CEO of the Conference Board of Canada, argues that an active and varied life

outside work can help people make a smooth transition into retirement.<sup>4</sup> For Nininger, the lesson is "get a life while you're working." Although it did not ask respondents to specify when they began readying themselves for retirement, the 2002 GSS did ask

whether they had become involved in physical activities; developed other leisure activities and hobbies; gotten involved in volunteer activities; or gathered information about retirement, such as talk with a consultant or attend a course.

Almost three-quarters of retirees (71%) had made one or more of these non-financial preparations: 31% made one type and 40% made two or more. On the other hand, over one-quarter of retirees (29%) did not undertake any. The most common type of non-financial preparation made was collecting information about retirement, with almost half of retirees (46%) having done this. More than one-third (35%) of retirees had cultivated hobbies or other leisure pursuits. Over one-quarter had gotten involved in physical activities (27%) and a larger proportion had become volunteers (29%) in anticipation of their departure from the workforce.

The likelihood that people had made pre-retirement adjustments to their lifestyle frequently depended on their demographic or socio-economic characteristics. For example, women were more likely than men to have gotten involved in volunteer activities (31% and 26%, respectively), although they were no more likely to have made the other types of non-financial preparations.

Workers with higher education were more often active in planning for their retirement. Almost two-thirds (62%) of retirees with a university degree gathered information prior to retirement, compared with under half (48%) of those with high school and less than one-third (30%) of those without high school. Differences between retirees with higher and lower levels of education were also significant for the three other non-financial preparations.

Individuals who were in very good or excellent health at the time they retired were more likely to have made provision for dealing with a change in lifestyle. Of course, it may not be surprising that retirees in fair or poor health less frequently

<b>GST Recent retirees with higher socio-economic status were more likely to have made multiple non-financial preparations for retirement</b>			
	Number of non-financial preparations made		
	None	One	Two or more
	% (distribution across)		
<b>Both sexes</b>	29	31	40
Men	29	33	38
Women	30	28	42
<b>Marital status at retirement</b>			
Married or common-law	28	31	41
Other	33	31	35
<b>Age at retirement</b>			
50 to 59	27	29	43
60 to 64	28	32	39
65 or older	35	33	32
<b>Nature of retirement</b>			
Voluntary	25	32	44
Involuntary	40	30	31
<b>Health at retirement</b>			
Excellent	23	34	43
Very good	26	29	46
Good	32	29	39
Fair or poor	39	31	30
<b>Receives pension income</b>			
No	37	31	32
Yes	21	31	48
<b>Highest level of schooling completed</b>			
Less than high school	42	32	26
High school	27	31	42
College or trade/technical diploma	23	29	48
University degree	18	30	52
<b>Current household income</b>			
Less than \$20,000	40	31	29
\$20,000 to \$29,999	34	32	34
\$30,000 to \$39,999	24	33	42
\$40,000 to \$59,999	22	31	47
\$60,000 or more	19	30	51

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.

developed physical activities or got involved in volunteer work, given the possible constraints imposed by their condition. Furthermore, someone obliged to leave the workforce by the sudden onset of health problems may have had little time to get ready for retirement the way they might have wished.

### Retirees with "good jobs" geared up better for retirement

Among the retirees most likely to have gathered retirement information or become volunteers before leaving work were those who had worked in professional occupations, in public administration, and in the health, education, and social services sector.



Having a pension was another factor associated with a higher likelihood of making non-financial preparations for retirement. For example, all things being equal, the probability that a retiree had gathered retirement information was significantly higher for someone with pension coverage than for someone without (54% and 35%, respectively).

Retirees who had been paid employees were about twice as likely as those who were self-employed to have collected information in arranging for retirement (at 50% and 27% respectively), maybe because they had had access to information through employee assistance programs or employer-sponsored courses. However, paid employees and self-employed workers were about equally likely to have participated in the other types of planning.

The likelihood of paving the way for a lifestyle change after retirement was also associated with the nature of retirement itself. Involuntary retirees—those who did not want to retire but were compelled to do so by factors such as health problems or unemployment—were less likely to have made non-financial preparations than individuals who had left employment voluntarily. One reason may be that an unforeseen early exit from the workforce gave them little time to get organized.

### Getting ready for retirement associated with greater enjoyment of life

Do retirees who develop leisure activities, gather information or become engaged in volunteer work report greater satisfaction in retirement than those who do not? The 2002 GSS asked respondents: "Compared to the year before you retired, do you now enjoy life more, less or about the same?"

Overall, 12% of recent retirees said they enjoyed life less than they had before retiring, while 47% enjoyed it more and 41% reported no real change. Whether retirees said "less," "the same" or "more" was associated

<div>GST</div> <div>Gathering information about retirement was the most common type of non-financial preparation by recent retirees</div>				
	Type of non-financial preparation for retirement			
	Developed physical activities	Cultivated other leisure activities and hobbies	Got involved in volunteer activities	Gathered retirement information
	%			
<b>Employment status prior to retirement</b>				
Paid employee	28	36	29	50
Self-employed	28	38	28	27
<b>Occupation prior to retirement</b>				
Managerial	28	38	28	42
Professional	30	42	38	63
Technical	41 <sup>£</sup>	40 <sup>£</sup>	31 <sup>£</sup>	54 <sup>£</sup>
Clerical	29	37	34	53
Sales and services	26	31	27	38
Trades and transportation	21	34	22	39
Other blue collar	28	36	20	36
<b>Industry prior to retirement</b>				
Agriculture and primary	31 <sup>£</sup>	40 <sup>£</sup>	28 <sup>£</sup>	33 <sup>£</sup>
Utilities and transportation	20 <sup>£</sup>	30 <sup>£</sup>	25 <sup>£</sup>	49 <sup>£</sup>
Construction	27 <sup>£</sup>	36 <sup>£</sup>	18 <sup>£</sup>	26 <sup>£</sup>
Manufacturing	24	34	22	45
Trade	27	35	28	36
Finance, insurance, real estate, professional and business services	30	37	33	43
Health, education and social services	29	40	37	61
Information, culture and recreation	26 <sup>£</sup>	30 <sup>£</sup>	25 <sup>£</sup>	52 <sup>£</sup>
Accommodation, food and other services	28 <sup>£</sup>	37	22 <sup>£</sup>	25 <sup>£</sup>
Public administration	32	37	35	70
<b>Nature of retirement</b>				
Voluntary	29	38	30	50
Involuntary	22	28	25	34
<b>Receives pension income</b>				
No	26	33	25	31
Yes	28	38	32	61
<b>Current household income</b>				
Less than \$20,000	25	30	24	26
\$20,000 to \$29,999	23	31	25	39
\$30,000 to \$39,999	26	37	27	51
\$40,000 to \$59,999	31	41	32	58
\$60,000 or more	34	40	33	58

<sup>£</sup> Use with caution.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.

<sup>£</sup> Use with caution.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.

with a number of factors, including their health, financial circumstances and the non-financial preparations they had made.

A statistical model was developed to predict the likelihood that a retiree would enjoy life more after retirement than before he or she



left the workforce. Holding other characteristics constant, the model predicts that the probability of enjoying life more was 43% among those who had not made any non-financial preparations, but 50% for those who had made two and 59% for those who had made at least three. The predicted probability of enjoying life more was highest among retirees who had developed physical activities and cultivated hobbies and leisure pursuits.

The correlation between non-financial preparations for retirement and post-retirement enjoyment of life can be interpreted in several ways. It may be that gearing up for the inevitable change in lifestyle by developing new habits and routines resulted directly in greater enjoyment of life when a person's working life was over. Alternatively, it may be that the people most likely to make non-financial preparations were the most eager to leave the labour force and thus also to report greater enjoyment of life after retiring. Unfortunately, it is not possible to assess the validity of either of these interpretations with the 2002 GSS.

### Summary

There are considerable variations in the extent to which Canadians with different characteristics make non-financial retirement preparations; those most likely to do so tend to have characteristics that are generally associated with higher socioeconomic status, such as having a higher level of education, having pension coverage, being employed in a professional occupation, having higher income and retiring voluntarily. There is also a correlation between readying oneself for the substantial lifestyle adjustment that retirement entails and life satisfaction after leaving the workforce, with those who do more planning reporting a greater increase in enjoyment of life.



**Grant Schellenberg** is a senior analyst and **Martin Turcotte** is an analyst with Social and Aboriginal Statistics Division; and **Bali Ram** is a senior research advisor with Demography Division, Statistics Canada.

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# What makes retirement enjoyable?

by Grant Schellenberg,  
Martin Turcotte and Bali Ram

The thought of retirement can often be appealing, particularly when stuck in rush hour traffic, faced with an unpleasant task, or just feeling worn out from a hectic week at work. At such times, the idea of sleeping in, playing a round of golf, or taking the RV on the road may be most attractive. But does retirement really measure up to people's expectations? Do individuals enjoy life more in retirement than they did while still working?

Using data from the 2002 General Social Survey (GSS), this article looks at recent retirees (individuals who retired during the preceding decade and were at least 50 years old when they did so) and their enjoyment of life before and after retirement. A statistical model explores the relationship between enjoyment of retired life and specific individual characteristics (for example, marital status, health and financial well-being) while holding the effects of other characteristics constant.

## Life after retirement better for about half of retirees

When the GSS asked recent retirees, "Compared to the year before you retired, do you now enjoy life more, less or about the same?", nearly half (47%) said that they enjoyed life more now. A slightly smaller proportion (41%) took about the same amount of pleasure in life before and after retirement, while 12% reported that they enjoyed life less now.

## GST What you should know about this study

Data in this analysis come from the 2002 General Social Survey (GSS). The target population for the GSS covered 25,000 persons 45 years of age and over residing in the 10 provinces, excluding full-time residents of institutions. Almost 4,500 respondents, representing 1.8 million Canadians, were classified as "recent retirees." Recent retirees were defined as those who retired during the years 1992 to 2002 and were at least 50 years of age when they did so.

The figures in the table are *predicted probabilities* computed from a multinomial logistic regression. They show the relationship between life enjoyment and each characteristic in the table independent of (or net of) the effects of the other characteristics.

### Marital status

GSS respondents were asked about their marital status at two points in time: when they retired and when they completed the survey in 2002. From these responses we can identify individuals who were married at both times; who had become widowed since retirement; who had separated or divorced since retirement; who had married since retirement; and those who were not married at either point in time (this group includes never-married, widowed, separated or divorced people). Individuals who changed marital status more than once during the intervening period cannot be identified.

### Health

GSS respondents were asked "Compared to other people your age, how would you describe your usual state of health? Would you say it is excellent, very good, good, fair or poor?" and "How would you describe your health at the time you retired? Compared to others your age, would you say that your health was excellent, very good, good, fair or poor?"

### Finances

Recent retirees were asked if they believed their current financial situation is worse than, about the same as, or better than it was in the year prior to retirement.

Men and women had similar assessments of life enjoyment, although men were slightly less likely than women to report an increase in contentment. After taking into account age, marital status, health, income and other factors, 47% of retired men and 51% of retired women said they enjoyed life more in retirement than they did before.

### **Relationships, health and finances make a difference**

Not surprisingly, the gain or loss of a loved one is closely related to happiness. According to data from the 2002 GSS, individuals who had been widowed since they retired were twice as likely as those who remained married to say their enjoyment of life had declined (12% and 6%, respectively). Conversely, individuals who got married since retirement were more likely than others to report an increase in their enjoyment of life.

Retirees who became separated or divorced since retirement varied greatly in their assessments of life. While some were more likely than their married counterparts to say they enjoyed life less since retirement, others reported enjoying life more, suggesting considerable variation in the experiences and views of divorced individuals.

The association between health and happiness is striking even after accounting for other variables. Individuals whose health had gotten much worse since retirement were most likely to experience a decline in their enjoyment of life (26%), while those whose health had improved were least likely to feel this way (2%). Similarly, retirees with worsening health were much less likely than those with improving health to report an increase in their enjoyment of life: 31% and 62%, respectively.

Most people would probably agree that while money doesn't guarantee happiness, it helps make life more enjoyable. Indeed, GSS data show

that retirees whose financial situation had improved since retirement were most likely to say their enjoyment of life had increased (64%, after taking into account all other variables). Individuals whose financial position remained the same came next (50%), followed by those whose finances had deteriorated (39%). Receipt of pension income, another indicator of financial security, was also positively associated with improvements in life enjoyment.

### **Early retirees enjoy life more**

Is early retirement the key to happiness? According to data from the 2002 GSS, retiring sooner rather than later does make a difference. After accounting for all other factors, including current age, 59% of individuals who retired between the ages of 50 and 54 reported enjoying life more after retirement, compared with about 40% of those who took retirement when they were aged 65 to 74.

It is possible that age at retirement reflects small differences in health or financial well-being that are not captured by other measures. Alternatively, individuals who retired at older ages may have done so because they enjoyed their work and, in comparison, found retired life less satisfying. At the same time, retirees who left the labour force earlier may have been eager to do so and to make the most of retired life.

How much people enjoy life also appears to be associated with the length of time spent in retirement. Individuals who had been retired for longer than two years were more likely to report a decline in happiness than those who had only recently retired (a difference of three to four percentage points, after controlling for all other variables). Perhaps the 'honeymoon effect'—the relief from work stress and enjoyment of new-found freedom—diminishes as the initial glow of retirement wears off.

### **Those who plan for retirement get more out of it**

Enjoying retired life seems more likely when one plans for it while still in the labour force. GSS respondents were asked whether or not they planned for their retirement by participating in physical activities, developing other leisure activities or hobbies, getting involved in volunteer work, or gathering information about retirement.

People who participated in three or four of these activities were far more likely to report increased enjoyment of life in retirement (59% after accounting for all other variables) than those who participated in two (50%), one (47%) or none at all (43%). Perhaps these activities afforded individuals greater life enjoyment in retirement. Or, it may be that individuals who were most eager to leave the labour force were also most likely to prepare for retirement and to enjoy their new life to the fullest.

Wanting to retire and having to retire are two very different things, which are no doubt related to how much one enjoys life in retirement. After holding all other factors constant, involuntary retirees were considerably less likely (38%) than their voluntary counterparts to consider retired life an improvement (53%). This is not surprising when bearing in mind that those who had no choice but to retire—mostly due to health problems or unemployment—often subsequently experienced adverse financial consequences.

Individuals who were self-employed prior to retirement were slightly less likely than paid employees to report an increase in their enjoyment of life (45% versus 50%, respectively).

### **Summary**

Overall, about half of retirees report taking more pleasure in life after leaving the labour force. Their responses also indicate that meaningful relationships, good



Predicted probability of enjoying life				Predicted probability of enjoying life			
	Less than before retirement	The same as before retirement	More than before retirement		Less than before retirement	The same as before retirement	More than before retirement
%				%			
<b>Marital status at retirement and in 2002</b>				<b>Sex</b>			
Married — Married	6	45	49	Men	7	47	47*
Married — Widowed	12*	48	40	Women	6	43	51
Married — Divorced/separated	10*	30	60*	<b>Age at retirement</b>			
Not married-Married	1	31	68*	50 to 54	5	36	59*
Not married-Not married	8	44	49	55 to 59	7*	39	54
<b>Change in health since retirement</b>				60 to 64	6	42	52
Much worse	26*	43	31	65 to 69	6	54	40*
Somewhat worse	13*	43	43	70 to 74	7	52	41*
No change	7	46	47	75 or older	11	70	19*
Somewhat better	4*	44	52	<b>Years since retirement</b>			
Much better	2*	36	62*	2 or less	4	43	53
<b>Health at retirement</b>				3 to 4	8*	43	49
Excellent	4	43	54*	5 to 6	7*	43	50
Very good	4	47	49	7 to 8	7*	42	51
Good	7*	45	48	9 to 10	7	54	39*
Fair or poor	21*	40	39	<b>Number of non-financial preparations made before retirement</b>			
<b>Change in finances since retirement</b>				None	10	48	43
Worse	14*	47	39*	One	6*	48	47
No change	4	46	50	Two	5*	45	50*
Better	4	31	64*	Three or four	5*	36	59*
<b>Receives pension income</b>				<b>Nature of retirement</b>			
Yes	5*	44	52*	Voluntary	5	42	53
No	9	46	46	Involuntary	11*	51	38*
<b>Current household income</b>				<b>Type of employment prior to retirement</b>			
Less than \$20,000	8	48	45	Paid employee	7	43	50
\$20,000 to \$29,999	9	47	44	Self-employed	6	49	45*
\$30,000 to \$39,999	7	44	49				
\$40,000 to \$59,999	6	42	53*				
\$60,000 or more	4*	44	52				

Note: Reference group is shown in italics

\* Statistically significant difference from reference group ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2002.

health, and financial well-being are important ingredients for the enjoyment of life in retirement. In addition, being involved in physical activities, hobbies or volunteer work and researching retirement issues

while still at work help make the transition to retirement a success. In contrast, having to retire earlier than anticipated because of health problems or job interruptions detracts from the enjoyment of retired life.

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# The changing health of immigrants

by Edward Ng, Russell Wilkins, François Gendron and Jean-Marie Berthelot

This article is an adaptation of "Dynamics of immigrants' health in Canada: Evidence from the National Population Health Survey," *Healthy Today, Healthy Tomorrow? Findings from the National Population Health Survey* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-618-MWE2005002), available for free online at [www.statcan.ca/english/research/82-618-MIE/82-618-MIE2005002.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/research/82-618-MIE/82-618-MIE2005002.htm). For a full list of references, please see the original article.

**W**hen immigrants arrive in Canada, their health is typically better than that of the average Canadian. In fact, many studies have established the existence of a so-called "healthy immigrant effect." This may partly be due to the fact that potential immigrants are screened on medical and other health-related criteria before they are admitted to the country. There is also a degree of self-selection in the originating countries, with applicants likely to be individuals with the stamina and motivation to undertake the rigours that immigration entails.

Previous studies have shown that immigrants, especially recent immigrants, are both less likely to have chronic conditions or disabilities than the Canadian-born population, and are more likely, upon arrival to Canada, to rate their health as good, very good or excellent. Most of these studies, however, have been based on data for a single point in time. As a result, they have not been able to track the changes over time in immigrants' health in their new country.

Using longitudinal data from Statistics Canada's National Population Health Survey (NPHS), this article assesses the health impact of the immigration process, as individuals adjust to life in Canada, by comparing changes in immigrants' self-perceived health status, health care use, and health-related behaviours with those of the Canadian-born population. Information was collected from the same individuals over an eight-year period from 1994/95 to 2002/03.

## **Immigrants' self-perceived health deteriorates over time**

In 2001, Canada's 5.4 million immigrants made up just over 18% of the population, the highest percentage in 70 years. Canada now receives more than 200,000 immigrants each year, and they account for close to 60% of population growth. Without sufficient immigration to compensate for below-replacement fertility, the Canadian population would start to decline in about 30 years.<sup>1</sup> A better understanding of the dynamics behind any changes in immigrants' health

could inform public policy about potential risks that confront this increasingly important component of Canadian society.

It is hypothesized that over time, immigrants' perception of their health converges toward that of the host population. In some cases, medical problems may arise as immigrants age just like anyone else. In others, health may deteriorate as immigrants integrate into their new country and adopt behaviours with potentially negative health impacts.

The process of immigration itself is stressful and disruptive, possibly involving financial constraints, employment problems or the lack of a social support network, all of which may undermine health. The loss of a support network of family and friends in the country of origin can be particularly difficult. It is a well-known fact that lack of social support is a risk factor for a decline in health: for example, in general, Canadians with low social support were 1.3 times more likely to indicate a decline in health than those with high levels of social support.<sup>2</sup>



Data in this article come from the National Population Health Survey (NPHS), which collects information about the health of Canadians. The survey covers private households and institutional residents in all provinces, except on Indian reserves, Canadian Armed Force bases, and some remote areas. The first cycle of the survey (in 1994/95) interviewed over 14,100 residents aged 18 years and over living in private households. These individuals were then followed over time. The statistical model used in the analysis controlled for age, sex, household income, education and other selected characteristics.

For people who rated their health as good, very good or excellent in 1994/95, changes in health status, health care utilization (frequent doctor contacts and hospitalization) and health-related behaviours (daily smoking, leisure activity and body mass index) were examined by European/non-European origin and duration of residence in Canada. They were compared to the Canadian-born population (i.e. those who were Canadian citizens by birth).

### **Duration of residence in Canada**

Immigrants' actual duration of residence in Canada is not available from the National Population Health Survey (NPHS). As a result, the number of years between immigration and the first NPHS cycle (1994/95) was used as a proxy, but

the duration of residence is not exact. Some people may have resided in Canada for several years before obtaining immigrant status, while others may have lived outside Canada for substantial periods after immigration. Because of sample size limitations, just two duration categories were created: recent immigrants (in Canada for 10 years or less as of 1994/95) and long-term immigrants (in Canada for more than 10 years as of 1994/95).

### **Self-perceived health**

This is a commonly used indicator that has been shown to reflect other measures of health status such as mortality and clinically diagnosed morbidity. It was measured on a five-category scale: poor, fair, good, very good or excellent.

### **Income adequacy**

This indicator is based on the number of people in the household and total household income from all sources in the 12 months preceding the 1994/95 survey. It was defined as less than \$15,000 for a household with 1 or 2 persons, less than \$20,000 for a household with 3 or 4 persons, and less than \$30,000 for a household with 5 or more persons.

### **Body mass index (BMI)**

The BMI determines a person's weight relative to his or her height. An increase of at least 10% in the index reflects a substantial weight gain, which might be harmful to one's health.

To distinguish groups with cultural differences that might influence health, immigrants were grouped into two categories according to their country of birth: European and non-European. The European category also includes those born in the United States, Australia and New Zealand. Because of the diversity of the immigrant population, the European/non-European grouping is at best a crude way to capture the cultural differences underlying health transitions, but owing to sample size limitations, this was the only categorization possible.

According to the NPHS, immigrants from non-European countries were twice as likely as the Canadian-born to indicate deterioration in their health between 1994/95 and 2002/03. In other words, these immigrants

had rated their health as good, very good or excellent in the first year of the survey, but subsequently were more likely to describe themselves as being in fair or poor health than the Canadian-born.

This decline was particularly pronounced among *recent* non-European immigrants (those who, for purposes of this study, arrived in Canada in 1984 or later). But surprisingly, even *long-term* non-European immigrants (those who came before 1984) were more likely than the Canadian-born to indicate a shift toward fair or poor health. In contrast, there was no statistically significant difference between European immigrants' likelihood of reporting a decline in health and that of the Canadian-born. (The statistical model used in the analysis controlled for age, sex,

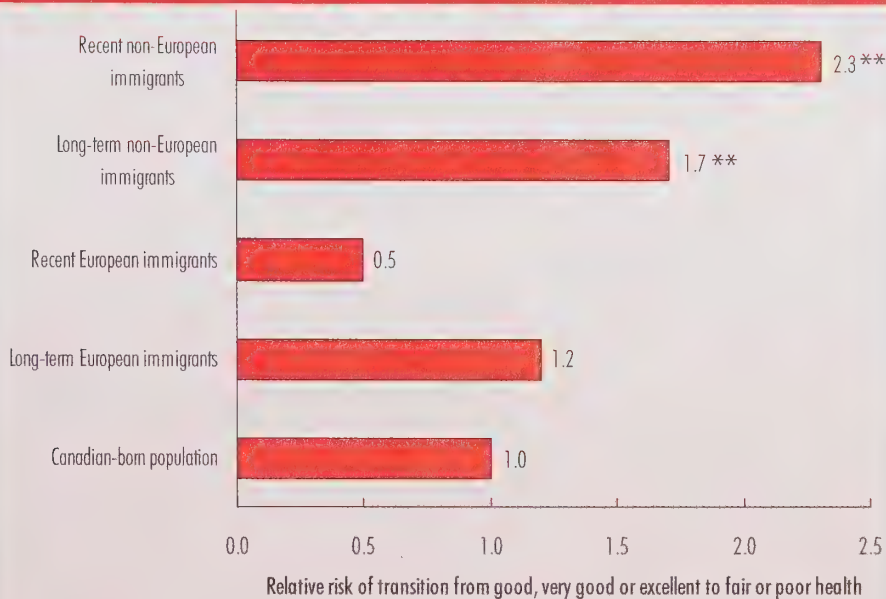
household income, education and other selected variables.)

### **Non-European immigrants visit their doctor more frequently**

In addition to their deteriorating self-perceived health, or perhaps mirroring it, recent non-European immigrants reported having visited their doctors more frequently than others over the years. Between 1994/95 and 2002/03, they were 1.5 times more likely than the Canadian-born to become frequent visitors to doctors (that is, to have visited in person, or consulted by phone, their general practitioner or other medical doctor at least six times in the previous year). Once again, European immigrants resembled Canadian-born individuals in their likelihood of visiting doctors.



## Recent non-European immigrants were most likely to indicate a deterioration in health

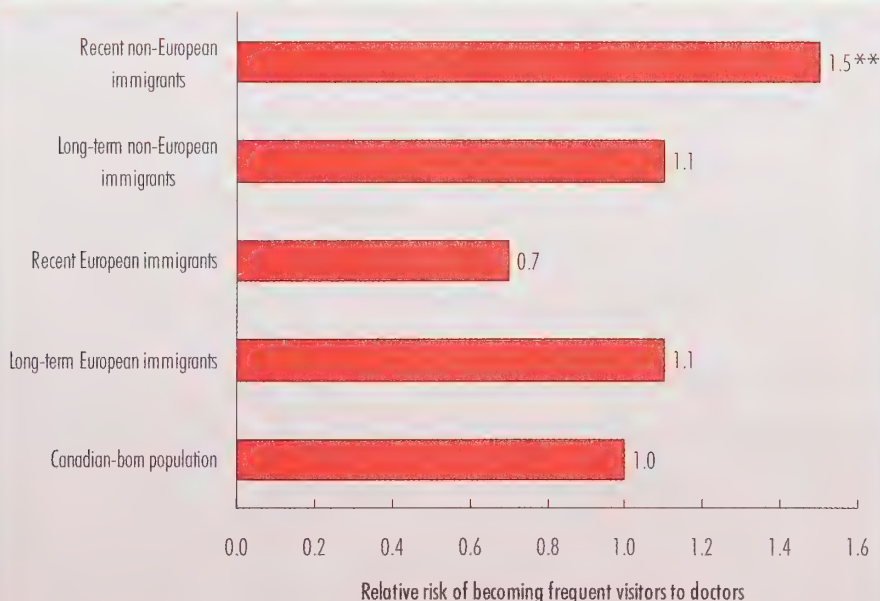


Note: Analysis based on individuals reporting good, very good or excellent health in 1994/95, and controls for age, sex, income adequacy, education, smoking, inactive leisure, social support/involvement and body mass index in 1994/95.

\*\* Statistically significant difference from estimate for Canadian-born ( $p < 0.01$ ).

Source: Statistics Canada, National Population Health Survey, 1994/95 to 2002/03.

## Recent non-European immigrants were more likely than the Canadian-born to become frequent visitors to doctors



Note: Analysis is based on individuals reporting good, very good or excellent health in 1994/95, and controls for age, sex, income adequacy and education in 1994/95.

\*\* Statistically significant difference from estimate for Canadian-born ( $p < 0.01$ ).

Source: Statistics Canada, National Population Health Survey, 1994/95 to 2002/03.

There was no statistically significant difference between any of the groups of immigrants and the Canadian-born in the likelihood of being hospitalized. However, admission to hospital is usually necessitated by relatively serious health problems, and it is possible that during the eight years of follow-up the decline in health was not severe enough to require hospitalization.

### What causes non-European immigrants' health to decline?

The decline in immigrants' self-perceived health might be attributable to a number of factors. For the Canadian population overall, daily smoking, inactive leisure time, and obesity were each found to be significantly associated with deterioration in self-rated health. Perhaps during the process of adjusting to the Canadian lifestyle, non-European immigrants have picked up some of these habits.

According to data from the NPHS, relatively few non-European immigrants became daily smokers. In fact, they were only half as likely as the Canadian-born population to start smoking on a daily basis between 1994/95 and 2002/03. Therefore, for these immigrants, daily smoking was unlikely to be associated with a higher risk of decline in self-reported health over the eight years. By contrast, European immigrants were as likely as their Canadian-born counterparts to start smoking during this period of time.

### Non-European immigrants report lack of physical activity and weight gain

While non-European immigrants were not picking up the smoking habit, they were somewhat more likely than the Canadian-born to have become physically inactive during their leisure time.<sup>3</sup> This may help explain why these immigrants were more likely to report declining health.

Adjusted risk ratios  
for transition from  
good/very good/  
excellent to fair/poor health

## Immigration status and duration of residence

<i>Canadian-born</i>	1.0
Recent European immigrants	0.5
Long-term European immigrants	1.2
Recent non-European immigrants	2.3**
Long-term non-European immigrants	1.7**

## Sex

<i>Men</i>	1.0
Women	1.1

## Age group

18 to 34	1.0
35 to 54	1.6**
55 and over	3.4**

## Income adequacy

Low	1.5**
<i>Not low</i>	1.0

## Education

Less than high school	1.9**
High school graduation/some postsecondary	1.2*
Postsecondary graduation	1.0

## Smoking

Daily smoker	1.5**
<i>Not daily smoker</i>	1.0

## Inactive leisure

<i>No</i>	1.0
Yes	1.2**

## Social support

<i>High</i>	1.0
Low	1.3*

## Social involvement

<i>High</i>	1.0
Low	1.1

Body mass index<sup>§</sup>

Underweight	1.0
<i>Normal weight</i>	1.0
Overweight	1.2**
Obese	1.3**

Note: All explanatory variables are based on situation in 1994/95. Data refer to private household population aged 18 or older in Canada, excluding territories.

Reference categories shown in *italics*.

<sup>§</sup> Excludes pregnant women.

\* Statistically significant difference from reference category ( $p < 0.05$ ).

\*\* Statistically significant difference from reference category ( $p < 0.01$ ).

Source: Statistics Canada, National Population Health Survey, 1994/95 to 2002/03.

However, more research is needed to understand the complex associations between the level of leisure-time activity and health among immigrant groups. For example, the group most likely to become inactive were recent European immigrants. Yet, paradoxically, in contrast to their non-European counterparts, these recent European immigrants were not at a greater risk of indicating a decline in their health relative to the Canadian-born.

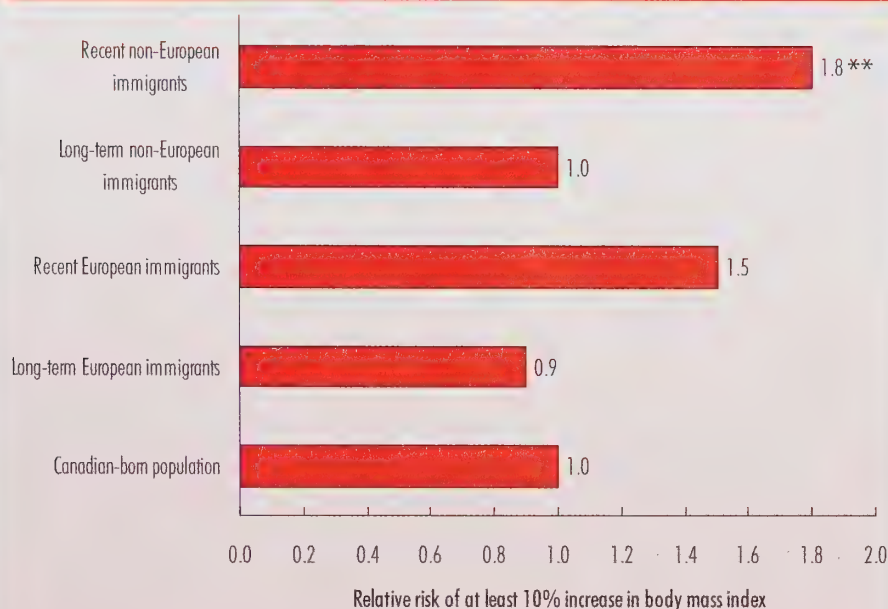
Although the fact that recent non-European immigrants' self-perceived worsening health could not be directly linked to daily smoking, weight gain was a possible contributor. Rapid changes within and between body mass index (BMI) categories could be considered as important indicators of potential problems. Indeed, recent non-European immigrants were almost twice as likely as the Canadian-born population to have experienced at least a 10% increase in their BMI since 1994/95.<sup>4</sup>

## Summary

When immigrants arrive in Canada, they tend to have better health than the Canadian-born. However, as time passes, their health appears to decline and eventually approximates that of the host population. Potential reasons for the deterioration in immigrants' self-perceived health may include the process of aging, the adoption of behaviours with negative health effects and the stress of immigration itself.

The decline in health was most pronounced among recent non-European immigrants. Although this decline did not seem to be associated with the initiation of daily smoking, weight gain and physical inactivity may have been contributing factors.

The relationship between immigration and health transitions is highly complex, involving not only socio-economic, cultural, behavioural, environmental and biological factors, but also pre-immigration history.



Note: Analysis is based on individuals reporting good, very good or excellent health in 1994/95, and controls for age, sex, income adequacy and education in 1994/95. Excludes people who were underweight in 1994/95.

\*\* Statistically significant difference from estimate for Canadian-born ( $p < 0.01$ ).

Source: Statistics Canada, National Population Health Survey, 1994/95 to 2002/03.

More research is needed to clarify the links between the causes and effects of these factors.

**Edward Ng, Russell Wilkins, François Gendron and Jean-Marie Berthelot** work in the Health Analysis and Measurement Group, Statistics Canada.

1. Statistics Canada. 2001. *Population Projections for Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2000-2026* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 91-520).
2. To measure levels of social support, respondents were asked if they had someone to confide in or count on, who could give them advice, and who made them feel loved. The effect of social support on health status is not included in subsequent analysis because the questions asked were not identical in the various cycles of the survey.
3. Difference was statistically significant at the 10% but not at the 5% confidence level.
4. Individuals who were underweight in 1994/95 were excluded from the analysis.



# South Asians in Canada: Unity through diversity

by Kelly Tran, Jennifer Kaddatz and Paul Allard

Numbering 917,000 in 2001, South Asians were the second largest visible minority group in Canada, just behind the Chinese at slightly over one million people. The South Asian community is one of the most diverse visible minority groups, consisting of a range of ethnic, religious and linguistic groups whose ancestries, immigration histories and personal experiences are quite varied. And yet, the South Asian community is one of the most unified when it comes to the value they attach to family interaction, the maintenance of social networks within their cultural group, and the preservation of ethnic customs, traditions and heritage languages.

Using data from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) and the 2001 Census of Population, this article examines the diversity of the South Asian population in Canada, traces their history in this country and looks at how their ethnic and cultural backgrounds are reflected in their everyday lives.

## **GST** What you should know about this study

The Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) was developed by Statistics Canada, in partnership with the Department of Canadian Heritage, to provide information on the ethnic and cultural backgrounds of people in Canada and how these backgrounds relate to their lives today. The survey was conducted by telephone between April and August 2002 and included about 42,500 respondents aged 15 years and over living in private households in the 10 provinces. Persons living on Indian reserves and those of Aboriginal origins living off-reserve were not included in the survey.

The 2001 Census of Population provides data on the demographic profile of the population, including the respondent's visible minority group, country of birth, the country of birth of their parents, landed immigrant status, time of landing in Canada, language and religion. Census data refer to the total population.

### **The roots of South Asian settlement in Canada**

Growth and diversity within the South Asian population in Canada are in part the result of centuries of migration from the Indian sub-continent. Many South Asians can trace their lineage back to India and other parts of Southern Asia, but have

family members who have settled in all parts of the world. As early as the mid-1800s, indentured labourers from India went to Fiji, Mauritius, South Africa and the Caribbean to work in agriculture. Many remained in their new lands.<sup>1</sup>

About 100 years ago, between 1905 and 1908, some 5,000 South Asians

## CST Who is a South Asian?

A South Asian (sometimes referred to as East Indian in Canada and Asian Indian in the United States) may be defined as any person who reports an ethnicity associated with the southern part of Asia or who self-identifies as part of the South Asian visible minority group. This definition encompasses people from a great diversity of ethnic backgrounds, including those with Bangladeshi, Bengali, East Indian, Goan, Gujarati, Hindu, Ismaili, Kashmiri, Nepali, Pakistani, Punjabi, Sikh, Sinhalese, South Asian, Sri Lankan and Tamil ancestry. South Asians may have been born in Canada, on the Indian sub-continent, in the Caribbean, in Africa, in Great Britain or elsewhere.

Thus, the South Asian group could have been defined using a number of indicators such as visible minority status, ethnic or cultural ancestry, place of birth and/or place of birth of parents. This article mainly uses the visible minority variable from the Ethnic Diversity Survey and Census to describe the South Asian visible minority population. The visible minority variable includes respondents who self-identified as South Asian as well as those who self-identified as both South Asian and White. It does not include those who self-identified as South Asian and another visible minority group (e.g. Black, Chinese, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Korean, Japanese, etc.). According to the 2001 Census, the vast majority of people in the South Asian visible minority group also reported at least one South Asian ethnic origin.

arrived in British Columbia, lured by economic prospects and the beauty of the land.<sup>2</sup> The predominantly male population, mostly Punjabi Sikhs, worked mainly in railroad construction and in the logging and lumber industries.<sup>3</sup>

The South Asian community in Canada remained relatively small and homogenous throughout the early 1900s because of restrictive immigration laws prohibiting Asian and Indian immigration.<sup>4</sup> As the social climate changed, immigration regulations slowly changed with them. By the 1960s and 1970s, employment skills, education and language ability were the criteria used to select immigrants rather than race or country of origin.

### South Asian community grows and diversifies

Over the years, the South Asian community in Canada has evolved from a relatively small and homogenous population to one that is unique in its diversity, boasting a multitude of different birthplace origins, ethnicities, religions and languages. The number of South Asians in Canada more than tripled from 223,000 in 1981 to 917,000 in 2001, mainly due to a large number of immigrants from Southern Asia.<sup>5</sup>

At the time of the 2001 Census, 29% of South Asians living in Canada had been born here, 69% were immigrants and 2% were non-permanent residents.<sup>6</sup> Some 76% of immigrants were born in Southern Asia, with India (47%), Sri Lanka (13%) and Pakistan (12%) being the

top three places of birth. Of the remaining immigrants who identified themselves as South Asian most came from Tanzania, Kenya, Guyana, Fiji, Trinidad and Tobago, and the United Kingdom.

South Asians have settled in different parts of this country, although the lion's share (70%) called either Toronto or Vancouver home.

In 2001, South Asians accounted for 10% of the population of Toronto (making up the largest visible minority group in that census metropolitan area) and 8% of Vancouver. However, the highest proportion of South Asians in any census metropolitan area lived in Abbotsford, British Columbia at 13% (almost three-quarters of the visible minority population in Abbotsford were South Asian).

### South Asians maintain close ties with their birth country

Given their relatively recent arrival in Canada, it is perhaps not surprising that most South Asians still have close ties with their country of origin. Some 66% of South Asian immigrants (78% of those from India, 89%<sup>E</sup> from Fiji, and 96%<sup>E</sup> from Trinidad and Tobago) reported having visited their country of birth at least once since arriving in Canada.

Furthermore, the vast majority of South Asians, even those who were born in Canada, appear to maintain contact with overseas family members through visits, telephone calls, letters and e-mail. In 2002, 86% reported having had, during the previous 12 months, some type of contact with family living in their own birth country or the birthplace of their parents or grandparents, with 56% keeping in touch at least once a month.

Generations in Canada separate family members by time as well as distance. The proportion of South Asians who reported keeping in touch with family members in their countries of origin dropped from 88% of first generation to 75% of second generation individuals. In comparison, 86% of all immigrants in



	All South Asian immigrants	1991-2001	1981-1990	1971-1980	Before 1971
All countries	633,000	337,000	138,000	123,000	36,000
	%				
India	47.3	44.9	47.2	49.5	61.8
Sri Lanka	13.4	18.2	14.9	2.0	2.3
Pakistan	11.8	16.2	6.0	7.5	7.0
Guyana	4.7	2.7	7.8	6.6	4.2
Bangladesh	3.2	4.9	1.9	0.6	0.6
Fiji	3.2	2.2	3.9	5.0	4.4
United Republic of Tanzania	2.7	0.7	3.4	8.1	1.3
Kenya	2.4	0.8	3.7	5.4	2.4
Trinidad and Tobago	2.1	1.2	2.1	2.8	7.6
United Kingdom	1.9	1.1	2.7	2.8	2.5
Uganda	1.3	0.2	0.7	5.3	0.8
All other countries	6.0	6.7	5.8	4.4	5.1

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.

Canada had contact with family from their countries of origin. This drops 56% among second generation Canadians

### Families have a strong presence

The level of contact South Asians maintain with relatives in their birth countries is mirrored in the fact that the vast majority (93%) report a strong sense of belonging to their family. Indeed, 95% of South Asians live in family households of parents, children, spouses or other relatives, compared with 87% of the total Canadian population.

The importance of family is also reflected in the living arrangements of elderly parents. South Asian seniors aged 65 and over lived in predominantly family-oriented households: 66% with their spouse, 25% with other family members and just 8% alone. In comparison, 11% of Chinese seniors and 29% of all seniors in Canada lived on their own.

### Local social networks continue to play a crucial role

In addition to valuing their family networks, South Asians also attach

a great deal of importance to their ethno-cultural community in Canada, which has provided them with invaluable assistance over the years. Many of the earliest immigrants faced economic hardship, discrimination, and loneliness and looked to the South Asian community in Canada for support. The community, in turn, worked together to provide food, housing, jobs, financial support and, of course, friendship ties.<sup>7</sup> The bond forged in those early days appears to have continued to the present.

Social networks are often drawn from the particular ethnic community of the individual. Indeed, many South Asians tend to both socialize and work with members of their own ethnic group. For example, 83% of those with Punjabi ancestry reported that at least half their friends also had Punjabi ancestry. A similar proportion of those with Tamil ancestry stated that at least half of their friends had Tamil ancestry.

Strong social networks also play a role in the labour market as they can provide links to jobs. Among those with Punjabi ancestry, for example, a group with a long settlement history

in Canada, 38%<sup>E</sup> of individuals who worked in the year prior to the EDS reported that half of their co-workers had Punjabi ancestral origins as well.

South Asians are the least likely of all visible minority groups to marry someone outside their population group. Of the 232,010 married and common-law couples that included at least one South Asian partner in 2001, about 13% were mixed unions: 9% between a South Asian and someone not in a visible minority group and 3% between a South Asian and a person in another visible minority group. In contrast, according to the 2001 Census, the proportion of mixed unions was 16% among couples with at least one Chinese partner and 43% among those with at least one Black partner.

### Linguistic diversity is prominent among South Asians

According to the 2001 Census, members of the South Asian community reported more than 75 different mother tongues.<sup>8</sup> Among those with just one mother tongue, Punjabi was the most common first language (29%), followed by English (27%), Tamil (10%), Urdu (8%), Gujarati (6%), Hindi (6%) and Bengali (3%).

As expected, South Asians who were born outside Canada were very likely to have a language other than, or in addition to, English or French as their mother tongue (80%). More surprisingly, though, nearly half (45%) of Canadian-born South Asians with at least one foreign-born parent, and 13% with two Canadian-born parents, also first learned to speak a language other than, or as well as, English or French when they were growing up.

The transfer of language between parents and children suggests the maintenance of strong cultural ties. When asked in the EDS how important it was to them that their child<sup>9</sup> learn to speak their own first language, 58% of South Asian parents responded that it was important. In comparison, 38% of Chinese respondents felt this way.



On the other hand, many South Asians who first learned a heritage language now use English at home,<sup>10</sup> either as their only language (29%) or in addition to a heritage language (40%), indicating that the use of English clearly becomes prominent over time. In addition, data from the 2002 EDS show that nearly 7 in 10 (69%) South Asians converse with their friends most often in English. This compares with just over half of Chinese individuals and nearly three-quarters of Blacks.

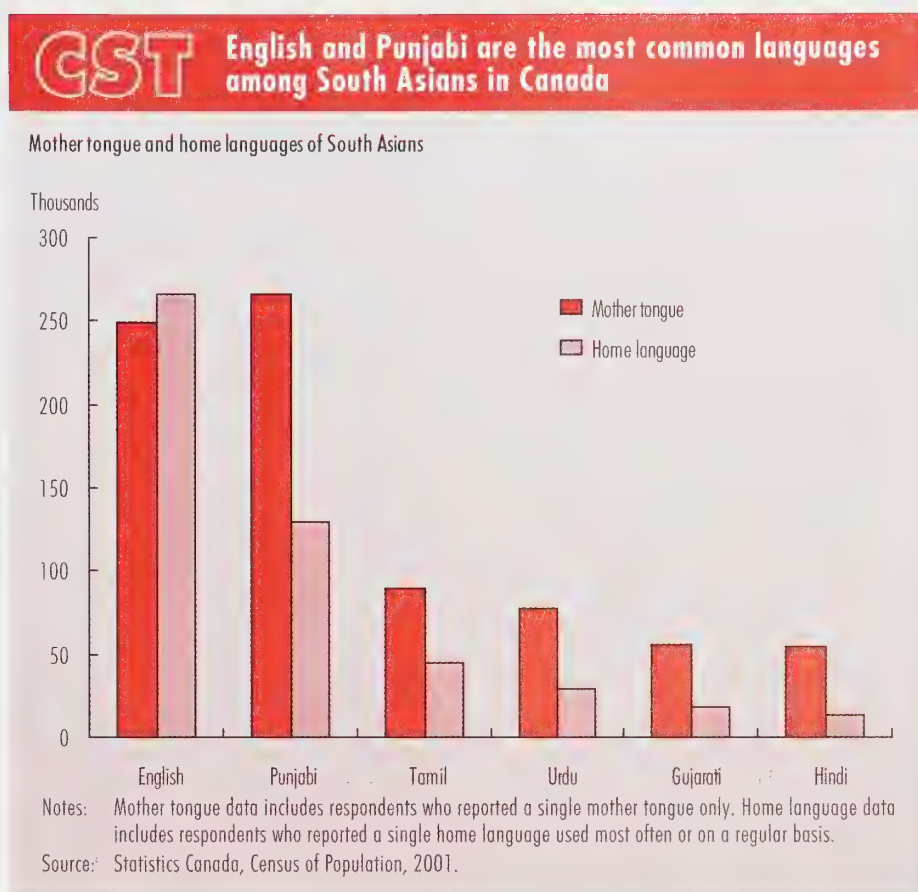
### Customs and traditions highly valued

As with their linguistic traditions, South Asians in Canada tend to attach a strong sense of importance to their ethnic customs and traditions, such as holidays and celebrations, food, clothing and art. More than 8 in 10 said, when asked in the 2002 EDS, that they considered maintaining such traditions important or very important. In comparison, about 67% of Chinese, 70% of Blacks and 60% of individuals who were not in a visible minority group placed this same value on their cultural practises.

The importance of maintaining ethnic customs and traditions did not appear to diminish with time spent in Canada. The proportion of South Asian immigrants who had arrived in Canada between 1991 and 2001, and who felt that keeping their cultural heritage alive was important (84%) was comparable to that of second-generation South Asians, at 80%. In contrast, the proportion of individuals who felt this way was lower among second generation Blacks (63%) but comparable to South Asians among the Chinese.

### Religion plays an important part in South Asian culture

Religion, another aspect of diversity, adds vibrancy to the South Asian cultural mosaic in Canada. The roots of Buddhism, Sikhism and Hinduism can be traced to the Indian sub-continent, and Southern Asia is also home to large Muslim and Christian



groups. Many South Asian immigrants have brought their religions to Canada with them: in 2001, some 30% of South Asians said that they were Sikh, 28% Hindu, 23% Muslim, 8% Catholic, 7% another religion and 3% reported having no religion.

South Asians of different religions tend to settle in different parts of Canada, perhaps reflecting early settlement patterns and the existence of established locations for religious worship and celebration. For example, 9 in 10 South Asians in Abbotsford are Sikh, compared with 6 in 10 in Vancouver and Victoria. In contrast, in Toronto more than one-third of South Asians reported being Hindu and over one-quarter Muslim.

Religious affiliation was associated with specific ethnic origins. For example, while those with Punjabi ancestry were predominantly Sikh (86%), the majority of individuals reporting Pakistani (90%), Bangladeshi (87%) and Bengali (74%) ethnic origins

were Muslim. Most people with Tamil and Sri Lankan ethnic origins were Hindu: 80% and 64%, respectively.

Despite the fact that South Asians differ considerably in terms of their religious affiliation, as a whole, this group is unified in attaching a strong sense of importance to their religion. According to data from the 2002 EDS, 83% of South Asians said that their religion was important or very important to them compared with a similar proportion of Chinese, 53% of all Canadians and 78% of Blacks. The importance of religion was maintained by second generation South Asians, 76% of whom said that their religion was important to them, compared with 55% of all second generation Canadians.

South Asians were also likely to actively participate in religious activities. Virtually all South Asians who reported a religion in the EDS had participated in such activities in the 12 months prior to the survey

either on their own or with others (97%). This compares with 87% for the total Canadian population, 91% for Chinese and 95% for Blacks.

### Strong sense of belonging to both ethnic group and Canada

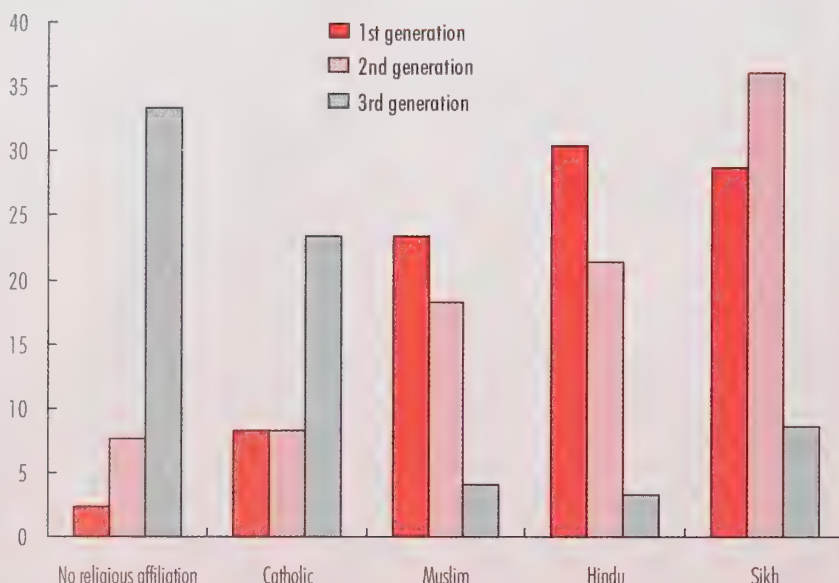
Considering their participation in religious activities, use of heritage languages, maintenance of customs and traditions, and attachment to family and social networks, it is not surprising that in 2002, the majority of South Asians (69%) felt a strong or very strong sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group. In comparison, a similar proportion of Chinese, 48% of people not in a visible minority group, and 72% of Blacks professed feeling the same way about their own ethnic or cultural group.

Nevertheless, most South Asians also report a strong sense of belonging to Canada, their province and municipality. In fact, no other visible minority group felt as strongly about their belonging to Canada as did South Asians. Almost 9 in 10 (88%) indicated a strong or very strong sense of belonging to Canada, compared with 83% of Blacks, 77% of Chinese and 80% of people who were not in a visible minority group. South Asians were also more likely than other Canadians to report a strong or very strong sense of belonging to their province (74%) and town, city or municipality (70%).

South Asians also tend to participate in local group activities and organizations. According to the EDS, 39% of South Asians were involved in sports teams, hobby clubs, community organizations and other such activities in 2002. This is similar to involvement among the Chinese (36%), while Blacks (46%) and individuals who were not visible minorities (47%) were more likely to participate, perhaps because on average these groups have been in Canada longer than many others, including South Asians. And, as all newcomers know, settling into life in a new country can take some time.

## CST Sikhism, Hinduism and Islam were the top three religions among South Asians

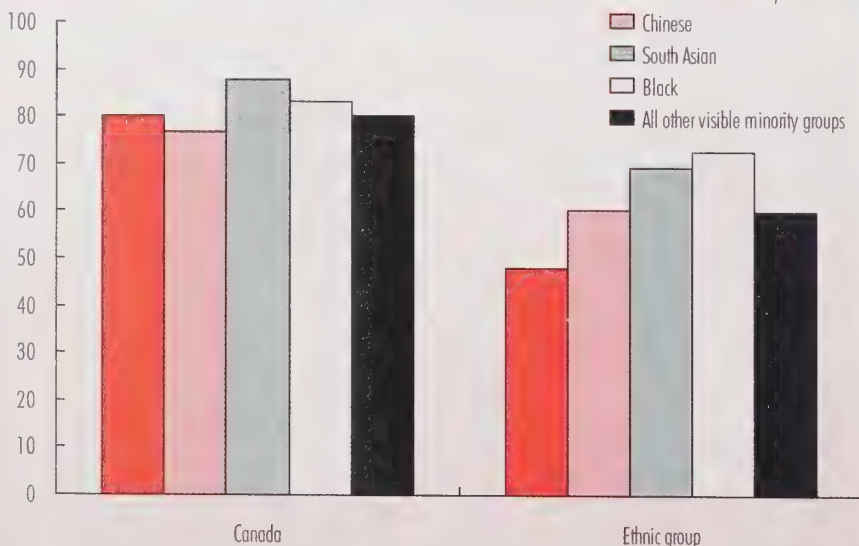
% of South Asians reporting selected religions



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

## CST Sense of belonging to Canada and ethnic group is high among South Asians

% who indicated a strong sense of belonging to...



Note: The category "other visible minority groups" includes Arabs, West Asians, Southeast Asians, Latin Americans, Japanese, Koreans, Pacific Islanders and persons belonging to more than one visible minority group. All percentages included in this table are based on the percentage of total valid responses for the non-Aboriginal population aged 15 and over in each group. The difference between South Asian and Chinese figures is not statistically significant.

Source: Statistics Canada, Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2002.

South Asian participation in Canadian civic life, which may require fewer resources in terms of time and money for new immigrants, was even more active. In fact, about 79% of South Asians who were eligible to vote did so in at least one of the last federal, provincial and/or municipal elections, compared with 70% of Chinese, 73% of Blacks and 85% of persons who were not in a visible minority group.

### Summary

Drawn to this country for its beauty and prosperity, the South Asian settlement in Canada started with humble beginnings. Today, South Asians are the second largest, and one of the fastest growing, visible minority groups in Canada.

Despite their different backgrounds, South Asians in Canada have built a cultural bridge that links them together. Many also maintain ties with relatives in their birth country, place a high value on ethnic, cultural and religious traditions, and pass on their linguistic heritage. In addition, the South Asian population has adapted to life in Canada and embraced it culturally, socially, economically and linguistically. South Asians continue to weave a rich tapestry of diversity in their new land, and many are proud to call Canada their home.



**Kelly Tran** is an analyst and **Paul Allard** is a subject matter project officer with Social and Aboriginal Statistics Division, and **Jennifer Kaddatz** is a senior analyst with the Census Subject Matter Program, Statistics Canada.

<sup>†</sup> Use with caution.

1. Buchignani, N., D. Indra and R. Srivastava. 1985. *Continuous Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada*. McClelland and Stewart: Toronto, Ontario. p. 124-125.
2. Burnet, J.R. and H. Palmer. 1988. *Coming Canadians: An Introduction to a History of Canada's People*. McClelland and Stewart: Toronto, Ontario. p. 31.
3. Buchignani et al. 1985. p. 11.
4. The "continuous journey regulation," which came into effect in 1908, required all potential immigrants to travel by continuous passage from their country of origin directly to Canada. Because no shipping company provided direct service from India to Canada at the time, this regulation essentially closed the door to immigration from South Asia in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.
5. If current trends in immigration and fertility continue, by 2017, South Asians could become the largest visible minority group in Canada, reaching over 1.8 million people. Belanger, A and É. Caron Malenfant. March 2005. *Population Projections of Visible Minority Groups, Canada, Provinces and Regions, 2001-2017* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 91-541).
6. Non-permanent residents are people from another country who had an employment authorization, a student authorization, or a Minister's permit, or who were refugee claimants at the time of the census, and family members living here with them.
7. Buchignani et al. 1985. p. 20.
8. In the census, mother tongue is defined as the language first learned at home and still understood at the time of the census.
9. The EDS asked respondents for information about their youngest child, living in the same household, who was between the ages of 3 and 15.
10. Either most often or on a regular basis.



# KEEPING TRACK

## Household spending and debt



Canadian households have been spending more and saving less during the past two decades. About 47% of all households were spending more than their pre-tax income in 2001, up from 39% in 1982. And households in the pre-retirement years experienced the greatest shift in spending habits.

Between 1982 and 2001, per capita debt doubled, stemming from dramatic increases in both mortgage and consumer debt. Households that spent more than their pre-tax income were also more likely to be renters or homeowners with a mortgage.

In general, households that spent more than their pre-tax income had similar levels of expenditures to households that saved money, that is, those whose spending was equal to or less than their income. The big difference occurred in spending on automobiles. Households that spent more than their pre-tax income dished out thousands of dollars more per year on car purchases.

*'Spenders and savers'*  
**Perspectives on labour and income**  
 vol. 6, no. 3

Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE

## Use of alternative health care



More and more Canadians are using forms of alternative health care such as chiropractors, massage therapists and acupuncturists, according to new data from the Canadian Community Health Survey.

An estimated 11% of the population aged 12 or older had consulted a chiropractor (the most common form of alternative care) in the year before the 2003 survey. Around 8% had consulted a massage therapist, 2% an acupuncturist, and 2% a homeopath or naturopath.

Regardless of the type of care, women were more likely than men to report having had a consultation. The age groups most likely to use alternative health care spanned mid-life, while the very young and seniors were less likely to have used such care. Use was also higher in the western provinces than in other parts of the country.

**Health Reports**  
 vol. 16, no. 2  
 Catalogue no. 82-003

## Child care



The proportion of children aged six months to five years who were in child care increased significantly between 1995 and 2001. In 1995, 42% of children aged six months to five years were in some form of child care. Over the next six years, the rate increased steadily to more than one-half of children (53%) by 2001.

In addition, during this six-year period, a shift occurred in the type of main childcare arrangement used. Of all children in child care in 2001, 25% were enrolled in a daycare centre as their main care arrangement, up from about 20% six years earlier. The proportion of children who were looked after in their own home by a relative rose from 8% to 14%. At the same time, the proportion of children who were looked after in someone else's home by a non-relative fell from 44% to 34%.

**The Daily**  
**February 7, 2005**  
 Catalogue no. 11-001

## Obesity: A growing issue



Once people are overweight, they are more likely to pack on even more kilos than they are to take them off, according to a new study of obesity among Canadians. Almost one-quarter of Canadians who had been overweight in 1995 had become obese by 2003. On the other hand, only half as many, about 10%, who had been overweight were in the normal weight range eight years later.

Men were more likely than women to make the transition from a normal weight to being overweight. At the end of the eight years, 38% of the men whose weight was normal in 1995 had become overweight, compared to 28% of the women.

However, women were more likely to go from being overweight to being obese. By 2003, 28% of the women who had been overweight became obese, compared to 20% of the men. Nonetheless, even for men, this translated into more than 600,000 new cases of obesity in less than a decade, compared to almost 500,000 new cases for women.

**Healthy Today, Healthy Tomorrow? Findings from the National Population Health Survey**  
 Catalogue no. 82-618-MWE



# SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
<b>ECONOMY</b>								
<i>Annual % change</i>								
Real gross domestic product	4.2	4.1	5.5	5.2	1.8	3.4	2.0	2.8
Wages, salaries and SLI	5.7	4.9	5.8	8.4	4.5	4.0	3.5	4.1
Personal expenditures on goods and services	4.6	2.8	3.8	4.0	2.7	3.4	3.1	3.5
Consumer Price Index	1.6	0.9	1.7	2.7	2.6	2.2	2.8	1.9
Savings rate (%)	4.8	4.8	4.0	4.7	4.5	3.2	1.4	0.4
Prime lending rate	4.96	6.60	6.44	7.27	5.81	4.21	4.69	4.00
5-year mortgage rate	7.07	6.93	7.56	8.35	7.40	7.02	6.39	6.23
Exchange rate (with U.S. dollar)	1.385	1.484	1.486	1.485	1.549	1.570	1.401	1.301
<b>ENVIRONMENT</b>								
Consolidated <sup>1</sup> government expenditures on the environment <sup>2</sup> (\$ millions)	8,381	8,703	8,566	8,672	9,222	9,933	10,168	11,220
Consolidated <sup>1</sup> government expenditures <sup>3</sup> (\$ millions)	371,693	372,695	387,438	401,520	424,557	437,783	449,302	463,431
Consolidated <sup>1</sup> government expenditures on the environment <sup>2,3</sup> (% of total expenditures)	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.4
Greenhouse gas emissions (kilotonnes of carbon dioxide equivalents)	682,000	700,000	705,000	725,000	716,000	731,000	..	..
Billions of public transit passengers	..	..	..	..	1.47	1.56	1.59	..
Total consumption of refined petroleum products <sup>4</sup> used for transportation (thousand m <sup>3</sup> )	52,574	54,182	55,711	55,894	55,344	55,496	56,217	..
<b>JUSTICE</b>								
<i>Rate per 100,000 population<sup>5</sup></i>								
Total <i>Criminal Code</i> offences	8,475	8,161	7,752	7,666	7,655	7,708	8,132	..
Property offences	4,880	4,569	4,276	4,081	4,004	3,975	4,121	..
Violent offences	993	982	958	984	984	969	963	..
Other <i>Criminal Code</i> offences	2,603	2,610	2,518	2,601	2,668	2,765	3,048	..
<i>Average days to process Criminal Code case through courts</i>								
Adults <sup>6</sup>	160	152	156	160	190	191	..	..
Youths <sup>7</sup>	104	107	109	114	110	124	..	..
<i>Average length of sentence per Criminal Code case</i>								
Adults (days in prison)	132	134	140	134	130	126	..	..
Youths (days of open and secure custody)	91	83	80	77	76	77	..	..
<b>CIVIC SOCIETY</b>								
Government expenditures on culture <sup>8</sup> (\$ millions)	5,401	5,485	5,783	5,918	6,291	6,708	7,058	..
Households reporting expenditure on newspapers (%)	70.7	69.1	66.9	65.0	63.5	61.4	59.5	..
Households reporting expenditure on live performing arts (%)	38.0	36.0	35.0	35.9	35.9	37.6	37.0	..
Households reporting expenditure on admission to heritage facilities and other activities and venues <sup>9</sup> (%)	35.5	35.0	34.8	33.9	31.9	33.0	32.9	..

Data not available.

1. Does not include CPP and QPP.

2. Includes expenditures on water purification and supply.

3. Expenditures for fiscal year ending March 31.

4. Refers to diesel oils, light heating oils, residual fuel oils, aviation gasoline, fuel for gas turbines and motor fuel.

5. Revised rates based on updated population estimates.

6. Excludes New Brunswick, Manitoba, British Columbia, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut.

7. Alberta is excluded.

8. Excludes intergovernmental transfers. Municipal spending is on a calendar-year basis.

9. Includes museums, zoos, ice shows, craft shows, fairs and historic sites.

Sources: Statistics Canada, National Income and Expenditure Accounts, CANSIM II Tables 385-0001, 380-0002, 380-0001, 380-0004, 380-0024, 326-0002, 203-0011, 203-0010, 176-0043 and 176-0049, Canadian Crime Statistics, 2003 (Catalogue no. 85-205), Government Expenditure on Culture (Catalogue no. 87F0001XPE), and Environment Canada, Canada's Greenhouse Gas Inventory, 1990-2002.

# LESSON PLAN

## Suggestions for using *Canadian Social Trends* in the classroom

### "South Asians in Canada: Unity through diversity"

#### Objectives

- To explore the elements of culture and their role in a multicultural society
- To examine the concepts of diversity

**Curriculum areas:** sociology, geography, history, religion.

#### Classroom instructions

1. Survey the class to determine what percentage of students are visible minorities and what percentage are immigrants. Discuss the differences between being a member of a visible minority group and being an immigrant.
2. How are a culture's customs and traditions expressed (music, religion, language, etc.)? Is it important to preserve customs and traditions? Why? Discuss what can be done to facilitate the preservation of customs and traditions.
3. At times, parents encourage their children to marry someone with the same ethnic background as themselves. Discuss the family pressures a young person may have to face when marrying outside their family's cultural context, such as religion, social class, education and language.
4. Is it important for students to stay in contact with their country of origin? Explore the various obstacles encountered in order to do this.
5. Survey the class to see how many students participate in community groups or organizations, such as sports teams or hobby clubs. Other than the obvious advantage of enjoying the particular activity involved, what benefits does community involvement confer? Discuss the significance of having close ties with one's ethnic community.
6. Canada is one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world. Discuss some of the social and historical differences between culturally homogeneous nations and those with more diversity.

#### Using other resources

See the Family Studies kit at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm)

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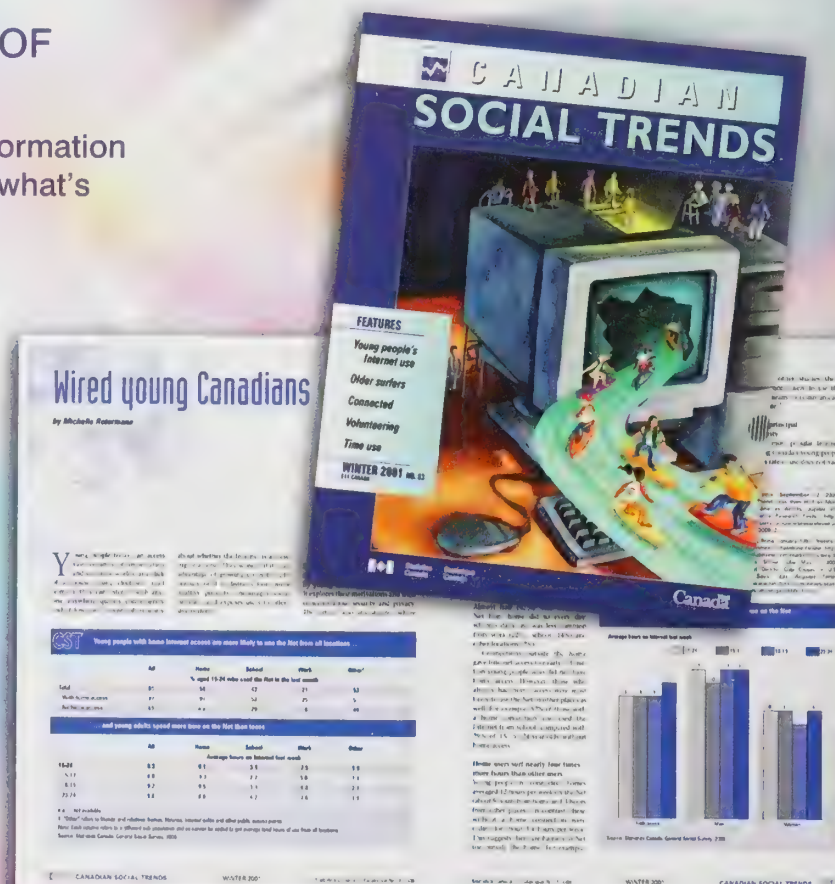
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December 2005

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# Willing to participate: Political engagement of young adults

by Anne Milan

**Y**oung adults are often viewed as uninterested in political activity. Is it true that they are more disillusioned by traditional methods of participation than other age groups, as shown by the proportion who cast ballots in the municipal, provincial or federal elections? Do young adults engage in politics through activities outside of the ballot box? Or do those who vote also engage in non-voting political behaviour?

Using the 2003 General Social Survey (GSS), this article outlines the extent of political engagement among young adults aged 22 to 29,<sup>1</sup> as measured by traditional (voting) and alternative (non-voting) political participation. It then examines some of the links between young adults' selected characteristics and their political behaviours such as voting, signing petitions, boycotting certain products, attending public meetings or participating in demonstrations.

## **Young adults less likely to vote than older adults**

In a democracy, electoral voting is generally seen as the classic or traditional type of participation in the political process. Indeed, many adults do exercise their right to vote, although voter turnout at federal elections has decreased over the last 20 years.<sup>2</sup> Despite the fact that 77% of the voting-age population voted in at least one of the last elections prior to the survey in 2003, there were large

## **GST What you should know about this study**

This study draws from the 2003 General Social Survey (GSS), which interviewed nearly 25,000 individuals aged 15 and over, living in the 10 provinces in private households. It focuses on individuals aged 22 to 29, resulting in a sample of roughly 3,000 people representing about 3.4 million Canadians in this age group. This particular age group was chosen in order to include those individuals who were aged 18 or over in 2000, the year of the most recent federal election prior to the survey date.

To conduct its analysis, the study developed a non-voting or alternative political involvement scale ranging from 0 to 8, based on whether the respondent had, in the past 12 months, searched for information on a political issue; volunteered for a political party; expressed his/her views on an issue by contacting a newspaper or a politician; signed a petition; boycotted a product or chosen a product for ethical reasons; attended a public meeting; spoken out at a public meeting; participated in a demonstration or march.

A score of 0 indicates no non-voting political participation, while a score of 8 reflects participation on all possible indicators.

Two statistical models were developed to examine the impact of specific characteristics on young people's political engagement. The first model identifies selected factors associated with non-voting alternative political participation; the second model determines the influence of the same factors on voting behaviour. These factors include age, youth involvement in community activities, group affiliation, sex, place of birth, religious attendance, volunteering, sense of belonging to community, region, educational level, main activity, household income, and (for the first model on non-voting political engagement) voting behaviour.

differences in voting participation by age. According to GSS data, only 59% of those in their twenties voted, compared with 71% of 30- to 44-year-olds and 85% or more of individuals

aged 45 and over. As with the older age groups, young adults were less likely to vote in local than in federal and provincial elections.



## Political participation (%)

## Age group

	Total	15 to 21	22 to 29	30 to 44	45 to 64	65 or older
--	-------	----------	----------	----------	----------	-------------

Follow news and current affairs daily

68\* 35\* 51 66\* 81\* 89\*

**Voting behaviour**

Voted in at least one election

77\* --- 59 71\* 85\* 89\*

last federal

74\* --- 52 68\* 83\* 89\*

last provincial

73\* --- 50 66\* 82\* 88\*

last municipal or local

60\* --- 35 52\* 70\* 79\*

**Non-voting political behaviour**

At least one non-voting political behaviour

54\* 59 58 57 56 39\*

searched for information on a political issue

26\* 36 32 26\* 25\* 17\*

signed a petition

28\* 27\* 31 31 29 16\*

boycotted a product or chose a product for ethical reasons

20\* 16\* 25 25 21\* 8\*

attended a public meeting

22\* 17 16 23\* 25\* 20\*

expressed his/her views on an issue by contacting a newspaper or a politician

13\* 8 9 13\* 16\* 12\*

participated in a demonstration or march

6\* 12\* 8 6 6\* 2\*

spoke out at a public meeting

8\* 4 5 9\* 10\* 7\*

volunteered for a political party

3 2 3 2 4\* 4

--- Not applicable

\* Statistically significant difference from 22- to 29-year-olds ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Note: Voting rates will differ from those of Elections Canada, which calculates voter participation rates based on number of eligible voters.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2003.

**Why don't young people vote?**

There are several possible reasons why young adults are not as likely to go to the polls as their older counterparts. According to some researchers, compared to previous generations, young adults are simply tuned out of the political process,<sup>3</sup> lacking the ability, the motivation or both to get involved. In some ways, the sheer volume of available information coming from the Internet and television, as well as other media, can be overwhelming when trying to find a starting point for becoming informed.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, young adults may be less aware of the relevance of elections, and feel removed from the idea that decisions made by politicians affect them directly.<sup>5</sup>

One Canadian researcher has argued that young adults today feel marginalized from mainstream political discourse.<sup>6</sup> She contends that youth account for a declining share of the voting-age population, a situation that limits their political clout. At the same time, government has reduced or limited its support for issues that interest young adults, such as postsecondary education, equality and human rights.

Yet it seems that young adults share at least some of the same political interests as older Canadians. A 2005 study found that, following the last election, 18- to 29-year-olds ranked health care as the issue that was most important to them personally.<sup>7</sup> In fact, all respondents,

regardless of age, rated health care as the primary concern, although proportionally more older Canadians did so. Furthermore, the study found that levels of political alienation were similar for younger and older adults.

Some researchers have referred to young people as "engaged sceptics"—interested in political issues, but wary of politicians.<sup>8</sup> In other words, they are committed to the tenets of democracy, but tend to be more interested in participative political behaviour and issues which are immediately pertinent to their lives. Young people's feeling of disconnect from conventional political parties may partially account for their negative view of traditional politics and for their interest in alternative forms of political behaviour.<sup>9</sup>

**Most adults under 65 engage in at least one non-voting political activity**

While young adults are less likely to vote than those over 30, this is not true of their political behaviour on other fronts. In the year preceding the survey, nearly three in five (58%) 22- to 29-year-olds engaged in at least one non-voting political activity, virtually the same proportion as that of 30- to 64-year-olds (56%). In contrast, only two in five (39%) Canadians aged 65 or over took part in any alternative political behaviour, although this age group was the most likely to vote.

Because participating in a non-voting or alternative activity "can be a valuable source of political education, [which develops] politically relevant knowledge, awareness, understanding and skills,"<sup>10</sup> young people's involvement in alternative political behaviour is central to assessing their level of political interest.

According to the 2003 GSS, the most common non-voting political behaviours young adults engaged in during the year were searching for information on a political issue (32%) and signing a petition (31%).

One-quarter of young adults boycotted—or chose—a product for ethical reasons, while over one-sixth attended a public meeting. About 1 in 10 expressed their views on an issue by contacting a newspaper or a politician, or participating in a demonstration or protest march. A very small proportion (3%) had worked as a volunteer for a political party.

Overall, young adults in their twenties were much more likely than seniors to seek to inform themselves about a political issue, to sign a petition, to boycott (or purchase) products for ethical reasons or to participate in demonstrations or marches. However, they were significantly less likely than older adults to attend and speak up in public meetings and to express their views to the media or politicians.

### Community involvement connected to political engagement

It appears that individuals' level of involvement in various community-oriented activities may contribute to greater civic-mindedness. Whether it's belonging to a sports team, book club, volunteer group or religious association, groups can meet the personal needs of participants as well as connect them to the wider society. Indeed, the proportion of young adults engaged in non-voting political activity was nearly twice as high among those involved with three or more organizations as among their peers with no group affiliation (81% versus 43%). Similarly, individuals who, as children or young adults, took part in a number of community activities were considerably more likely than others to be engaged in alternative political behaviour as adults.

Perhaps because volunteering also reflects a sense of civic responsibility and a desire to help others, young adults who volunteered in the year prior to the survey were much more likely to be involved in at least one political activity (voting or non-voting) than those who did not volunteer (71% compared with 52%).

Statistical regression models were developed to identify the factors that influence a person's level of political engagement.<sup>11</sup> The results of these models show that, even after controlling for all other variables, volunteering or being affiliated with a group were both strongly associated with non-voting political participation. Furthermore, the more groups a person belonged to, the more non-voting activities they took part in. Similarly, if people were volunteers or involved with multiple groups, the odds that they voted increased substantially.

Interestingly, engaging in community-oriented activities as a child or teenager was positively associated with non-voting political behaviour, but not with voting. On the other hand, a strong sense of belonging to the community as a young adult resulted in higher odds of voting, but did not influence non-voting political participation.

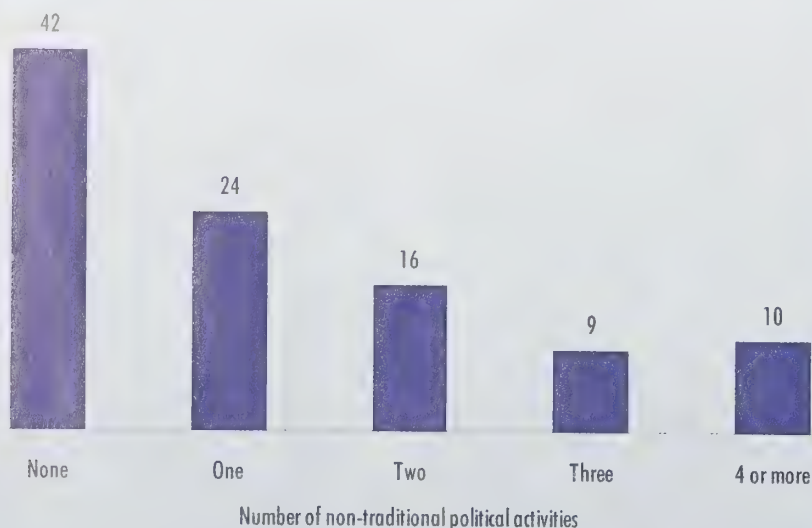
### Nearly 7 in 10 university-educated young adults participate in non-voting political behaviour

The models reveal a positive relationship between educational level and political engagement, even when controlling for other factors. Some 32% of young adults with less than a high school education engaged in at least one non-voting activity, compared with 69% of those with a university degree. Higher levels of education were also associated with higher odds of voting.

The effect of household income on political participation is mixed: 22- to 29-year-olds with household

## GST The majority of young adults are engaged in at least one non-voting political activity

% of population aged 22 to 29



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2003.



	Odds ratio		Odds ratio
Age <sup>1</sup>	1.03	<b>Region</b>	
Youth involvement <sup>2</sup>	1.03	<i>Quebec</i>	1.00
Number of groups of which a member	1.11 <sup>3</sup>	Atlantic	0.38*
		Ontario	0.30*
<b>Sex</b>		Prairies	0.32*
<i>Female</i>	1.00	British Columbia	0.36*
Male	1.08	<b>Educational level</b>	
<b>Place of birth</b>		<i>University degree</i>	1.00
<i>Foreign-born</i>	1.00	Less than high school	0.25*
Canadian-born	4.27*	High school graduate	0.48*
<b>Religious observance</b>		Some post-secondary	0.74
<i>Rarely/never</i>	1.00	Diploma or certificate	0.68*
Weekly	0.86	<b>Main activity</b>	
Sometimes	1.40*	<i>Other<sup>4</sup></i>	1.00
<b>Volunteer in past year</b>		Labour force	1.10
<i>No</i>	1.00	Student	0.81
Yes	1.42*	<b>Household income</b>	
<b>Sense of belonging to community</b>		<i>\$60,000 or more</i>	1.00
<i>Very weak</i>	1.00	Less than \$20,000	0.51*
Very strong	1.74*	\$20,000 to \$29,999	0.74
Somewhat strong	1.30	\$30,000 to \$39,999	0.75
Somewhat weak	1.26	\$40,000 to \$49,999	1.00
		\$50,000 to \$59,999	0.66*

Note: This table presents the odds that a respondent voted in the last election prior to the survey, relative to the odds of a benchmark group when all other variables in the analysis are held constant. Benchmark group is shown in italics.

\* Statistically significant difference from benchmark group ( $p < 0.05$ ).

1. For each additional year, the odds of voting increase by 3%.

2. For each additional activity during youth, the odds of voting increase by 3%.

3. For each additional group, the odds of voting increase by 11%, which is statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ).

4. "Other" includes activities such as homemaking, retirement, volunteer work or illness.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2003.

incomes under \$20,000 engaged in more non-voting behaviours than did those with household incomes of \$60,000 or more. On the other hand, young adults in low-income households had almost 50% lower odds of voting than those in high-income households, even when other factors (including student status) were taken into account.

### Young adults most likely to vote in Quebec

Across the country, there are differences in the extent of political engagement. The share of young people who turned out to vote was highest in Quebec (74%), followed by the Atlantic provinces (64%), the

Prairies (56%), Ontario (53%), and British Columbia (49%), a relationship which continued after controlling for other factors.

A 2003 review of youth participation in Quebec suggests that activities beyond voting, such as pressure groups and demonstrations on issues ranging from education to anti-globalization, are also an important component of their political involvement.<sup>12</sup> According to the GSS, young adults in the Atlantic provinces engaged in fewer alternative political activities than their Quebec counterparts. However, the differences between other regions and Quebec were not statistically significant.

### Canadian-born more politically engaged than immigrants

Some 66% of young Canadian-born adults cast a ballot in the last election prior to the survey, compared with only 29% of foreign-born youth. Of course, because Canadian citizenship is a prerequisite for voting, it is possible that not all of the foreign-born respondents to the GSS were eligible to vote. However, there would be no such restrictions on the ability to engage in non-voting political behaviour. Yet, the Canadian-born were still more likely to engage in at least one non-voting form of political behaviour: 61% compared with 44% of foreign-born. The strong relationship between place of birth and political



## **GST** Frequency of following news and current affairs

Patterns of following news and current affairs tend to reflect other types of political participation. According to the 2003 General Social Survey, 51% of young adults in their twenties followed news and current affairs on a daily basis. An additional 31% apprised themselves several times a week, and 8% did so several times a month. This is far lower than the rates for other adults, particularly seniors, 89% of whom follow news and current affairs daily (perhaps reflecting their greater interest, more free time, or both).

The results also showed that young men were more likely to follow current affairs daily than were young women (56% compared to 46%). Voting in any type of election—municipal, provincial, or federal—was also associated with a greater likelihood of following current affairs. For example, 56% of those who had cast a ballot followed current affairs on a daily basis, compared to 45% of those who had not voted. Similarly, 57% of young adults who had engaged in a non-voting political activity followed news every day, compared to 44% of those with no such behaviour. Residents of Quebec followed the news most closely of all regions (59% did so daily), particularly compared to the Atlantic provinces (42%). Young adults who had less than a high school education were less inclined to follow the news daily (45% compared to 57% of those with a university degree).

engagement remained even when other factors, such as education, income, and province of residence, were taken into account.

### **Voting and non-voting behaviour go hand in hand**

Although voting is a more traditional method of political behaviour than activities such as boycotting a product or signing a petition, there is a connection between these political activities. Two-thirds (66%) of young adults who voted had also engaged in at least one form of non-voting behaviour, compared to less than half (46%) of those who had not voted. This relationship held in the statistical model, even when other factors were taken into account.

In other words, young adults who went to the polls were also more apt to be politically engaged in other ways. However, it is also important to note that many individuals who did not cast a ballot still acted

in a political manner, even when they themselves might not have necessarily recognized that they were behaving politically. For example, a 2004 study of 20- to 29-year-olds found that they were fairly active in their communities, although they did not always identify their behaviour as volunteering.<sup>13</sup> Many people express interest in issues and activities that could be seen as political, such as the environment or the community, but they do not always view their involvement as political engagement.

### **Summary**

The political engagement of adults in their twenties is a complex issue. Young adults are politically involved, but in a different manner than older Canadians. Specifically, adults in their twenties voted less than any other age group; however, their rate of participation in non-voting political activities was comparable to that of

adults aged 30 to 64, and exceeded that of seniors, who have the highest voter participation rates of all age groups. Results of statistical models developed to isolate significant factors associated with engagement in the political process identified the following factors to be strongly associated with both voting and non-voting political behaviour: educational level, group involvement, and activities which promote civic-mindedness and public service, such as volunteering. Finally, young adults who voted were more likely to engage in non-voting political behaviour, but not casting a ballot did not preclude them from participating in non-voting activities.

**GST**

**Anne Milan** is an analyst with *Canadian Social Trends*.

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# Aiming high: Educational aspirations of visible minority immigrant youth

by Alison Taylor and Harvey Krahn

A longer version of this article, titled "Resilient teenagers: explaining the high educational aspirations of visible minority immigrant youth in Canada," appears in the *Journal of International Migration and Immigration*, volume 6, issue 3, November 2005.

**A**cquiring a postsecondary education has become increasingly important as young people seek to make educational and labour market choices that allow them to participate fully in the knowledge economy. Studies of the postsecondary attainment of young adults are informative, but it is also useful to examine the educational aspirations of teenagers. Such studies profile the value placed on different types of formal education by youth as well as perceived opportunities for upward occupational mobility.

Differences in aspirations across groups of youth and reasons for such differences are also important to consider. For example, given widespread concerns about the educational disadvantages faced by particular groups of visible minority immigrant youth, we might expect their educational aspirations to be lower than those of other Canadian teens. In fact, the opposite is true. Recent findings indicate that the educational goals of these young people are even higher than average: in 2000, some 79% of them hoped to go to university, compared with 57% of their Canadian-born non-visible minority counterparts.

Using data from the 2000 Youth in Transition Survey (YITS), this article explores the educational aspirations of 15-year-old visible minority immigrant students and compares them with those of Canadian-born youth who are not part of a visible minority group. It then identifies the most important factors that explain the large ethnocultural differences in university aspirations.

## A snapshot of educational aspirations

Previous research has identified a range of socio-demographic, social psychological and school performance factors that can influence the educational aspirations of young people. Some studies focusing on visible minority and/or immigrant youth have emphasized the extent to which aspirations can be undermined by lower than average family incomes, systemic discrimination and barriers associated with having a first language other than English or French.<sup>1</sup>

Other studies have highlighted the personal, family or community characteristics that promote high postsecondary aspirations such as higher than average parents' education levels, high parental



aspirations for their children, and "social capital" provided by ethnic communities.<sup>2</sup>

In 2000, just over 6 in 10 (61%) Canadian 15-year-olds reported that they planned on attaining one or more university degrees. A similar proportion (64%) of parents hoped their teenager would acquire one or more degrees. The completion of college or CEGEP featured as the main educational goal for 16% of



teens and 26% of parents, while only 6% of students and 3% of parents felt that high school or less was sufficient. Few students (6%) and parents (7%) mentioned a trade/vocational or apprenticeship qualification as the end goal.

### **Visible minority immigrant students have higher educational aspirations than others**

In general, educational goals tend to be influenced by many characteristics. For example, among 15-year-olds, girls were generally more likely than boys to expect to get a postsecondary education. As well, students from larger urban centres (those with populations of 100,000 or over) were more likely than youth from smaller communities to set these goals for themselves.<sup>3</sup> Regionally, students in Quebec were less likely to plan a university education than those in other provinces and regions. This is due to structural differences in the Quebec education system, which result in more students aiming for a college or CEGEP education.

Yet, regardless of other characteristics (gender, family structure, region, community size, and first language), visible minority immigrant students were still considerably more likely to have university aspirations than Canadian-born non-visible minority students. Among girls, for example, 84% of visible minority immigrant students compared with 63% of their Canadian-born non-visible minority counterparts planned on attending university. The corresponding proportions among boys were 75% and 51%, respectively.

The difference between the university aspirations of the two groups held across all five regions, with visible minority immigrant students having higher goals throughout the country. And although nearly two-thirds of visible minority immigrant students had a first language other than English or French, their university ambitions exceeded those of others. Within this "other language" group, 81% of visible minority immigrant

## **GST What you should know about this study**

This article uses data from the 2000 Youth in Transition Survey (YITS) of 15-year-olds. YITS data were linked with testing scores for mathematics, science and reading from the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) as well as with additional information collected from school administrators in over 1,000 schools and from parental interviews. Response rates were around 90% for schools, students and parents. Over 26,000 teenagers were interviewed, representing more than 348,000 15-year-olds across the 10 provinces, excluding those attending school on Indian reserves, those in special-needs schools, and those being home-schooled.

The educational aspirations of 15-year-olds were measured by asking "What is the highest level of education that you would like to get?" Possible responses ranged from "less than high school" to "more than one university degree." Parental aspirations were measured by asking: "What is the highest level of education that you hope [child's name] will get?" Parents were offered the same response categories.

This article focuses on differences between visible minority immigrant students<sup>1</sup> (first- or second-generation immigrants)<sup>2</sup> and those who were Canadian-born and not a member of a visible minority group. The majority of both first- and second-generation immigrant youth were members of a visible minority group (66% and 52%, respectively). Visible minority immigrant youth accounted for 12% of YITS participants while 75% were Canadian-born non-visible minority students. Aboriginal respondents were included in the Canadian-born non-visible minority category.

One in 10 (11%) YITS respondents were non-visible minority immigrants or members of visible minority groups but not first- or second-generation immigrants. While this "mixed" category is not shown in the table or charts in this paper, it is combined with Canadian-born non-visible minority students (as the reference category) in the logistic regression analysis. A small number (2%) of YITS participants could not be classified because of missing data.

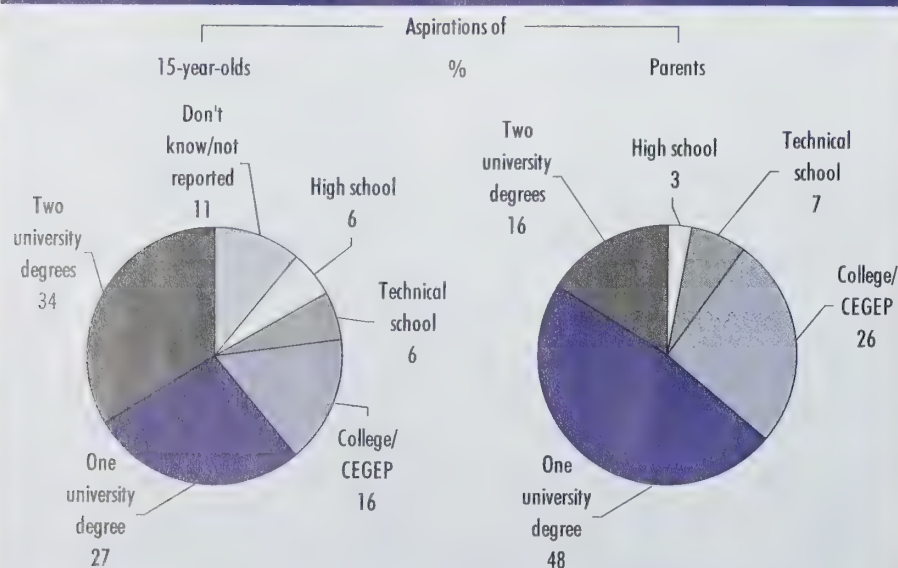
1. Visible minorities in this article are defined based on the *Employment Equity Act* definition as persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour and include Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese, Korean, other visible minorities and multiple visible minorities.
2. First-generation immigrant youths are 15-year-olds born abroad. Second generation refers to Canadian-born 15-year-olds who have at least one immigrant parent.

youth, compared with 73% of their Canadian-born non-visible minority counterparts, held on to the goal of a university education.

### **Nearly 4 in 10 visible minority students have university educated parents**

While visible minority immigrant students have, on average, more highly educated parents, these students are also overrepresented in lower-income

## Three in five 15-year-olds hope to obtain at least one university degree; parents have similar hopes for their children



Source: Statistics Canada, Youth in Transition Survey, 2000.

households. For example, 35% of visible minority immigrant teenagers come from households where at least one parent has a university degree, compared with 21% of Canadian-born non-visible minority students. At the same time, 59% of visible minority immigrant students lived in households with a total annual income of less than \$60,000, compared with 46% of Canadian-born non-visible minority youth.

Despite these differences, the "visible minority immigrant" effect is apparent, regardless of the education or income level of parents. In fact, among families where neither parent has a university degree, 75% of visible minority immigrant students aspired to a university education compared with only 51% of Canadian-born non-visible minority teens. Similarly, three-quarters of visible minority immigrant youth in families with household incomes below \$30,000 aspired to a university education compared with less than half of Canadian-born non-visible minority youth in similar circumstances.

### Parents' hopes for their children strongly affect university aspirations

To isolate the effect of visible minority immigrant status as well as other selected characteristics on university aspirations, several logistic regression models were developed. These models describe the net effect of each variable on a 15-year-old's hopes of getting a university education, after accounting for the effects of all other predictors. For example, after factoring out the impact of gender, family structure, region, community size, parents' education, household income, overall grades, university preparation courses, and language first learned, the predicted probability that visible minority immigrant students would have university aspirations fell from the original 79% to 66%.

To further explain ethnocultural differences in educational aspirations, indices of parents' school

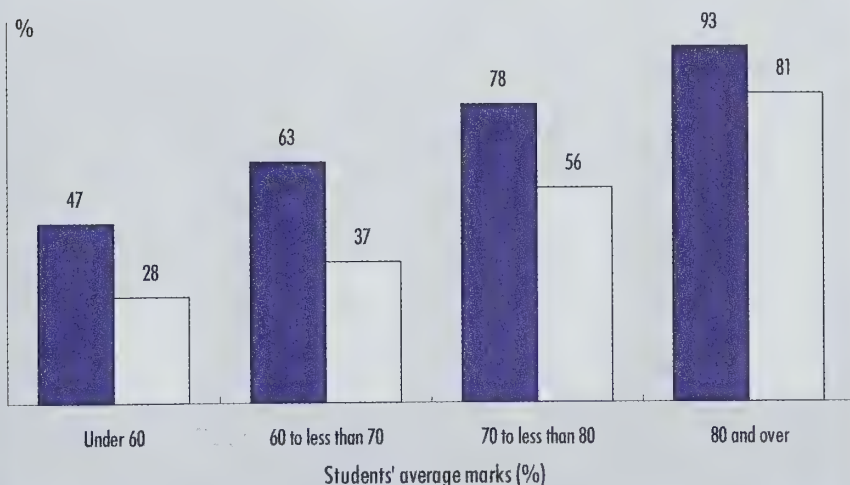
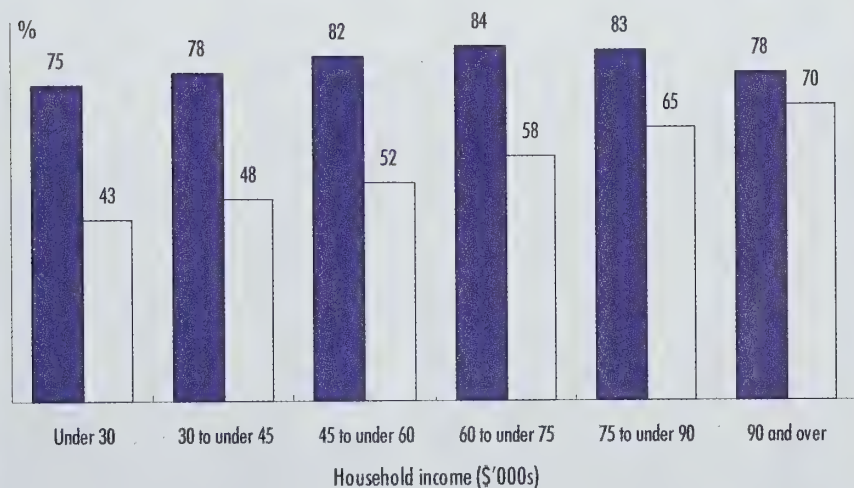
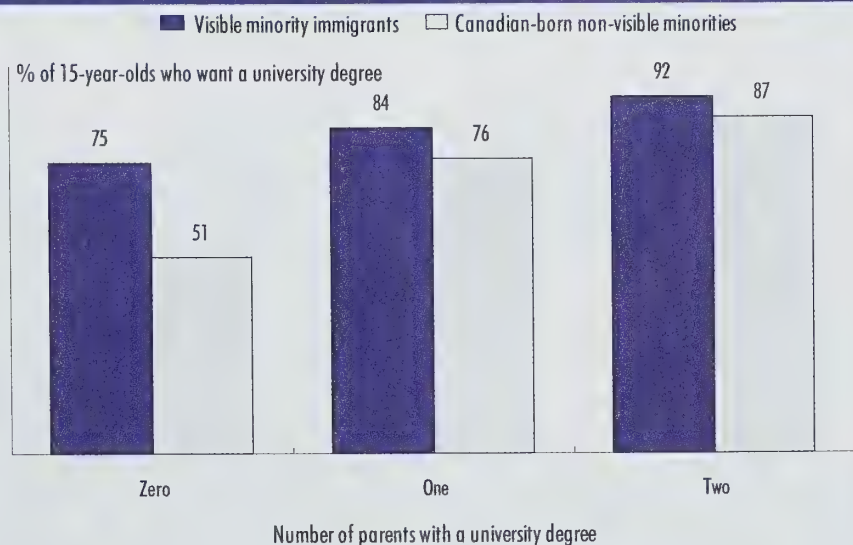
## Nearly four in five visible minority immigrant youth want a university degree

% of 15-year-olds who would like to get a university degree

	Visible minority immigrants	Canadian-born non-visible minority youth
<b>Total</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>Sex</b>		
Female	84	63
Male	75	51
<b>Family structure</b>		
Single parent	79	54
Mixed/other	74	49
Nuclear family	80	59
<b>Region</b>		
Atlantic	93	65
Quebec	70	49
Ontario	82	60
Prairies	80	58
British Columbia	79	59
<b>Community size</b>		
Under 15,000	79	53
15,000 to under 100,000	80	54
100,000 to under 1,000,000	81	64
More than 1,000,000	77	71
<b>Language first learned</b>		
English/French	77	57
Other	81	73

Source: Statistics Canada, Youth in Transition Survey, 2000.





Source: Statistics Canada, Youth in Transition Survey, 2000.

involvement, parents' supervision of the student, the student's school engagement, and the student's friends' school engagement were added to the model. Including these factors further reduced the predicted probability of visible minority immigrant students having university aspirations to 59%.

Examining the net effects of the range of other predictor variables, it appears that parents' aspirations for their child, parents' education, and overall grades have very strong positive effects on university aspirations: all produce predicted probabilities of 69% or higher. Students' school engagement, their friends' school engagement, university preparation courses and household income have moderately strong effects: the predicted probabilities range from 62% to 66%. In contrast, family structure, language first learned, parents' school involvement, and parents' supervision of their teenager had little effect on the postsecondary aspirations of Canadian 15-year-olds.

### Summary

The educational aspirations of 15-year-old Canadians are very high, while those of visible minority immigrant youth are even higher. A consistent visible minority immigrant effect is observed even after accounting for a variety of socio-demographic and school performance variables. Further, disadvantages related to community size, parents' education, household income and grades appear to have less dampening effect on the educational aspirations of visible minority immigrants than on those of Canadian-born non-visible minority youth.

The logistic regression analysis shows that higher parental education and aspirations for their children, and higher grades and school engagement of visible minority immigrant youth explain a substantial amount, but certainly not all, of the visible minority immigrant effect on university aspirations. The



educational values promoted within visible minority immigrant families appear to leave a mark on young people in these families and may assist them in dealing with some of the barriers they might face within the education system.



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1. See for example, Beiser, M., A. Shik and M. Curyk. 1999. *New Canadian children and youth study: Literature review*. <http://ceris.metropolis.net> (accessed July 26, 2005); Dei, G., J. Mazucca, E. McIsaac and J. Zine. 1997. *Reconstructing 'Drop-out': A Critical Ethnography of the Dynamics of Black Students' Disengagement from School*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press; Watt, D. and H. Roessingh. 2001. "The dynamics of ESL dropout: Plus ça change..." *The Canadian Modern Language Review* 58, 2: 203-222.

2. See for example, Statistics Canada. 2003. *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada: Process, Progress and prospects* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-611-XIE). Anisef, P., P. Axelrod, E. Baichman-Anisef, C. James and A. Turritin. 2000. *Opportunity and Uncertainty: Life Course Experiences of the Class of '73*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press; Boyd, M. 2000. "Ethnicity and immigrant offspring." In *Perspectives on Ethnicity in Canada*. M. Kalbach and W. Kalbach (eds.). Toronto, ON: Harcourt.
3. For evidence on higher postsecondary attainment see, for example, Bowlby, J. and K. McMullen. 2002. *At a Crossroads: First Results for the 18- to 20-year-old Cohort of the Youth in Transition Survey* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 81-591-XIE); and Andres, L. and D. Looker. 2001. "Rurality and capital: Educational expectations and attainments of rural, urban/rural, and metropolitan youth." *Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 31, 2: 1-46.

# KEEPING TRACK

## Canada's Aboriginal population in 2017



The Aboriginal population could account for roughly 4.1% of Canada's population by 2017, when the nation celebrates its 150th anniversary. The Aboriginal population has been growing much faster than the total population, a trend which will continue. The Aboriginal population is expected to grow at an average annual rate of 1.8%, compared to 0.7% for the general population. The biggest contributing factor is fertility, as the current Aboriginal birth rate is about 1.5 times the overall Canadian rate. By 2017, there would be 971,200 North American Indians (68% of the Aboriginal population), 380,500 Métis (27%) and 68,400 Inuit (5%). The biggest challenge confronting the Aboriginal population by 2017 would be the large number of young adults aged 20 to 29 entering the labour market. This age group is projected to increase by over 40% to 242,000, more than four times the projected growth rate of 9% among the same age group in the general population.

### Projections of the Aboriginal populations

Catalogue no. 91-547

## Personal safety



A growing proportion of Canadians are satisfied that they are safe from crime. In 2004 almost all (94%) thought they were safe from becoming a victim, up from 86% in 1993 and 91% in 1999. Overall, 95% of men and 93% of women felt safe from crime, but specific situations revealed substantial differences between the sexes. For example, 58% of female night-time transit users worried when taking transit alone at night, versus only 29% of male night-time users. Likewise, 27% of women worried when they were home alone at night, compared with only 12% of men. Women were almost three times as likely to be afraid for their safety when walking alone after dark.

### General Social Survey on Victimization, Cycle 18: An Overview of Findings

Catalogue no. 85-565

## Gift cards



Gift cards resembling credit cards are resulting in a shift of retail sales. During the Christmas season of 2003, 53% of 80 of the nation's largest retailers offered gift cards. Only a year later this proportion had increased to two-thirds (68%). On average, stores that introduced the cards had higher sales. Among those stores that introduced the cards in 2004, sales per store amounted to \$10 million, up from \$9.4 million in 2003. In contrast, sales for the group of stores that did not offer gift cards were only \$3.3 million per store in 2004. For those that offered the cards in both years, sales per store amounted to \$10.9 million in each year.

### "A Win-win way to give" Analysis in Brief

Catalogue no. 11-621-MIE2005029

## Youth court statistics



Judges heard 70,465 cases during the 2004 fiscal year, down 17% from the previous year. It was the single largest annual decline since 1992, the first year for which complete national data coverage was available from the Youth Court Survey.

Overall, the youth court case-load has declined by one-third since 1992, primarily due to the steady drop in the number of cases involving crimes against property.

The *Youth Criminal Justice Act*, introduced in April 2003, emphasizes keeping the less serious cases out of court by dealing with them less formally while still stressing the importance of providing meaningful consequences for youth, such as repairing any harm done to victims.

The rate of youth who received a warning, caution, referral to community program, or no further action by the police in lieu of charges, increased by 30%.

### Juristat vol. 25, no. 4

Catalogue no. 85-002-XIE

# Getting to work

by Andrew Heisz and Sébastien LaRochelle-Côté

This article has been adapted from "Work and commuting in census metropolitan areas, 1996-2001," the seventh research paper in the new Statistics Canada series entitled *Trends and Conditions in Canadian Census Metropolitan Areas*. For a full list of references, please see the original paper, which is available free of charge at [www.statcan.ca/english/research/89-613-MIE2005007.pdf](http://www.statcan.ca/english/research/89-613-MIE2005007.pdf).

**H**ow people get to their place of work depends, among other things, on where they live, where they work and what type of transportation is available to them. Traditionally, the majority of people have commuted from their residence in the suburbs to their place of work in the city. Consequently, public transit systems transport most commuters from suburbs to the urban core.

In recent years, however, commuting patterns have become more complex as employment has grown more rapidly in the suburbs than in city core areas. While the city centre still dominates as location of work, its relative importance has declined. Faced with few convenient public transit options, the increasing numbers of people who now commute cross-town to jobs in these suburbs overwhelmingly drive to work.

Using data from the Census of Population, this article examines commuting patterns between 1996 and 2001 as they relate to recent job growth in the suburbs. It briefly looks at the demographic characteristics of commuters and explores some of the implications that changing work locations and commute patterns have for infrastructure in Canadian cities.

## GST What you should know about this study

Data in this article come from the 1996 and 2001 Censuses of Population. The Census is administered to the entire population of the country, but more detailed questions were sent to one in five Canadian households. These questions covered information about place of work and mode of transportation respondents most frequently use to commute from home to work. This study focuses primarily on the population aged 15 and over who reported a specific place of work. Individuals working at home, working outside the country or with no fixed workplace address were excluded from the analysis.

**Census metropolitan area (CMA):** the area formed by one or more municipalities centred on a large urban area (known as the urban core) with a population of at least 100,000. To be included in the CMA, other adjacent municipalities must have a high degree of integration with the central urban area, as measured by urban flows. The following is the list of CMAs as of 2001: St. John's, Halifax, Saint John, Saguenay, Québec, Sherbrooke, Trois Rivières, Montréal, Ottawa-Gatineau, Kingston, Oshawa, Toronto, Hamilton, St. Catharines-Niagara, Kitchener, London, Windsor, Sudbury, Thunder Bay, Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary, Edmonton, Abbotsford, Vancouver and Victoria.

**CMA workers:** respondents who worked in a CMA, but did not necessarily live in the same CMA. They could have lived in another CMA or in a non-CMA area. For example, many individuals working in Toronto actually live in Oshawa or Hamilton.

**City centre:** defined in relation to the location of city hall in the core municipality.

**Employment cluster:** areas of high employment concentration. Employment clusters are a group of census tracts or a single census tract where employment is greater than the population. Each tract has a place of work of at least 5,000 workers. This article focuses specifically on primary clusters, which have at least one tract with 15,000 or more workers.



## Driving is by far the most popular way of getting to work

For most workers, the commute is a basic fact of life. In virtually all census metropolitan areas (CMAs), more than half of all workers commuted more than 5 km to get to work, and for some, the commute was longer than 25 km. In Oshawa and Hamilton, 31% and 19% of commuters, respectively, travelled more than 25 km to work, probably to jobs in the nearby CMA of Toronto.

The vast majority of commuters drive a car to work. While Ottawa–Gatineau, Montréal and Toronto have the best records for diverting commuters to something other than a “car as driver” mode of transport, nearly two-thirds of commuters in these CMAs still drive to work. In at least 10 CMAs, the proportion of commuters travelling to work by driving a car is 80% or higher.<sup>1</sup>

## Employment growth concentrated in suburbs

In most urban centres, jobs are still heavily concentrated in downtown core areas. Between 1996 and 2001, however, the relative economic importance of these downtown locations declined, as the number of jobs in the suburbs increased more than four times faster than in the core areas. As a result, more and more people are commuting cross-town to these suburban areas.

In Toronto, for example, where more of the job growth was in the suburbs, 208,300 more workers commuted to workplaces farther than 20 km from the city centre in 2001 than in 1996. Nearly 90% of these commuters travelled by car, increasing the number of car commuters both within the CMA of Toronto (12%) and to locations more than 20 km from the city centre (26%).

One of the characteristics of growing suburban employment was the shifting of manufacturing activities to the suburbs. In Toronto, the proportion of manufacturing workers in areas at least 20 km from

CST

Jobs increased much faster in the suburbs than in the city centre\*

	Location of job	
	Within 5 km of city centre	More than 5 km from city centre
	Change in the number of jobs, 1996-2001	
	('000)	
<b>All CMAs</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>733.2</b>
St. John's	-1.8	6.9
Halifax	-0.2	15.1
Saint John	-1.1	4.4
Saguenay	-0.1	1.5
Québec	-2.2	15.2
Sherbrooke	1.6	4.3
Trois Rivières	-2.2	1.4
Montréal	31.9	102.5
Ottawa–Gatineau	11.9	51.7
Kingston	-3.4	6.0
Oshawa	0.8	10.3
Toronto	72.7	237.2
Hamilton	-2.3	14.7
St. Catharines–Niagara	0.5	9.4
Kitchener	2.3	20.1
London	2.9	15.5
Windsor	4.6**	7.2**
Greater Sudbury	-3.4	1.6
Thunder Bay	-2.4	-0.3
Winnipeg	-3.3	21.8
Regina	2.4	1.8
Saskatoon	3.8	4.7
Calgary	29.7	52.7
Edmonton	4.2	51.3
Abbotsford	4.1	2.4
Vancouver	4.8	68.8
Victoria	0.2	5.0

Note:

Includes all individuals aged 15 and over working at a usual place of work within CMAs.

\*

City centre is defined as the census tract where the city hall of the core municipality is located.

\*\*

Windsor values are “within 10 km of” and “more than 10 km from” city centre.

Source:

Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1996 and 2001.

the city centre rose from 51% in 1996 to 57% in 2001. Retail trade, as well as lower skilled and lower paid jobs, also shifted towards more suburban locations. In contrast, city centre jobs were more likely to be high paid, high skilled and in producer services. For example, in Vancouver, workers employed within 5 km of the city centre earned \$51,300 on average in 2001. In comparison, individuals who

worked between 10 and 15 km from downtown had average earnings of \$46,500 that same year.

**Access to public transit varies with location of work**  
Because public transit systems are centrally-focused, it is not surprising to find that those who work in city centres are most likely to commute via public transit. For these people,

public transit is often available and convenient. Some 59% of workers heading for the central business district (CBD)<sup>2</sup> in Toronto, 55% in Montréal and 38% in Ottawa–Gatineau used public transit for their commute. In Winnipeg, the proportion of CBD workers commuting on public transit was only 27% but this was still more than twice the rate of those in other employment clusters (12%).

In contrast, relatively small shares of commuters travelling to suburban jobs take public transit to work. For instance, 28% of workers in the Montréal North cluster (the intersection of Highways 15 and 40) arrive by public transit, while in Montréal East (Anjou) the figure is only 18%. The situation in other CMAs is similar with relatively few commuters travelling to employment clusters outside CBDs by public transit.

According to some researchers, suburban employers encourage non-transit commuting through the locations they favour and their patterns of land-use. Employment locations are often chosen for their accessibility to major expressways, airports or other transportation nodes, rather than their proximity to local labour markets or public transit centres. Abundant land zoned for employment purposes allows companies to build low-lying warehouses, large factory floors and sprawling parking lots, which together contribute to low employment densities in such areas. In turn, these low densities impede the efficient transportation of workers to these sites on public transit.

### Commute patterns are becoming more complex

Over recent years, commute patterns have become more complex. Compared to past decades, commutes are occurring more often within or between suburban locations, or have their origin in the city centre and their destination in the suburbs.<sup>3</sup>

Commutes can be divided into five different categories: (1) *within the city centre*, that is, both residence and job are located within 10 km of the city centre; (2) *traditional commutes*, where

the job is within 10 km of the city centre and the residence is further than 10 km from the city centre; (3) *reverse commutes*, where job location is more than 10 km from the city centre and the residence within 10 km of the city centre; (4) *short suburban (or within-suburb) commutes*, where both the residence and job locations are farther than 10 km from the city centre, and the commute distance is less than 10 km; and (5) *long suburban (or between-suburb) commutes*, where both the residence and job locations are over 10 km from the city centre, and the commute distance is more than 10 km.<sup>4</sup>

As the three largest CMAs, Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver have smaller shares of commutes within the city centre zone and along the “traditional” commuting pattern of suburb to downtown, and larger shares within and between suburbs than other CMAs. However, Québec, Montréal, Ottawa–Gatineau, Toronto, Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver (the eight largest CMAs) all have similar shares of workers travelling reverse commutes.

### Non-traditional commutes are on the rise

The years between 1996 and 2001 saw substantial increases in the proportion of non-traditional commutes. For example, in Ottawa–Gatineau the number of reverse commuters grew by nearly 40%, probably reflecting fast employment growth in the west-end cluster of Kanata. Calgary, likewise, saw reverse commuters grow by 42%. Long suburban commutes became more common in most CMAs, with the number of commuters travelling more than 10 km to work rising by 38% in Calgary, 19% in Ottawa–Gatineau, 17% in Toronto, and 13% in Edmonton.

In Ottawa–Gatineau, 19% of new commuters joining the rush hour between 1996 and 2001 were reverse commuters, 22% were short-suburban commuters, and 19% were long suburban commuters. In Toronto, the lion's share of the new commuters were travelling outside the downtown core (36% short suburban commutes and 37% long suburban commutes).

In all CMAs, the percentage of workers taking public transit was lower on non-traditional than on

**GST**

**The number of reverse commuters grew dramatically in several CMAs\*\***

	Types of commutes					
	All	City centre* to city centre	Traditional (outside to inside city centre)	Reverse (inside to outside city centre)	Within suburb (less than 10 km)	Between suburbs (more than 10 km)**
% growth, 1996 to 2001						
Québec	4	3	1	11	18	2
Montréal	9	9	2	10	15	9
Ottawa–Gatineau	13	7	7	40	33	19
Toronto	14	11	12	3	18	17
Winnipeg	6	8	-6	29	12	5
Calgary	20	6	25	42	77	38
Edmonton	14	8	10	24	46	13
Vancouver	9	10	12	-3	11	5

\* For this table, the city centre is defined as being within 10 km of the central municipality's city hall.

\*\* Includes commutes from outside CMA to inside CMA.

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1996 and 2001.



traditional commuter routes. This is not surprising, given the city centre focus of public transit systems in the largest urban areas. Whether or not public transit is a feasible option for between-suburb commuters, some individuals may prefer to drive to work because of cost, timeliness or convenience.

### **Distance between home, job and city centre linked to how people commute**

Several geographic characteristics are also associated with commuting behaviour: commuting distance or the distance from home to job; residence distance, or the distance from home to the city centre (which reflects the degree of suburbanization of the worker); and employment distance, or the distance between the job and the city centre (which reflects the degree of suburbanization of the job). As the commuting distance grows longer, public transit may become less available or less convenient than the car. For example, travelling longer distances generally involves transfers which, in turn, imply more time spent in transit, a situation that encourages driving to work instead.

Not surprisingly, then, commuters who lived farther away from work in 2001 were more likely to drive than those who lived closer. Nevertheless, 57% of those living less than 5 km from work also used their car to get to their job. All in all, workers who lived 5 to 10 km from work were the most likely to take public transit, individuals who lived farther preferred driving, and a significant share of those living closer to work walked.

Commuting patterns were similar when location of work relative to the downtown core was examined: those who worked and lived close to the city centre tended to take public transit, while individuals working and living farther away were more likely to drive.

### **Summary**

The vast majority of commuters drive to work. However, location of home and work also influence the choice of transportation. The public transit system is not very popular for individuals working in the increasing number of relatively new suburban work locations. Therefore, people who work in city centres are most likely to commute on public transit, while those whose jobs are in the

suburbs overwhelmingly drive to work. As commute patterns become more complex with the creation of new work places in the suburbs, cities will face the challenging task of encouraging their residents to make more use of public transit.



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1. These CMAs are Saguenay, Sherbrooke, Trois Rivières, Oshawa, St. Catharines–Niagara, Kitchener, Windsor, Thunder Bay, Regina and Abbotsford.
2. The central business district is an area of high-employment concentration located in the downtown core of the CMA, and is made of a group of contiguous census tracts in which employment is greater than the population and in which each tract is the place of work of at least 5,000 workers.
3. Statistics Canada. 2003. *Where Canadians Work and How They Get there, 2001 Census* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 96F0030XIE2001010).
4. This last category also includes those who work in the CMA but live outside the CMA.



# Ethnocultural diversity in Canada: Prospects for 2017

by Alain Bélanger and Éric Caron Malenfant

This article is adapted from *Population projections of visible minority groups, Canada, provinces and regions: 2001-2017* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 91-541-XIE), published in March 2005. The report is available free from the Statistics Canada website at [www.statcan.ca/cgi-bin/downpub/listpub.cgi?catno=91-541-XIE2005001](http://www.statcan.ca/cgi-bin/downpub/listpub.cgi?catno=91-541-XIE2005001).

Canada's ethnic and cultural makeup is undergoing rapid change, especially in major urban centres. Sustained immigration from non-European countries has increased Canada's cultural diversity in recent decades. Statistics from the 2001 Census of Population show an increase in the number and proportion of immigrants, people whose mother tongue is neither English nor French, members of visible minority groups, and people whose religion is non-Christian.

These developments present decision-makers with a number of challenges, particularly in the areas of urban development, labour market integration, health and social services, and public institutions. It is understandable that one would want to consider how the country's ethnocultural landscape is likely to evolve over the next several years.

This article uses Statistics Canada's most recent population projections for visible minority groups to draw a picture of the possible ethnocultural composition of the country when Canada celebrates its 150th anniversary in 2017.<sup>1</sup> It focuses on a number of issues: How many Canadians might belong to a visible minority group in the near future?

## CST What you should know about this study

The data in this article were taken from Statistics Canada's most recent population projections for visible minorities for the period 2001 to 2017. These projections are designed to produce plausible scenarios based on assumptions about the evolution of the demographic components of the population. They are not to be regarded as predictions, but rather as one of several aids available to program planners and policy-makers.

Five scenarios were developed for analytical purposes. One of the scenarios, the so-called low-growth scenario, uses the assumptions of relatively low immigration and fertility, along with internal migration levels consistent with those observed in the 2001 Census. A high-growth scenario is based on relatively high fertility and immigration assumptions. A third scenario, *the reference scenario*, reflects the impact that recent trends in the components of demographic change have on the projected population, while the fourth scenario uses slightly different assumptions about internal migration. The fifth scenario illustrates the effect that higher immigration levels (equivalent to 1% of the total population) might have on the size, age structure and ethnocultural composition of the Canadian population.

**Visible minority:** Under the *Employment Equity Act*, members of visible minorities are "persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour". The 10 visible minority groups included are the Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese and Korean groups.

How many landed immigrants might there be? What are the predominant visible minority groups likely to be? Is

diversity likely to remain concentrated in Canada's major urban centres?

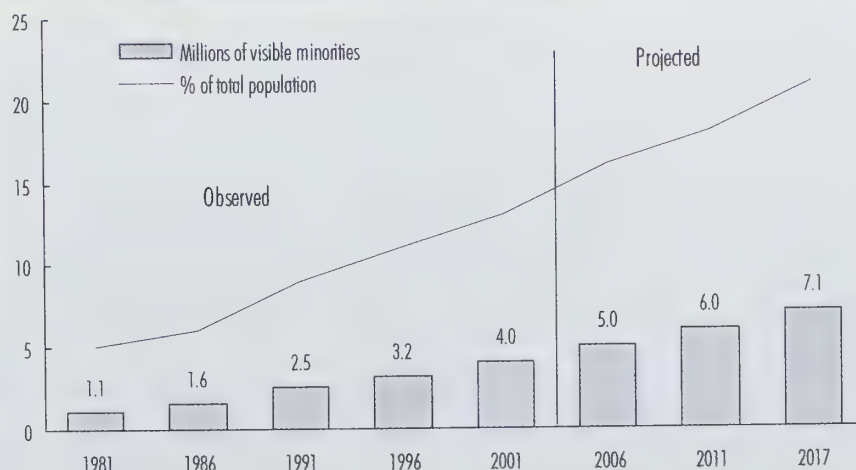
Depending on the projection scenario used, Canada's visible minority population could number between 6.3 million and 8.5 million in 2017; that is, it could be anywhere from 56% to 111% larger than in 2001. Under the *reference scenario*, the visible minority population would grow by 76%, to 7.1 million persons. In contrast, the rest of the population would increase by only 1% to 7%. This scenario continues the trends evident between 1981 and 2001, when the visible minority population increased from 1.1 to 4.0 million.

By 2017, about one Canadian in five could be a member of a visible minority group. This contrasts with 13% in 2001 and less than 5% of the Canadian population in 1981. A number of factors account for this increase. Certainly the most important is sustained immigration because visible minority persons make up a high percentage of newcomers.<sup>2</sup> Other factors include a higher fertility<sup>3</sup> and higher life expectancy,<sup>4</sup> as well as a younger age structure resulting in fewer deaths and more births among visible minority groups than the rest of the population.

Under the reference scenario, visible minority groups would account for about 85% of overall population growth in 2017. They would account for most of the increase attributable to migratory growth (which will be the primary driver of population growth) as well as the largest share of growth due to natural increase.

Canada, along with Australia, is different from most other Western countries in that immigrants comprise a much larger share of its population. In 2001, 18% of Canada's population was foreign-born, a far higher proportion than in the United States and most European countries.<sup>5</sup>

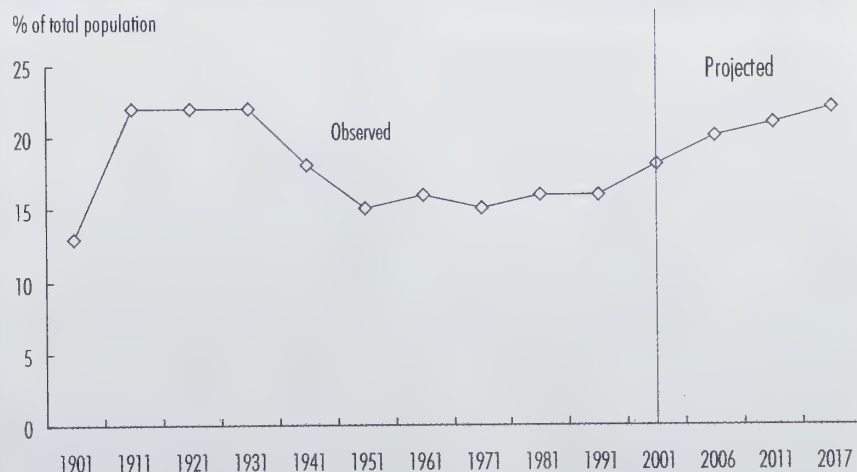
**One Canadian in five could be a visible minority in 2017**



Note: Projections are based on the reference scenario, which uses assumptions based on trends observed in the 2001 Census and preceding years. See "What you should know about this study" for details.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, and Catalogue no. 91-541-XIE.

**In 2017, the proportion of immigrants in Canada could equal that observed in the early 20th century**



Note: Projections are based on the reference scenario, which uses assumptions based on trends observed in the 2001 Census and the preceding years. See "What you should know about this study" for details.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, and Catalogue no. 91-541-XIE.



Subject to the immigration levels set for the projection scenario, Canada's immigrant population would be between 7.0 million and 9.3 million in 2017. This represents an increase of 24% to 65% over 2001, when immigrants numbered 5.4 million. Over the same period, the non-immigrant population in Canada would grow much more modestly, a rate ranging from 4% to 12%. Under the reference scenario, immigrants would account for 22% of the total population in 2017. The last time immigrants comprised such a high percentage of the Canadian population was in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, between 1911 and 1931.

In 2001, a little more than two-thirds of the visible minority population had been born outside Canada. In 2017, according to the reference scenario, this proportion would remain about the same, with 4.8 million of 7.1 million visible minority persons being immigrants. However, the number of visible minority persons born in Canada could almost double between 2001 and 2017, to reach 2.3 million people.

### South Asians and Chinese would remain the largest visible minority groups

Visible minority populations vary a great deal in terms of origin, linguistic characteristics and religious affiliations. There is also considerable variation in the size of visible minority groups in Canada. In 2001, the Chinese and South Asians were the two largest groups; in 2017, they are projected to remain the largest and to account for almost half of all visible minority persons.

But while the Chinese were more numerous than the South Asian group in 2001, the latter may catch up by 2017. The South Asian group has a higher fertility rate than the Chinese and almost as large a share of immigration. Consequently, it is projected that the South Asian population could grow by 72% to 137% between 2001 and 2017,

compared with 51% to 111% for the Chinese population (depending on the projection).

The third and fourth largest visible minority groups in 2017 would be the Black and the Filipino populations. Under the projection scenarios, Blacks would number 950,000 to 1.2 million and Filipinos between 476,000 and 650,000, both populations up sharply compared with 2001.

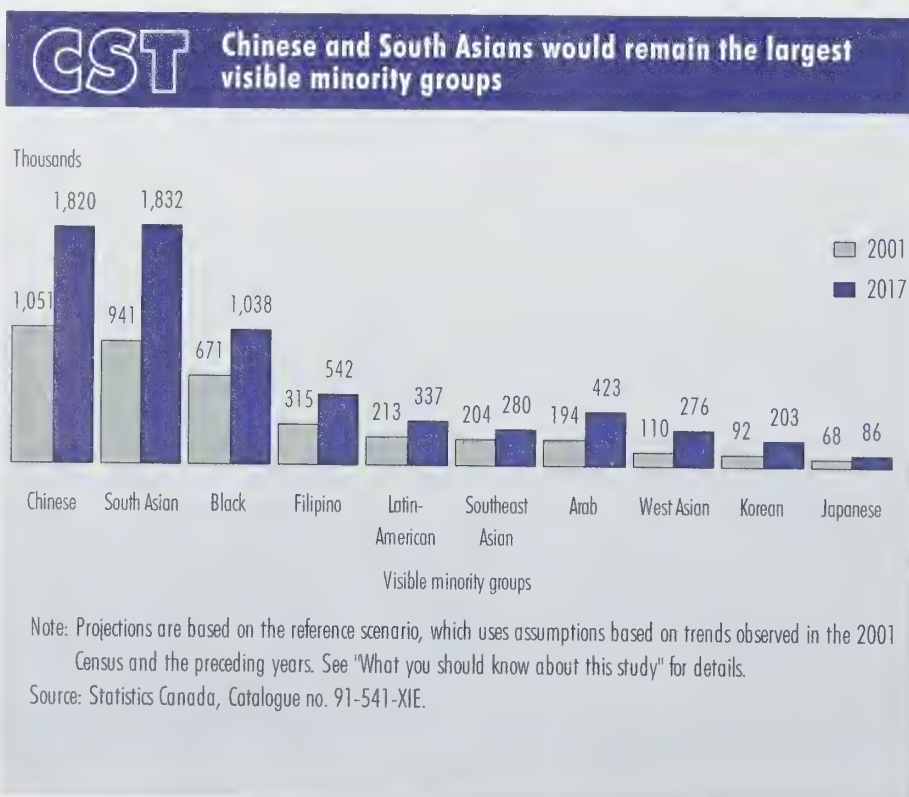
The highest growth rates between now and 2017 are projected for the West Asian, Korean and Arab groups. Under most of the projection scenarios, their populations would more than double over this period. However, in absolute terms, their numbers would remain small relative to the Chinese, South Asian and Black groups.

### Continued high concentrations in the major urban areas

The changing ethnocultural characteristics of the Canadian population would continue to be most apparent in Canada's largest urban areas, as this is where most immigrants

settle. Indeed, more than 70% of the immigrants who came to Canada between 1996 and 2001 chose to live in the census metropolitan areas (CMAs) of Montréal, Toronto or Vancouver. For many of these immigrants, the presence of family and friends in these cities was a key reason for their decision to move there.<sup>6</sup>

The concentration of visible minority persons in large urban areas mirrors the pattern among recent immigrants. Nearly 95% of visible minority persons would live in one of Canada's 27 CMAs in 2017, roughly the same proportion as in 2001. Moreover, under the projection scenarios, nearly 75% of visible minorities would live in the CMAs of Montréal, Toronto or Vancouver compared with just over one-quarter of the rest of the population. In 2017, Toronto alone would have 2.8 to 3.9 million visible minority residents, Vancouver 1.1 to 1.5 million, and Montréal between 666,000 and 895,000.





## Half of population in Toronto and Vancouver may be visible minority by 2017

Depending on the projection scenario used, the CMA of Toronto would have a population of 5.8 to 7.1 million, about one-half of whom (2.8 to 3.9 million) would be visible minority persons; this compares with 37% in 2001. Vancouver is projected to have a population of 1.1 to 1.5 million visible minority persons in 2017, accounting for 47% to 53% of the population. In 2001, visible minorities accounted for 36% of Vancouver's total population.

Under the reference scenario, visible minority groups are projected to account for between 23% and 28% of the total populations in the CMAs of Ottawa, Abbotsford, Calgary and Windsor. It is worth noting that ethnocultural diversity is not limited to Canada's largest urban centres; even in smaller CMAs such as Windsor and Abbotsford, about one-quarter of the population may be composed of visible minority groups by 2017.

### Summary

The population projections discussed in this article point to the changing ethnocultural composition of the Canadian population until 2017. The number of Canadians who belong to a visible minority group would continue to grow more rapidly than the rest of the population. By 2017, visible minority groups would account for about half of the residents in the CMAs of Toronto and Vancouver. Immigration is the driving force behind this development, although differing age structures and fertility rates among different groups play a role as well.

**GST**

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**GST**

## Visible minority groups could comprise half the population of Toronto and Vancouver by 2017

	Number of visible minority persons ('000)		Percent of total population	
	2001	2017	2001	2017
<b>Canada</b>	<b>4,038</b>	<b>7,121</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>21</b>
<i>Census metropolitan area</i>				
Toronto	1,753	3,194	37	51
Vancouver	741	1,261	36	49
Montréal	454	749	13	19
Ottawa—Gatineau*	139	316	17	28
Calgary	166	295	17	24
Edmonton	136	211	14	18
Hamilton	64	125	9	15
Winnipeg	84	115	12	16
Windsor	40	97	13	23
Kitchener	45	79	10	15
<i>Rest of Canada</i>	418	679	3	4

Note: Projections are based on the reference scenario, which uses assumptions based on trends observed in the 2001 Census and the preceding years. See "What you should know about this study" for details.

\* Ontario part only.

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 91-541-XIE.

- 1 The method, assumptions and results associated with the projections are described in detail in *Population projections of visible minority groups, Canada, provinces and regions, 2001-2017* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 91-541-XIE), 2005. This can be consulted free of charge on Statistics Canada's website at [www.statcan.ca](http://www.statcan.ca).
- 2 During the 1990s, on average, 225,000 immigrants arrived in Canada annually and about 70% of them were visible minorities.
- 3 The analyses on which the population projection assumptions were based established that in 2000/01, the total fertility rate was 1.7 children per visible minority woman and about 1.5 children per white woman. For more on the fertility of Canada's immigrants and visible minorities, see A. Bélanger and S. Gilbert. 2003. "The fertility of immigrant women and their Canadian-born daughters." *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 2002, Current Demographic Analysis*, (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 91-209-XPE).
- 4 Mortality studies conducted for the projections estimated the life expectancy of visible minorities at 79.7 years for men and 84.3 years for women, compared with 76.2 years and 82.5 years for the rest of the population in 2001. These differences are due to the low mortality rates of recent immigrants, who are proportionally more numerous in the visible minority population. For more on the life expectancy of immigrants to Canada, see J. Chen, R. Wilkins and E. Ng, "Health expectancy by immigrant status, 1986 and 1991." *Health Reports* vol. 8, no. 3 (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-003) 1996.
- 5 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Trends in International Migration, 2003 Annual Report*, SOPEMI Editions, 2004.
- 6 Statistics Canada. September 4, 2003. "Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, 2001." *The Daily* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-001).

# The housing transitions of seniors

by Jane Lin



**S**oaring sales of new and existing homes in 2004 brought to the forefront questions about the types of housing transitions people make at various stages in their lives: first-time homebuyers just starting out, families who have outgrown their homes, and seniors who are moving to accommodate their change in lifestyle. In fact, the housing transition patterns of seniors had been the focus of some attention in 2004 against a backdrop of concerns about the dwindling demand for rental properties.<sup>1</sup>

This article takes a closer look at this last group—seniors who downsize, those who upsize and others who move for lifestyle reasons. Using data from the longitudinal Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) from 1999 to 2001, the article identifies the characteristics of senior movers, the life events associated with their move, and the various types of housing transitions they made.

## Seniors make up a small fraction of movers

An estimated 240,000 seniors (those aged 65 and older) made a residential move between 1999 and 2001. But while seniors accounted for 17% of the population aged 25 years and older, they were under-represented among movers at 9%. In contrast, the youngest age group, the 25- to 34-year-olds, accounted for more than their fair share; they represented 39% of movers, but accounted for just 21% of the population.

It is interesting to compare senior movers with pre-seniors (those aged 55 to 64) given that these two groups comprise roughly the same proportion of movers. Pre-seniors made up 14% of the population and accounted for 8% of movers. In addition, housing decisions made by pre-seniors may hint at future patterns and housing needs as baby boomers enter their senior years.

When senior Canadians moved, three-quarters of them stayed within 50 kilometres of their former residence. Their primary reason for moving was the desire to live in a smaller home, followed by purchasing or building a home, wanting to be close to family, relocating to a better neighbourhood, a decline in health, and access to more recreation and leisure activities.<sup>2</sup>

## Nearly one-half of senior movers are married

What are senior movers like as a group? To examine their profile, one needs to look at a breakdown of their characteristics. For example, nearly one-half of senior movers were married, more than three in

five owned their homes, and about three in five were women. In terms of life events, the vast majority did not have anyone join (89%) or leave (79%) the family between 1999 and 2001. And during these three years, only 5% experienced the death of their spouse.

## Widowed seniors are more likely to move than their married counterparts

While married/common-law seniors moved at a rate of 7%, their widowed counterparts had a significantly higher moving rate (12%). In contrast, divorced seniors moved at nearly the same rate (8%) as married individuals. Perhaps by the time people have finalized their divorces, they have already made the transition to a new living arrangement and have been settled in their homes for some time.

Senior renters were more than twice as likely to move as owners (14% versus 7%), perhaps because those who own their homes feel more settled and stable in their living quarters. A similar relationship exists between the moving rates of seniors



This article uses data from the longitudinal Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) to follow seniors and pre-seniors who made a residential move and to look at the types of housing transitions they made. Housing transitions include changes in tenure status from renter to owner or vice versa, and moving from a smaller to larger home or from a larger to smaller home (measured in terms of the number of bedrooms).

The sample in this study consists of seniors, those 65 years old and older (7,502 individuals), and pre-seniors, 55 to 64 years old (5,497 individuals), in 1999 who lived in private households in the 10 provinces. Only those who were present in the survey for all three years (1999, 2000 and 2001) were included in this study.

**Movers versus non-movers:** If seniors changed residences between 1999 and 2001, they were called "movers." If not, they were classified as "non-movers."

**Life events** occurred at any time during the three years from 1999 to 2001 to any member of the person's economic family, that is, members who lived in the same household and were related by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption. As an example: A senior widow, who lives with her adult son, is said to have had a *marriage in the family* if her son was married during the course of the study.

**Housing tenure:** Owner households have at least one member of the household who owns the home. For simplicity, a household which does not own its residence is assumed

to be renting. The study looks at tenure only in 1999 and 2001, not in 2000. Thus, multiple movers, who represented 15% of senior movers and 15% of pre-senior movers, were categorized as owners for all three years if the tenure pattern was owner in year one, renter in year two, and owner again in year three.

**Downsize:** If a senior was a mover, then the number of bedrooms in 2001 was compared to the number of bedrooms in 1999. If the number of bedrooms decreased, then these seniors were said to have "downsized" to a home with fewer bedrooms; if the number of bedrooms increased, an "upsized" had occurred. Changes in tenure status were then investigated within the downsizer group. A limitation of using this variable is that the number of bedrooms is only an estimate of downsizing at the time of the study. Because unused bedrooms may sometimes be reported as a den/computer room or vice versa, number of rooms or size of the dwelling in square feet or metres would have been a preferred measure had it been available.

**Logistic regression** was used to examine the determinants of moving for older Canadians 55 years and over. Logistic regression estimates the probability that a particular outcome—in this study, a residential move—will occur as a function of several explanatory variables. The association between each explanatory variable and the probability of moving is examined while holding all other variables constant.

living in apartments (13%) and those who reside in houses (7%).

Seniors who had a person leave the family moved at a significantly higher rate than those whose family stayed unchanged (16% versus 8%). This shift in household composition could reflect new needs for space, or preferences for different lifestyles. For example, after an adult son leaves his elderly mother's home, she might decide to move into a more senior-friendly dwelling that is easier to maintain.

The patterns of moving rates for pre-seniors aged 55 to 64 were similar to those of seniors.

## Seniors are more likely to move when they are renters...

A logistic regression model was used to see if certain life events and characteristics were linked to a senior's likelihood of moving. To illustrate this, a reference person with a specific set of features was chosen. By varying each characteristic one at a time, while holding all others constant, the impact of the specific characteristic on the probability of moving can be seen. The selected characteristics were those most frequently occurring among seniors: the reference senior was a woman who was married or living common-

law, had an annual after-tax family income of \$20,500 to \$31,999, lived in an owned house<sup>3</sup> and did not experience any of the life events. According to the regression results, this woman had nearly a 5% chance of moving between 1999 and 2001.

Regardless of age, when all other factors are held constant, renters were more likely to have moved than owners. Among pre-seniors, however, renters were more than twice as likely to have moved as owners, while among seniors, renters were roughly one and a half times more likely than owners to have changed residences. For pre-seniors, renting could be



Estimated number	Senior movers	Moving rate	
	239,000	Seniors	Pre-seniors
	%		%
Total		9	10
Male	40	8	10
Female	60	9	10
<b>Marital status (1999)</b>			
Married/common-law	49	7	9
Separated	3	17	26*
Divorced	4	8	13
Widowed	36	12*	15*
Single (never married)	7	12	13
<b>Tenure (1999)</b>			
Owned	62	7	8
Rented	38	14*	21*
<b>Housing type (1999)</b>			
House	59	7	8
Apartment	41	13*	17*
<b>Income (1999)<sup>1</sup></b>			
Under \$20,500	28	10	13
\$20,500-\$31,999	29	8	10
\$32,000-\$45,299	26	11*	10
\$45,300-\$63,999	7	4*	12
\$64,000 and over	10	8	7*
<b>Life events (1999, 2000, 2001)</b>			
Person joined family/marriage in family			
Yes	11	18*	20*
No	89	8	9
Person left family/separation in family			
Yes	21	16*	17*
No	79	8	9
Death of spouse			
Yes	5	11	9
No	95	9	F

Note: Reference categories are marked in *italics*.

\* Significantly different from reference category ( $p < 0.05$ ).

F Too unreliable to be published.

1. Annual after-tax family income was split into five groups, each representing roughly 20% of all families.

Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, 1999-2001.

or common-law. Interestingly, those who were divorced or single (never married) were not significantly more likely to have moved than their married counterparts when other factors in the model were held constant. Seniors living in apartments also had a slightly higher chance of moving (7%) than those who lived in houses.<sup>4</sup>

### ...or someone leaves or joins the family

Seniors who experienced a separation in their family during the past three years, such as a family member moving out, were twice as likely to move (11%) as those who had not experienced these life events.

Similarly, if a person joined the family or if there was a marriage in the family, the chance of the senior moving rose, once again, to 9%. Since these events could happen at any point during the three years, the move might have occurred in anticipation of or subsequent to a change in family composition.

### Death of spouse lowers chances of moving

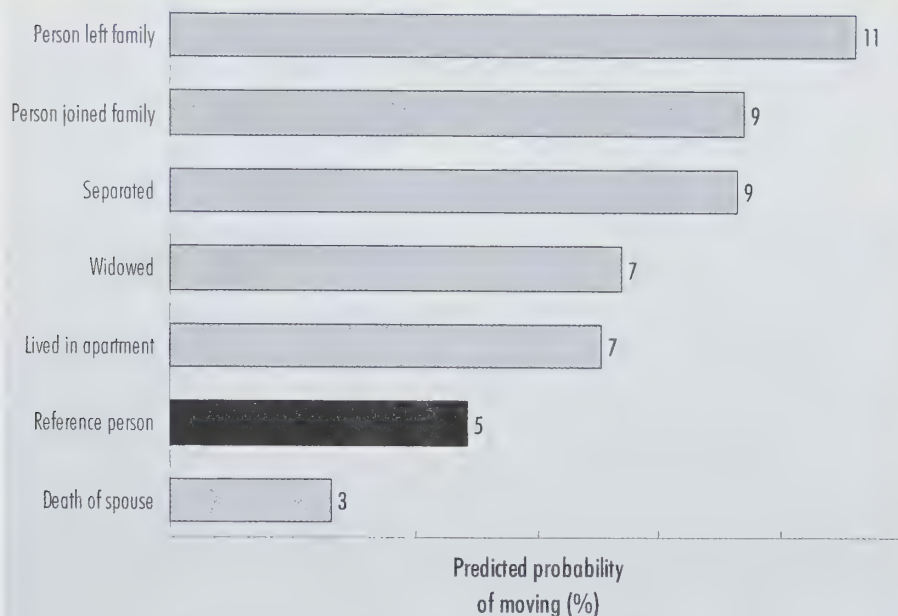
Seniors whose spouse died during the three years of the study had a lower chance (3%) of moving in 2000 or 2001 than those who were still married, all other things being equal. Because death of one's spouse is one of the most traumatic life events, it is possible that the surviving partner does not want to compound this stress even further by moving to another location at this time.

It may appear puzzling that, while death of a spouse was associated with a lower probability of moving, being widowed was linked to a higher probability of doing so. This apparent contradiction can be explained by the fact that seniors who were widows may have lost their spouse many years ago, while those who reported the death of their spouse went through this life event quite recently.<sup>5</sup>

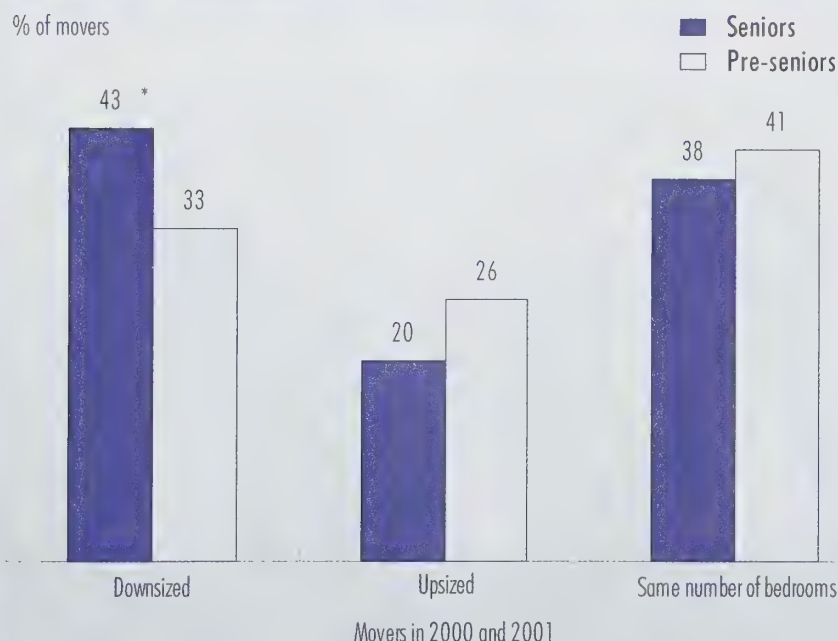
a temporary solution as they face retirement and/or become empty nesters. Meanwhile, for many seniors, especially older ones, renting may be a more permanent choice and they may also be less inclined to move in the future.

### ... they are widowed or separated...

The predicted probability of moving between 1999 and 2001 was higher for widowed (7%) or separated (9%) seniors than for those who were married



Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, 1999-2001.



\* Statistically significant difference between seniors and pre-seniors ( $p < 0.05$ ).

Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, 1999-2001.

## Two in five senior movers downsize to smaller home

Between 1999 and 2001, 43% of seniors who moved downsized to a residence with fewer bedrooms. Another 38% moved to a home with the same number of bedrooms and the remaining 20% moved up in size to a place with more bedrooms. In contrast, most pre-seniors who moved chose a home with the same number of bedrooms (41%), about one-third (33%) downsized, and roughly one-quarter (26%) moved up in size.

Seniors who downsized tended to move from a house into an apartment or from one house into another house, and the majority also lived in a single generation household. Other studies confirm these senior living arrangements, in which nearly three in four seniors lived alone or with his/her spouse or common-law partner.<sup>6</sup>

While the reasons seniors downsize are clear,<sup>7</sup> their reasons for up-sizing—and one in five senior movers do so—are less obvious. It could be that these seniors up-sized to accommodate a live-in caregiver,<sup>8</sup> or perhaps they moved in with extended family. Furthermore, many of the seniors who up-sized were living in a single generation household in 1999 either by themselves or with a spouse, as opposed to living with their children or grandchildren. Most moved from one house to another house or from an apartment into a house.

Older seniors are more likely than younger seniors to favour apartments over houses. According to the 2001 Census, 70% of all seniors lived in houses and 29% in apartments. However, among older seniors—those 85 years and over—58% lived in houses and 41% in apartments.<sup>9</sup> Older seniors may trade their houses for apartments to reduce home maintenance costs or the amount of work it takes to keep up a home with a driveway, backyard and all their associated chores.



## GST Most seniors live in private homes

The vast majority of Canadian seniors live in private dwellings. According to the 2001 Census, of the total 3.9 million individuals aged 65 and over, 93% lived in private homes and the rest in collective dwellings.<sup>1</sup>

According to the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID), between 1999 and 2001 only 1% of seniors moved from a private dwelling into an institution. Results from the National Population Health Survey (NPHS) also showed that from 1994/95 to 1996/97, 1.7% of the senior household population moved from a private dwelling into an institution for long-term care. Most of these movers were older seniors, with 54% of them aged 80 years and over.<sup>2</sup>

Certain health conditions were found to be strongly linked to the likelihood of seniors living in a long-term health-care facility. Advanced age, lack of a spouse and few sources of income were also associated with institutionalization.<sup>3</sup>

Collective dwellings include, among others: hospitals, nursing care homes, and residences for seniors and facilities for the disabled. For more information on Census definitions of collective dwellings, please refer to the 2001 Census Dictionary available on-line at [www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Reference/dict/index.htm](http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Reference/dict/index.htm).

Statistics Canada, June 25, 1999. "National Population Health Survey, Cycle 2 - Residents of health care institutions." *The Daily*.

Trottier, H., L. Martel, C. Houle, J. Berthelot and J. Légaré. Spring 2000. "Living at home or an institution; what makes the difference for seniors?" *Health Reports* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-003): 11, 4.

### Most senior downsizers left home ownership to rent

Many seniors who downsized also sold their homes in favour of renting.<sup>10</sup> While in 1999 nearly three-quarters (72%) of senior downsizers owned their home, by 2001 this proportion dropped to 29%. Overall, a smaller proportion of pre-seniors than seniors downsized during their last move.

While 43% of seniors who downsized sold their homes to rent, only 20% of pre-senior downsizers were in this situation. Most pre-seniors were owners to begin with and stayed owners even as they moved into a home with fewer bedrooms (45%). Just over one-quarter of pre-senior downsizers (27%) remained renters.

### Summary

The proportion of movers who were seniors was small between 1999 and 2001. However, the total number of senior movers is likely to be on the increase in the years ahead as the baby boom cohort enters its senior years. This analysis showed that having a person leave or join the family, being widowed or separated, living in an apartment, and being a renter, was each associated with a higher likelihood of a move for the senior reference person. Conversely, the death of a senior's spouse was associated with a lower chance of a residential move.

Housing transition patterns were quite different for pre-seniors and seniors. From 1999 to 2001, many senior movers downsized to a home with fewer bedrooms, some of whom traded in their homeownership status to become renters. In contrast, most pre-seniors moved into a home with the same number of bedrooms as their previous residence and remained primarily homeowners.

GST

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1. Partridge, J. September 30, 2004. "Demographics seen affecting rental sector." *Globe and Mail*. B10.
2. Che-Alford, J. and K. Stevenson. Spring 1998. "Older Canadians on the move," *Canadian Social Trends*. p. 15-18.
3. House or equivalent is defined as a single detached house, double, row, terrace or duplex building.
4. Although dwelling type and tenure status are related, just over a quarter of renters lived in houses, and nearly 10% of owners lived in apartments; therefore both variables are included in the model.
5. For information on the economic impact of death of a spouse, see Li, C. "Widowhood: Consequences on income for senior women." *Analysis in Brief* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-621-MIE2004015).
6. Clark, W. Autumn 2005. "What do seniors spend on housing?" *Canadian Social Trends*. p. 2-7.
7. Che-Alford and Stevenson. 1998.
8. Cranswick, K. and D. Thomas. Summer 2005. "Elder care and the complexities of social networks." *Canadian Social Trends*. p. 14.
9. Clark. 2005.
10. Looking at tenure only in the first year (1999) and last year (2001) underestimates tenure transitions and overestimates tenure maintenance because one could have been an owner in year one, then a renter in year two, and then an owner again in year three. This person would have been categorized as an owner all three years.





# SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
<b>POPULATION</b>								
Total population (July 1)	29,907,172	30,157,082	30,403,878	30,689,035	31,021,251	31,372,587	31,660,466	31,946,316
0-17 years	7,201,692	7,189,595	7,157,941	7,137,778	7,121,952	7,089,944	7,034,225	6,982,780
18-64 years	19,050,774	19,243,135	19,459,398	19,698,290	19,976,237	20,289,490	20,560,064	20,822,517
65 years and over	3,654,706	3,724,352	3,786,539	3,852,967	3,923,062	3,993,153	4,066,177	4,141,019
<i>Population rates (per 1,000)</i>								
Total growth	9.3	7.7	8.8	9.8	11.4	10.0	9.2	9.1
Birth	11.7	11.4	11.1	10.7	10.8	10.5	10.5	10.4
Death	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.1	7.1	7.1	7.2	7.3
Natural increase	4.4	4.1	3.9	3.6	3.7	3.4	3.3	3.0
Immigration	7.2	5.8	6.2	7.4	8.1	7.3	7.0	7.4
Total emigration <sup>1</sup>	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.9	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.5
Interprovincial migration	9.8	9.9	9.1	9.5	9.0	9.0	8.9	9.4
Marriage	5.1	5.1	5.1	5.1	4.7	4.7	4.6	4.6
<i>Percent growth in largest census metropolitan areas (to July 1)</i>								
Toronto	1.9	1.8	2.2	2.9	2.8	1.9	1.7	..
Montréal	0.5	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.1	0.9	0.8	..
Vancouver	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.8	1.7	1.4	0.9	..
<b>HEALTH</b>								
Total fertility per woman	1.55	1.54	1.53	1.49	1.51	1.50	1.53	..
Teenage pregnancies	42,169	42,320	40,432	38,649	37,081	35,077	..	..
Pregnancy rate per 1,000 women aged 15-19	42.8	42.4	40.1	38.0	36.1	33.9	..	..
Low birthweight babies (< 2,500 grams) as % of all births	5.8	5.7	5.6	5.6	5.5	5.7	5.8	..
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)	5.5	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.2	5.4	..	..
<i>Life expectancy at birth (years)</i>								
Men	75.7	76.0	76.2	76.7	77.0	77.2	..	..
Women	81.3	81.5	81.7	81.9	82.1	82.1	..	..
<i>Selected causes of death for men (per 100,000 males)<sup>2,4</sup></i>								
Cancer	230.7	231.1	228.9	225.3	223.8	220.5	..	..
Lung	69.9	70.1	70.3	64.3	64.6	64.5	..	..
Colorectal	23.5	24.1	24.1	24.0	22.8	24.1	..	..
Prostate	28.4	27.9	26.7	26.7	26.6	25.2	..	..
Heart diseases	231.8	227.8	220.8	202.9	189.7	183.1	..	..
Cerebrovascular diseases	52.4	49.6	47.3	46.4	44.6	43.7	..	..
External causes <sup>3</sup>	60.8	61.2	63.7	58.6	57.9	58.1	..	..
<i>Selected causes of death for women (per 100,000 females)<sup>2,4</sup></i>								
Cancer	149.1	151.6	149.4	149.4	147.6	149.3	..	..
Lung	32.3	34.5	34.8	34.4	34.4	35.3	..	..
Colorectal	15.2	15.7	15.2	15.1	14.9	15.2	..	..
Breast	27.4	26.4	25.2	25.0	24.9	24.4	..	..
Heart diseases	130.2	126.2	121.1	113.4	107.6	104.6	..	..
Cerebrovascular diseases	44.2	41.9	40.0	38.8	37.1	36.3	..	..
External causes <sup>3</sup>	24.4	24.4	25.0	23.5	22.6	24.3	..	..

Data not available

<sup>1</sup> Sum of the following components: emigration, returning emigration and net temporary emigration

<sup>2</sup> Age-standardized to the July 1, 1991 Census of Population (both sexes combined)

<sup>3</sup> Includes environmental events, circumstances and conditions as the cause of injury, poisoning and other adverse effects.

<sup>4</sup> Significant divergence in the mortality trends was observed by the implementation of ICD-10 by the Canadian mortality classification standard effective in 2000. The impact of the implementation of ICD-10 on Canadian mortality trends is assessed in Health Statistics Division's ICD-9/ICD-10 comparability study.

Sources: Population estimates come from Demography Division, and birth and death statistics come from Health Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

# LESSON PLAN

## Suggestions for using *Canadian Social Trends* in the classroom

### "Willing to participate: Political engagement of young adults"

#### Objectives

- To consider the variety of ways in which political involvement might occur.
- To understand how and why individuals could affect social change.

**Curriculum areas:** civics, political science, social studies

#### Classroom instructions

1. Ask your students what it means to be politically involved. Have them explore whether certain actions could be considered political without necessarily being recognized as such. Have them provide examples of such behaviour. What are acceptable and unacceptable forms of political participation? In general, what are the political responsibilities of government? Of individual citizens?
2. Think of some problems of which students may have first-hand knowledge, for example, knowing someone who has been laid off or experiencing health challenges. How can someone at the individual level work to bring about change as a consequence of a personal experience? Ask the students how they would go about trying to implement change.
3. Ask the class what they think draws someone to choose politics as a vocation. Are some individuals or groups in society more likely to participate or have their voices heard? How can Canadians ensure that the most qualified candidates are selected to represent them?

4. Engage your class in a discussion of voting as a right or a privilege. Compare the advantages and disadvantages of the political system in Canada in terms of the political system in other countries. Why might young Canadian-born adults be more likely to vote than young people born abroad? Discuss the importance of voting.
5. Young adults are much less likely to vote than seniors, but they are much more engaged in non-voting political activity. Explore reasons why these seemingly contradictory trends exist. Explore various innovative techniques to promote voting among young adults.

#### Using other resources

See teacher resources by subject for Civics at [www.statcan.ca/english/kits/courses/civics.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/courses/civics.htm)

Crompton, S. Autumn 2002. "Vox populi: Canadians who speak up." *Canadian Social Trends*.

#### Educators

**You may photocopy "Lesson plan" or any item or article in *Canadian Social Trends* for use in your classroom.**

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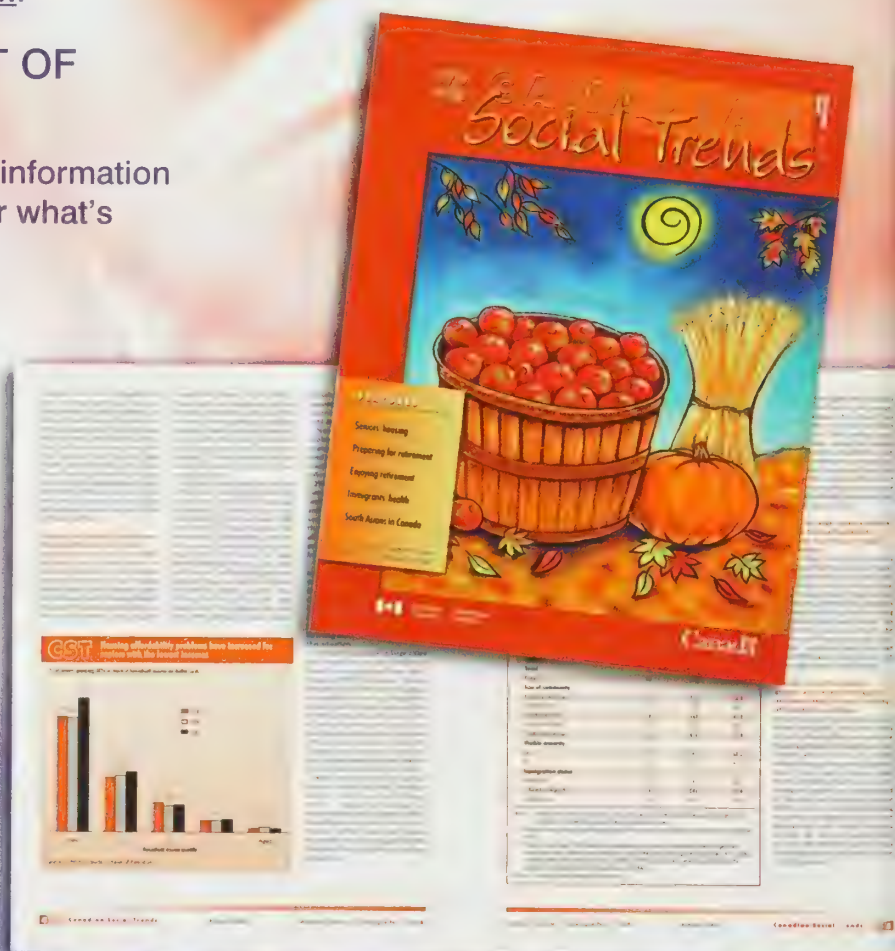
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